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## KASHMIR & THE COUNTRIES AROUND THE INDUS.

BY SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.

*A Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India on the North West, including Sind, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, the Punjab, and the Neighbouring States*: By Edward Thornton, Esq. London. Wm. H. Allen, and Co. 1844.

**T**he "Wanderer" Waterton, was stigmatized by the *Quarterly Review* as a Major Longbow, or a Baron Munchausen, because he recounted the particulars of a morning ride it was his pleasure to take, "al fresco," on the back of an alligator. He was frequently ridiculed as a weak humourist, because he spent nearly as much time and energy in cultivating the friendship and promoting the happiness of birds and beasts, as our Nimrods expend on the work of their destruction. His writings now begin to be appreciated, as the overflowings of a benevolent heart, the faithful record of actual observation, and the harvest of minute, persevering research. No wonder then that he was in bad odour among fireside speculators, whose theories he demolished by living evidences, drawn from nature's book: and little marvel that, in return, he should deal unceremoniously with those ornithologists who, in his own quaint words, spent their time more "in books than in bogs."

Mill, the historian of India, found in the *Edinburgh Review* an advocate for the strange doctrine, that a man who had never visited bogs was the best qualified to chronicle the deeds of their inhabitants: that one who had never visited India was best fitted to write its history, as being exempt from the prejudices and partialities contracted during personal contact with the men and manners he was to describe. To us, this theory does not even appear at first sight to be plausible; and the more we test its practical working, the less are we inclined to adopt it.

The argument would be considered strange, were we to urge that a judge, especially an Indian judge, who never saw his witnesses, but who had to decide on often slovenly written depositions, taken by ignorant and even corrupt lawyers, would give a sounder judgment, than he who with full knowledge of the characters of the witnesses, had examined, and cross-questioned them. Such argument would not be admitted for a moment. And who, compiling from manuscripts of his own generation, can without some sort of personal acquaintance, test the relative value of his materials? At first sight it may appear easier to write cotemporary history, than that of by-gone days; but in reality, the former is much the more difficult task. Wilkes, Orme, Forbes, Little, and our several early annalists are now better materials for history than they were at the periods when they were written. Their works have since been ~~tested - then -~~

by friend and foe ; they have stood a comparison with contemporary annals, and may, therefore, with slight reservations, be used by writers generally acquainted with the subjects on which they respectively treat. But it is far different with co-temporary writers. Their colleagues, and others on the spot, may pretty fairly judge their respective calibres ; but it is out of the question that a London writer, with no personal experience of India, can do so. He must often be led to take hap-hazard assertion for fact, and bold mendacity for accurate information. An author in London, has advantages for treating on Indian questions, though they are hardly of the nature suggested by Mill. In the metropolis, books and manuscripts are readily available, as is every degree of literary talent. In India the ability of a Mill is rarely to be found ; and among our small community, many of those best qualified to write, have occupations which leave little leisure for literary pursuits. India is a wide field and it does not follow that a resident in the East should *necessarily* be biassed one way or another. While on the other hand, down to the days of Niebhuhr and Arnold, Roman history was written by strongly prejudicial foreigners ; and to this moment, numerous as have been the histories of Greece compiled in England, we cannot point to one that is impartial. Mill has, in his own case, clearly disproved his own argument. He laboured under all the disadvantages arising from personal ignorance of scenery, men and manners. His book is therefore often dull, rarely picturesque, and it is without the counterbalancing advantages of impartiality. Had not Mill brought great learning, acuteness, and, (as far as his prejudices permitted,) a right spirit to bear on his work, it would long since have been thrown aside as lumber. Excellent as are many portions of his history, not one person in a dozen who quotes and praises Mill, reads him. If the ablest, he is decidedly the least impartial of Indian historians. Had he been a persecuted victim of Clive, Warren Hastings, or Wellesley, he could not have more virulently reported the misdeeds, and more invidiously slurred over the merits of those great men.

If the historian gains little by writing fourteen thousand miles from the land whose story he would tell us, still less does the geographer and statist benefit, by absence from the scene of his labours. Waterton remarked of Professor Rennie, " that his deficiency in bog education is to be lamented ; for such an education would have been a great help to him in his ornithological writing." We would apply the same principle to writers who lay down the law on topography and statistics, a task for which we hold local and personal observation to be an indispensable prerequisite. Not that the man who writes a Gazetteer is

expected to have seen every place he registers, but that, till he has become personally familiar with some specimens of the countries he is to describe, he is unfit to appreciate the value of the evidence before him, whether oral or written; is unable to place objects in their due perspective—to altogether reject certain evidence, seize the points on which writers are strong, and judge of those on which they are weak. Mr. Thornton, lacking this discriminative power over his materials, presents us with a panorama of the countries adjacent to India, like the pictures on a Chinese screen, where emperors and butterflies, tea pots and temples, stand forth in equal size and importance.

Let us not be mistaken. We allow that the marches of Alexander, those of the Ten Thousand, and similar facts in ancient history and geography, may be, and have been, admirably investigated by learned modern writers in their closets; but then as before remarked, the credit of the respective witnesses in such questions had already been tested. The graphic pictures of the Soldier-Statesman, Xenophon, have handed his name down to posterity,\* with all the authority of an able and honest witness; but in his own day, he received little of the credit and honor that have been paid to his memory. There were jealousies then, as now; and as the Londoners whom Wellington saved from the French yoke, pelted him, so did the very soldiers preserved by Xenophon, more than once attempt that hero's life. Few men are judged rightly or even honestly by their own generation. We now better know how to appreciate the fathers of history than their compatriots did—what value to set on the romances of Herodotus and Plutarch,—how far to take them as fact, how far as mere indications of feeling. We can steer our course with confidence by the chart of the accurate Arrian; we know it is requisite to distrust Diodorus. But did their contemporaries thus rightly judge them?

We thus grant that the learned may, with scale and compass, by comparison of book with book, with learned leisure and critical discrimination, do much; but it surely will not be denied

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\* An Edinburgh Reviewer in an otherwise excellent article on history says he suspects Xenophon "had rather a weak head;" but, the almost beardless boy volunteer, whom veteran Captains elected by acclamation to lead his betrayed countrymen through hostile nations, and who midst Greek dissension, and Persian perfidy, succeeded in his wonderful retreat of two thousand miles, could hardly be accounted "weak-headed." Had such a man arisen at Cabul, had our troops there elected a subaltern to lead them out to battle, or to concentrate in the Bala Hissar, their choice would hardly have fallen on a weak-headed man. It is in emergencies that real greatness of intellect finds its proper place. The strong-hearted and clear-headed will seldom be neglected in the hour of need. Their very discipline was one cause of the ruin of the Cabul force; and had not the spirit of subordination prevailed over every other feeling, there cannot be a doubt that a Xenophon would have been elected, and that the force would have been saved.

that the same men going over the ground, if they could carry their libraries with them, would more satisfactorily, and more surely, decide disputed questions. If so, how much more may it be said of a geographical writer compiling from materials, few of which are of ten years date? Had Mr. Thornton simply travelled the round from Ferozepoor to Sukkur, Kandahar, and Kabul, and returned by the Khybur and Lahore; or had he even enjoyed the opportunity of talking with those who had done so, he would have seen, or heard that Arthur Conolly was a more accurate observer than Alexander Burnes; he would have discovered that Hough is excellent authority on dry details, matters of fact, numbers, distances, dates, any thing in short that a plain, honest and industrious man could observe and jot down, or could by dint of dunning obtain from others. But that, though, on his assertion, the number of camels that died during the Affghan campaigns, the distance marched, or the height of the thermometer on any day, may safely be chronicled, he is not a safe guide as to the deductions to be drawn from those facts. He would have found that Major Hough had no "coup d'œil," that he could not take in the features of a country: and that in short, he is as weak an authority on questions of military science as could be offered; yet on these questions he is quoted regarding the Huft Kotul, Kusoor, Ali-musjid and other places, in preference to many able military writers, whose opinions on those very points might have been consulted. Major Hough is a very learned lawyer, and possesses so many valuable qualifications, that he can afford to relinquish praise that few can claim. We might thus go through Mr. Thornton's authorities, dead and living. Even the older writers, we do not consider to have been always judiciously used. The Emperor Baber, for instance, is thus vaguely quoted at page 2, vol. I. on the question of the size of the Ab-Istada Lake; Baber calls "it a wonderfully large sheet of water." Five other authorities are then given as to the size and depth of this lake, viz. Kennedy, Masson, Outram, Elphinstone, and the writer of an E. I. C. manuscript, whose name is not mentioned, but on whose statement the lake is called "a little above forty miles in circumference," when the water was lowest, "length eighteen miles, breadth at right angles to this direction, eight miles; circumference forty-four." The above expressions are very ambiguous, and, after giving six authorities, all more or less differing, the compiler should have stated what he considered the average length and breadth that conduced to the circumference of forty-four miles. A page is expended on this lake. We quote a portion as a fair specimen of how

much space is unprofitably occupied with contradictory statements.

"Kennedy says—"We marched fully fifteen miles in length in sight of it, and never saw across it. It looked like an island sea, and one felt surprised not to see the white sails of commerce or pleasure on its waters." Masson also describes it as stretching as far as the eye could reach. Outram estimates its diameter to be about twelve miles. Baber calls it a wonderfully large sheet of water. Elphinstone, on the contrary, states that in dry weather it is only three or four miles in diameter, and about twice as much after flood. The dimensions given by the author of the estimate of its circumference first quoted are—length, in the direction north-east and south-west, eighteen miles; breadth at right angles to this direction, eight miles; circumference, forty-four. The water is salt, and the banks are deeply incrustated with that production."

Mr. Thornton's chief authorities are Abbott, Atkinson, Bernier, Boileau, Broome, James and Alexander Burnes, Carless, Conolly, Eyre, Havelock, Hough, Hugel, Jameson, Kennedy, Lord, Leech, Masson, MacGregor, Mackeson, Moorcroft, Outram, Postans, James and Henry Prinsep, Rennell, Royle, Vigne, Wade, Westmacott, Wilson and Wood: most of them excellent evidences on particular points, and some of them trustworthy on many subjects.

Mr. Thornton, however, very seldom succeeds in extracting from his authorities, the information they are, respectively, best able to give; and they are as often quoted on points foreign from their pursuits and knowledge, as on those where they are strong. In many instances also, there is such a mingling of clashing evidences, without any clue to guide the reader's judgment as to which is most to be relied on, that we are often puzzled by every endeavour to enlighten us. Having expended thirteen pages in the first volume on a list of authorities, it was surely a work of supererogation, not only to fill the margin with names and numbers, but to repeat four, five and six opinions on a single point, and that, often, one quite immaterial. In all this, there is a parade of crudition which may catch the eye, but does not help the understanding. We shall here offer a few words on the merits of some of the authorities quoted.

Abbott, when he descends to mundane matters, is clear and graphic; a poet, a draughtsman and an honest man, he has fine abilities, but he is weakest where he thinks himself strongest. He must be personally known to be appreciated. Atkinson, a worse rhymers, but a better painter, is good authority as to scenery and picturesque details—indeed for most that he describes, save as to his good King Soojah, whom he praises as unduly as others abuse. Atkinson's pictures speak, and when we see his Beloochees crouch behind their rocks, we feel inclined to crouch too, and fancy we hear the Juzael ball whistle past

our ear. Bernier, the picturesque, the true, who only wrote too little, and who, unlike his countrymen generally, told of others more than of himself; his volumes, as far they go, are as trustworthy as they are interesting. Boileau is a clever enterprising officer, his book is valuable, but he had not sufficient time to digest his materials. Broome comes under the same category; had his journey extended to years, instead of weeks, he would have furnished a most valuable work on the sources of the Punjab rivers and the countries they permeate. The brothers Burnes are sufficiently well known to fame; James has perhaps been too little quoted, as Alexander has been too much; able, enterprising and enthusiastic, the latter jumped too rapidly at conclusions, looked too little beneath the surface. He passed too quickly through the countries he tells of, to have reported them accurately, even had he possessed the turn of mind for such details; but where he remained longest, and his opportunities were best, his details are not materially improved. He is a good delineator, of superficial manners, of striking points of character, but had no eye for scenery, nor was he a careful comparer of authorities. He was altogether too precipitate to have been accurate. Eyre may be always relied on wherever he claims our belief, and his opinions are generally entitled to respect. He is a first rate military writer, as is Havelock—clear, cautious and accurate as to facts, with a soldier's eye and a soldier's heart; he is always a trustworthy witness, unless when his military ardour leads him beyond that best policy, political morality. Yet Mr. Thornton has been misled, probably by his local and personal ignorance, into comparative depreciation of authorities like these, while he unduly relies on other writers possessing no such claims to our confidence. One name especially revolts us, when mentioned with any inherent right to that credence, which he has forfeited by self-evident malignity and untruth.

In previous numbers we have pointed out many of Masson's errors; Mr. Thornton shews some very glaring ones, but still calls him "the accurate,"—perhaps the writer's pen slipped, and he meant "the inaccurate." Mr. T. refers to Masson more frequently than to any other writer. After several readings and many close comparisons of his travels, we are led to the conclusion, that Masson is entirely untrustworthy; he sinks the truth, he distorts facts, he exaggerates, he theorises ignorantly, and he boldly asserts as fact, what he knew nothing about. We therefore hold his volumes to be useful only where their contents are confirmed by the writings of more respectable men. In the course of this article, we shall have occasion to adduce many reasons for this strong opinion, besides what have already

appeared in our previous numbers. Mackeson, Outram, Postans are all sound authorities; they all know much more than they have published on the countries under notice, and yet little use has been made of what they have offered to the public.

The names of James and Henry Prinsep are too well known in India to need applause at our hands; yet when he has Prinsep's tables of coins to refer to, Mr Thornton searches for the value of a gold mohur in the vocabulary prefixed to Lady Sale's Journal, and of course obtains an erroneous statement. Jameson and Royle are good authorities as far as they *saw*, and even on occasions where they theorise. Of Vigne and Moorcroft we have given our opinion in past numbers. Had the former published his works in India and taken advice of old Indians, they would have been much more valuable; and we regret that as an honest adventurous traveller, we should so often have to differ from him. The labours of Moorcroft have lost half their value from the state in which his documents were left, making it difficult for even his able editor, Horace Wilson, to separate the crude materials from his digested facts.

We fear that Moorcroft, Burnes, Vigne and other travellers in the countries under notice, took only brief notes on the spot, trusting to memory to fill up their sketches. There is often internal evidence of such being the case, and unless Masson purposely misleads with a view of puzzling his trackers, and concealing his whereabouts at particular periods, his whole travels would appear to have been written at Bombay or in London. Scarcely a date is given. Blanks of months and years are unaccounted for, and tales of romance are interlarded with his statistical details, often bearing the strongest stamp of Munchausenism. The legend of Anarkalli, the favourite of a Mogul Emperor, who for being observed to smile on a royal favourite, was built up alive in a brick cell, and a splendid mausoleum afterwards erected over him, and called after his name, seems to us one of those romances, such as any traveller may obtain by the score, if he only sufficiently encourages his cicerone. We at least, when visiting Anarkalli, then the residence of General Ventura, heard no legend, though we talked freely to our guide. Another of these romances relates to a horse-whipping said to have been inflicted on Dhyan Singh, who was not the man to have survived an unavenged insult, still less one, who would not only have suffered the offender to live, but have, afterwards helped him to the throne. When this horse-whipping is said to have taken place, Dhyan Singh was the all-powerful Vizier, the second man in the state: Sher Singh was nobody. Three deaths and Dhyan Singh's support made him a sovereign.



Such tales might be pardoned, were mere every-day occurrences and personal experiences more faithfully narrated. The following seems to us a case of gross exaggeration, if not of entire untruth. Mr. Masson\* on his march from Lahore to Moulton, falls in with "Thakur Singh, a young Seikh Sirdar, a handsome intelligent youth, apparently sixteen or seventeen years of age," son of Sirdar Sham Singh, one of the oldest and most respectable Seikh Chiefs. Thakur Singh, who is said to be very amiable, took a great fancy to Mr. Masson, and offered him service at "one thousand rupees per month" which the traveller refused. The young Chief daily in Durbar "placed me on the same seat with himself and uncle;" he "travelled in great state attended by a band of musicians, about a hundred and fifty horsemen, a small field piece, and six camels carrying swivels." Mr. Masson being unwell was "accommodated in the state carriage, drawn by two fine horses." The young Chief had been deputed by Runjeet Singh "to arrange differences which had arisen between the Subahdar Sohand Mull and the Khan of Bahawalpore." Year or month of this journey is not given, but "years had elapsed, when at Peshawur in 1838, I had again the pleasure to see him." The first meeting may have been any time between the year 1826 and 1838, soon after which last date we fell in with the youth. He was still scarcely more than a lad, and far from being "a handsome intelligent youth;" was an extremely ill-favoured and stupid one. He had not only then no carriage at hand, but the very rickety buggy which he drove, he could not pay for; and far from having a thousand rupees per month, to give to a wandering European, he had not wherewithal to pay for the brandy in which he freely indulged. He was, in short, one of the, if not *the* most dissolute and blackguard Seikh Chief we ever fell in with. His father is a respectable man and threatened to disinherit him for his evil courses. They were not men, or rather boys, like Thakur Singh, whom Runjeet Singh employed as determiners of knotty points—besides the lad *could not* have been deputed to settle a question between Bahawalpore and Moulton, the first state being under British protection. We therefore look upon the whole story as a romance, originating perhaps in some very slight fact. We may here give some reasons for believing that Masson could have been but slightly acquainted with the languages of the countries through which he travelled. His orthography is evidently that of a person who could not read in the original the words that he writes in English. For instance

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\* Chapter 20 *passim*. *Masson*, Vol. I.

the great Sawun Mull is called in several places "Sohand Mull" the word Masjid, a mosque, is invariably spelled "Musit." At page 159 of the *Khelat* volume, he tells us that the adverb *shet-abi* means precipitate, though a very slight knowledge of Persian would have told him the word is *shitab kar* or *shitab baz*. In the same page "Ekrrar" is given for "Ikrar." At page 28, he tells us that "reza namah" is a "letter of approbation;" the true word being "razi-nama" and the correct translation "a deed of satisfaction;" at page 249 of the same volume, we have "Khata jam ba shi, or be at ease" the "khâta" of which, instead of "khatin" could only have been given by a tyro in Persian literature, however the slightly aspirated *a* in "jama" might have been overlooked. He tells us that although Runjeet Singh in his relations with the Mussmans to the west, assumes a high tone, at home he simply styles himself "Sirkar." Any man who understands the meaning of the word *Sirkar*, will know that the Maharajah could not have well designated himself by a higher title than "the Government." From Masson's volumes we might select abundance of such specimens, were they worth transferring to our pages. But to return to better men—

MacGregor and Wood are two of Mr. Thornton's most trustworthy authorities, but they again are too little used. The opportunities enjoyed by the former for collecting information regarding the Province of Julalabad were unequalled, and Wood seems to have had more of the requisites that form an intelligent traveller than any other describer of these countries. Leech is a man of ability, and has done good service to the state. Lord, too, was an able, industrious, and honest man. Such is our rough estimate of the principal authorities from whose published papers Mr. Thornton compiles. He has not favored us with the names of the authors of the East India House documents to which he had liberal access. We cannot therefore judge of their respective accuracy; but his volumes would have had increased value had he enabled us to do so.

There are three material objections to the manner in which Mr. Thornton's work is compiled, all tending to the same result—that of expanding into two volumes the information which might, with advantage to the pockets and comfort of travellers, have been easily compressed into one. First, it contains the names of hundreds of villages, some of which are given in the map, some not, but all of which might, advantageously, have been omitted in the letter press. The work, it must be remembered, is not an itinerary required for daily reference, but a *Gazetteer* of countries interesting, certainly, from their position to many, but in the bye-roads of which not one man in a hundred, who purchases

the volumes, will be likely to travel. Now what can be less interesting to the public, than strings of names of insignificant villages whose very sites (especially when on the banks of rivers,) are liable to change from year to year, so that the correct latitude and longitude of today may, a twelve months hence, be miles in error? How much better and cheaper would it have been to mark such places in the map, but to confine the remarks in the Gazetteer to places of importance!

Our second objection is to having eighty-five closely printed pages given up to itineraries in Scinde and Affghanistan, repeating, in many cases, information given in the body of the work. The Affghanistan routes might at least have been omitted, as useless to people in general, however valuable to public officers. We have then twenty-two pages of index to a work alphabetically arranged; an affectation of preciseness surely supererogatory. Not one of these three objections is to be alleged against Hamilton's Hindostan, which gives full and detailed accounts of capital cities and other places of interest—alluding but briefly to towns, and altogether omitting villages. We know no such valuable book of reference to persons employed in India as Hamilton's Hindostan, and recommend it as a model to gazetteer-writers generally.

Every student of history and geography, and indeed of any subject demanding accurate data, must have often been puzzled to ascertain what, at first sight, appeared very simple points. Often and often have we consulted and compared dozens of authors, whose works ought to have contained the information we sought for, and yet in all we have found our one solitary desideratum wholly omitted, slurred over, or put in such a way, that, after hours of labour, we were no wiser than when we started. There are some more honest authors who tell us candidly when they are puzzled, and among these is Mr. Thornton; but his loss is his reader's great misfortune, for in such cases he gives us the assumptions of two, three or more travellers, instead of the intelligible statement of any one good author. The reader has in short to go round and about the course twice, or thrice, and then fails to reach the goal. We shall have occasion to offer several specimens of this provoking fault. Mr. Thornton has altogether trusted too indiscriminately. He rarely tests his authorities, or rejects those that afford internal proofs of inaccuracy. He has not separated what men saw, from what they heard; but often gives as prominent a place to the legends and conjectures of travellers, as the matured fruits of their researches. In his over-anxiety to be accurate, Mr. Thornton often loads the text with contradictions. But an even

worse mistake not unfrequently occurs, when, from not correctly apprehending the sense of the writers he quotes, they are made to say what they did not assert. Gerrard, for instance, is quoted for the fact, that there are suspension bridges over the Sutlej in the Himalayas, and Masson is made to say that the glacier around Lahore is cleared from rubbish. We, of course, altogether acquit Mr. Thornton of the slightest wilful misquotation; but rather attribute such cases to confusion of mind caused by long continual poring over books of contradictory statements. Such confusion, also, not unfrequently leads the compiler to attribute to one author what was written by another. In the marginal references also, some errors of volume and page occur, which with an entire omission of notice of the date of publication of such of the works, as have passed through more than one edition, cause the enquirer much needless trouble. We have seldom been able to discover in the original, the references to Elphinstone, although we have a folio and an octavo edition of his account of Cabul by us; so is it with Rennell and other writers. It must be granted that few books of reference would stand such an overhauling as we have given Mr. Thornton's Gazetteer—a labour we should not have bestowed on a less valuable work; but while giving the compiler all the credit he fairly deserves for his laborious research, it is our duty to shew how, as a book of reference, the work before us might have been rendered both cheaper and better. Mr. Thornton is evidently an able, industrious, and honest writer; and if he will not disdain to take advantage of some of our hints, he may, by revising, correcting and shearing his two volumes, furnish us with one of great value and interest, that will be in the hands of every body connected with British India. We need only remind Mr. Thornton that in a Gazetteer, readers value neither controversy nor strings of contradiction, but reasonably expect accurate information briefly and lucidly given. Mr. Thornton has given us two interesting volumes of general reading on the countries N. W. of India; we trust he will now furnish us with a more compact and more matured work for the traveller and the subaltern. We have little hesitation in assuring him of the ready sale of such a volume, which doubtless Mr. Thornton could materially improve by even seating himself at Loodiana for a few months; but which, with his habits of research and information, we allow, he can better compile in London than any author, whom we know, not personally acquainted with the countries under notice.

It should be remembered that the statistical notices of Leech, Burnes, Lord, Mohun Lal, &c., were either hastily prepared by themselves during brief halts, when they must have trusted to

the party statements of interested officials; or worse still, the notices were often translations of papers prepared by common Native writers, sent into the country, who made their own arrangements, and must often have either sold themselves to the authorities or compiled the required statistical returns from their imaginations. We offer these remarks with no view of decrying the labours of the authors under notice, but from a full knowledge of what natives can do, will do, and have done. No native goes on a statistical errand without considering what profit his deputation will afford. If it be simply to count the houses of a village, he will discover whether the head man wishes to have the number registered more or less than the reality, and for value received, will bide by his will. Paid for such falsification, he will doubtless not always attend to the wishes of the man who bribes him, and if expecting his work to be checked, and it happens that the villager can read, the Ameen will have two sets of papers, one for the victim, one for his master. This, however, only happens where checks are at hand, but where could the officers under notice have personally followed up their enquiries? and how much internal evidence there is, in their papers that the masses of names and numbers were simply the unchecked emanations of their underlings' pens. Such native writers were often absent for weeks or months; brought back full and plausible Nukshahs (forms) and received their reward. Returns so prepared, however interesting as points of reference, should never have been taken as verified statistical data, until proved so, by comparison with other documents. We are far from stating that all are incorrect, but simply that they are not proved accurate, and that some of them are improbable, and others contradictory. We blame Lord, Leech and Burnes less in the matter, than those who published, and set forth crude materials, as if they were authenticated facts. From such reports, error must arise. Many men consider, that what has been printed must be correct, and that a Government report is stamped with authenticity.

Such errors have not been restricted to India, and it is astonishing to consider the mass of delusion that is to be found in the standard works on statistics. McCulloch is often very wrong, and with every means and appliance at command, his works contain many errors. If such is the case in England, it may be conceived how much more difficult it must be to procure accurate statistical returns of Eastern countries not even under British control. Indeed, we consider that no such returns prepared by, or through, the present race of native subordinates, can be worth a straw, unless largely checked *on the spot*

by intelligent officers, *accustomed* to statistical details. Ample proof of the correctness of this opinion is to be found in Mr. Thornton's volumes. The discrepancies of the different authorities quoted by him are even greater than could have been expected. In fact, where three or four, or some times even half a dozen persons are referred to, it is seldom that two agree. One gives the population of a place as thousands, where another states it to be hundreds, and almost as great differences of opinion occur as to areas, distances, antiquities, and historical deductions. Many of these discrepancies are owing to the inexperience of the observers; sometimes to their negligence; often to their ignorance of the language of the people—but above all, they may be attributed to the difficulty of procuring correct information in countries, where every European is considered a spy, is accordingly watched, humbugged, and misled.

It is, however, time that we should bear out our statements by some examples. In doing so we shall run through the two volumes, taking instances as they strike us, sometimes for their errors, sometimes for their accuracies, occasionally for the general interest attached to the localities.

At page 50, article, "Ali Musjid"—Mr. Thornton tells us on the authority of Hough, that "the width of the pass (Khybur) here is about 150 yards," but in a note it is observed, "Moorcroft states that the defile here is in no place above twenty-five paces broad, and in some not more than *six or seven*." Moorcroft was decidedly much nearer the mark than Hough. The defile immediately under Ali Musjid does not average fifty yards broad, and at one place, where a large rock blocks the way, the passage on either side is not above six or seven yards, as stated by Moorcroft. Mr. Thornton continues "there is no water within the fort, but the garrison might be supplied from a well to which (according to Hough) there is a covered way." Hough could never have entered the fort or he would not have written such nonsense. There was an irregular breastwork partially covering a path nearly straight down the hill to the river below, which must have been what Hough *heard* of. The said pathway, however, was anything but a safe one, being precipitous and exposed to the view of any occupants of the opposite precipice.\*

Our next example is a specimen of Mr. Thornton's gentle handling of Masson, and a proof of the bold and reckless assertions of the latter person. His ambition was to have been the guide, the mentor of Sir John Keane's army, and his menda-

\* Leech, noticing Ali Musjid, says, "*It is not supplied with water, and the garrison is obliged to descend to the hill below for it.*" Page 10, Report on Khybur Pass.

cious statements regarding the late Sir Wm. MacNaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes, are mainly attributable to the refusal of Government to employ him in other than a very subordinate office. Such inferior post he scornfully declined. We have here a specimen of how well he would have guided Sir John Keane. We give in full Mr. Thornton's account of the Dasht-i-Bedaulat prefacing it by stating that after a glowing description of the tract of country during *spring*—the very season the British army traversed it, and found only scanty food for camels,—Mr. Masson states, "In that season (spring) it swarms with the tomans of the Kurd Brahui tribe, who are proprietors of the plain, and reap its produce, but return as soon as it is collected to Mero." The Brahuīs are a *pastoral* and *plundering* tribe, and it might have occurred to Mr. Masson that they came down, not to reap crops, but to pasture their cattle and to collect tolls on travellers. As the "proprietors," moreover, come down in spring and retire to Mero, when the crop is reaped, it is difficult to understand *when*, and *by whom*, the said crop is sown. But such considerations do not stand in Mr. Masson's way ; however we let Mr. Thornton explain :

"Dasht-i-bedaulat (the wretched plain), in Beloochistan, between the summit of the Bolan Pass and Shawl." It is described by Masson as "a good march in breadth, nor (he adds) is its length less considerable." The British force which invaded Afghanistan found it about eighteen miles across, destitute of water, and covered with wild thyme and southernwood, the food of a scanty stock of goats and camels belonging to the wild tribes holding the surrounding mountains. During spring, crocuses, tulips, and various other wild flowers render the scene "unprofitably gay." Such was the appearance which it presented in the prime of that beautiful season when our troops marched over it. Masson, departing from his usual accuracy, describes it, from hearsay accounts, to be at that season a pastoral paradise, and he even provides it with harvests. The elevation exceeds 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. Lat. 30°, long. 67°."

We now offer two quotations showing how error creeps and increases. Hough read Burnes, and Burnes read or talked to Masson ; and hence we have Huft Kotul interpreted *seven passes*. The accurate Hough even counted an eighth ; the fact being that his eighth is the only pass in the case ; being the first mile or so from the Tezeen valley, where indubitably there is a pass, rocks and precipices rising on either side ; but afterwards it is a simple ascent or rather series of ascents, with here and there in the distance a hill, or broken ground giving cover to an enemy, but seldom or never commanding the road way. The *one* hill that *was supposed* to command the ascent, the whole way from the right (ascending) at no point does so ; and the late Major Skinner who was sent up the night before the advance from Tezeen, by General Sir George Pollock, has been heard

to say that he never once saw the column during the day's operations. But let Mr. Thornton speak for himself :

" Huft Kotul, in Afghanistan, is on the route from Jelalabad to Kabool, and about thirty-two miles east of this latter place. The name signifies "seven passes," though Hough reckoned eight, and remarks, "an enemy might dreadfully annoy a column moving down this last descent as they would have a flanking fire on it !" and in fact, in this defile, about three miles long, was consummated the massacre of the British force in the disastrous attempt to retreat from Kabool at the commencement of 1842. Here also, in the September of the same year, the Affghans, after their defeat at Tezeen, attempting to make a stand, were again utterly routed with great slaughter by the British army under General Pollock. Lat. 34° 21', long. 69° 27'."

Mr. Thornton is as wrong here in his history, as in his topography ; for at this place was *not* "consummated the massacre of the British force, in the disastrous attempt to retreat from Kabul"—the consummation *was* at Gundamuk, an intervening terrible slaughter having been made at Jugdulluk.

The ford over the river Jelum where in December 1839 Captain Hilton and ten men of H. M. 16th Lancers, were drowned is noted, as if, at that point, a ford is usually to be found in the cold weather. Mr. Thornton remarks that Hough (who was present when the accident occurred,) says the ford extended "about 500 yards, and had more than three feet water and a strong current near the south bank," on which Mr. T. adds, "It is obvious that, for the greater part of the year, the ford must be totally impassable." A three-feet ford, however, ought to be passable for cavalry, and so *would* the one under notice have been, under good management. Experienced guides should have led the regiment from fixed points, well established by boats or buoys. All the fords in the Punjab are more or less zig-zag, and all more or less vary, not only from season to season, but from day to day ; so that it is probable every detachment that has crossed the Jelum since 1839, did so at points different from that crossed by H. M. 16th Lancers.

At page 293 we have "Jumrood, a small town in the province of Peshawur, ten miles west of the city of that name and at the eastern entrance into the Khybur Pass."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The Seikhs have strengthened their position here by building the fort of Futteghur on the west side of Jumrood." For the first part of the above extract Burnes and Leech are given as authorities ; for the last, Hough and Wood. We have consulted all these writers and find as follows : The volume and page of Burnes's Bokhara is not given by Thornton. We have therefore been unable to trace the notice in that work, and as Burnes on



his first visit to Cabul did not travel by the Khybur, we presume that the reference was made by mistake. In his second work,\* Burnes simply remarks that Jumrood is "three miles from the mouth of the Khybur pass," and tells us that "the village of Jumrood is in ruins, but is marked by a brick fountain." Wood only says that Jumrood is "a Seikh fortress at the west end of the Peshawur plain, commanding the entrance to the Khybur pass." If he had said "commanding the outlet from it," he would have been nearer the mark. A force may be long enough at Jumrood without commanding an entrance, although it may bar an advance eastward. Leech agrees with Burnes in calling the distance to the pass three miles, he gives the name of the fort as Futtehabad, and estimates its distance as nine miles to Peshawur. Hough is quoted merely with reference to the erection of Futteghur; but though Leech is wrong in his distance to Peshawur, we have shewn that none of the three other authors have misled Mr. Thornton as to the position of Jumrood. In fact, there are not less than four serious mistakes in these two short sentences: Jumrood is not a town, there *was* a fort and may have been a small village, when Peshawur and Kabul were under one ruler. The first is in ruins, and there is no trace of the other. The ruin is a quarter, or half a mile to the west, *not to the east* of Futteghur, which place is not less than fourteen miles, instead of ten, from Peshawur, and *is not at* the entrance of the Khybur, but three or four miles from both the Jubogee or Shadie Bugiaree defiles. Travellers encamp, in fear and trembling, under the walls of Futteghur for the night; but it is not the place where a town would be built. The only inhabitant, outside the fortress, is a fakir, who lives in a speck of a garden a quarter of a mile west of Futteghur, and probably gives notice to the Khyburees of the approach of travellers.

The town of Mazufurabad is thus described:—

"Mazufurabad, in the Punjab, a town at the confluence of the Jailum and its great tributary, the Kishengunga. It is a small place, † and apparently only worth notice on account of its commanding position at the entrance of the Baramula Pass into Kashmir. There are ferries here over both the Kishengunga and the Jailum. Lat. 34° 12', long. 73° 24'."

\* Since writing the above we find that Burnes does at page 105 say, "Jumrood opposite the Khybur Pass," but Thornton's reference is to page 126, where the statement is as in our text.

† The statements of travellers as to the size and population of this place are widely different. According to Vigne, it has from 150 to 200 flat-roofed houses. Moorcroft (ii, 307) states it to contain about 3,000 houses; while Hugel gives it a population of only 2,100 inhabitants. There can be no doubt that Moorcroft's account is greatly exaggerated, and probably Hugel's estimate of the population is so too.

Mr. Thornton in the note we have copied, gives a specimen of how his authorities perplexed him. It must be remembered that Moorcroft travelled fifteen years before Vigne and Hugel, but however deteriorated the place may have become under Seikh rule, it is impossible to conceive Mazufurabad to have been reduced from (3000) three thousand to (150) one hundred and fifty houses, within a dozen or twenty years, as no especial plague had fallen on it more than on the surrounding country generally. Moorcroft does not appear to have been a very accurate observer, and may have, therefore, miscalculated the houses by a third or a fourth, but from its position, we have every reason to believe that Mazufurabad was always a place of great importance. The Emperor Arungzebe built a fort there, and Ata Mahomed, the Affghan Governor, caused a second and stronger one to be erected, allowing the first to fall in ruins. A Persian manuscript, now before us, written by an intelligent native of India, who travelled much, about the time Moorcroft did, generally confirms the statement of that adventurous traveller. The (mongrel Persian) words of our manuscript are "Marufurabad khoob shuhur kulan ast, imarat ali darad" meaning that Mazufurabad is a large city, and contains fine buildings.

Under the head of *Saiyadabad* at page 164, vol. 2, Mr. Thornton tells us, on the authority of Masson, that the inmates live in rows of houses of two stories, each story being about twenty five feet high." Masson's words go even further, being "those of the ground-floor were twenty or thirty feet in height, and they had above them others equally lofty and capacious." This is evidently either one of Masson's exaggerations or haphazard remarks, written from memory; for it is notorious that even the Palaces of the Kings, and the dwellings of the Chiefs in Afghanistan, seldom exceed ten or twelve feet high. Where domes are used, as at Kandahar, the rooms are higher, but Masson expressly says "the whole of them *had been* originally covered with domes . . . . . at present the roofs are flat." When the roofs were arched, then those dwellings of the family of a petty Chief, must have been from 35 to 40 feet high. Verily, Mr. Masson is as particular, as he is positive.

Mooltan (page 59, vol. 2) is another specimen of the discrepancy of statements through which Mr. Thornton has found it difficult to wade to a conclusion. He tells us, Masson states the fort to be protected "by a ditch, faced with masonry," but Burnes says "the fortress of Mooltan has no ditch; the nature of the country will not admit of one." We have carefully examined all the original authorities quoted, viz. Masson, Burnes,

Vigne, Leech, Moorcroft, Malcolm, and Arrian, and wonder not at the compiler's doubts. The population is stated by Burnes to be 60,000, by Masson to be from 40 to 45,000, and by Vigne to be about the last stated number, and yet Mr. Thornton, we scarcely know why, estimates the number at 80,000 (eighty thousand) being the population given in Leech's report. Burnes and Masson, however, had more than, and Vigne, as much time and opportunity as Leech to obtain a correct return, and as for once the two latter nearly agree, it would have been safest to have taken Burnes's medium estimate of 60,000 as the approximate population of the place. Regarding the ditch of the citadel of Mooltan, a very material question to set at rest, though Masson as usual writes positively, he contradicts himself, by telling us in the same breath that "it (the citadel) is well secured by a deep trench, neatly faced with masonry; and the defences of the gateway, which is approached by a *draw-bridge*, are rather elaborate." In the same paragraph Mr. M. continues "the casualties of the siege it endured have not been made good by the Seikhs, consequently it has become much dilapidated." Thus in the same paragraph it is stated, that the citadel is well secured, &c. and that it is much dilapidated. Both statements cannot be correct. Masson's whole account is so contradictory, that Mr. Thornton should have hesitated to accept his testimony on the question of the ditch, at all events, had not Vigne in a measure supported Burnes's statement, saying (at page 19) "they (the walls) have been surrounded by a ditch, in many places entirely destroyed." It appears to us that situated as is the citadel on a tumulus formed of old debries, and built without reference to artillery, and in a country where the chief force was cavalry, there probably never was a ditch, but that round the base of the mound, the earth was most likely partially scraped away, to furnish mud for the cement of the brick-work above; which excavation Masson may have considered as, and called a ditch. We can also believe that opposite to one or more gates, there may be scarped ascents, and that at such points, ditches may have been excavated. To our certain knowledge Sawun Mull has had several injunctions within the last few years to put his fort in thorough repair, and from his character, he was not likely to have needed the repetition of such an order.

On the authority of Leech "Mooltan is noted as the largest town in the Seikh territory after Lahore and Amritsur." This we consider is an error; Peshawur is at least as large; so is Sirmagar the capital of Kashmir. Mr. Thornton in a note states, that Prinsep's account of Runjeet Singh having compelled his troops

to disgorge their booty "gained at the storm of Mooltan, is at variance with the account given by the Maharajah himself to Moorcroft, but His Highness might not, perhaps, regard a slight sacrifice of truth to the honor of his liberality." No, certainly! Maharajah Runjeet Singh was not more particular as to truth, than are other Maharajahs. The anecdote, moreover, narrated by Prinsep, is given on the authority of a most accurate and well-informed officer, the late Capt. Murray.

Burnes, here as elsewhere, jumps at an antiquarian conclusion, and in opposition to Major Rennell, pronounces, on what he considers the authority of Arrian, that "we have little reason to doubt its being the capital of the Malli of Alexander." Now we have closely examined all that Arrian says on the subject (which is very little) and find no reason to come to the conclusion drawn by Burnes.

Whatever is its ancient history, the position of Mooltan renders it a place of great present interest to Anglo-Indians. It is in one of the great lines of invasion, and has often changed hands. While India was still in the hands of Hindoo Princes, Mooltan was the seat of a Mahommedan Sovereignty. Mahomed of Ghuznee captured the city in the year 1006; as did Tamerlane in 1398. The province appears to have varied, from age to age, in its dimensions, according to the strength of the local rulers. At one time it was subject to the King of Ghuznee, then to the rulers of Sindh, and again to the monarchs of Delhi.

During the reigns of Alla-ud-Deen the 2nd, and Beloli Lodi, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the first great break up of the Mahommedan Empire in India commenced. In the Dekkan, in Malwa, Juanpoor, Goozrat, Bengal, and Mooltan, the Governors, one after the other, threw off the yoke, and assumed royalty. The Mooltan dynasty extended to thirteen Princes and lasted about a century, until the Emperor Hoomayoon recovered the province, when he re-established himself at Delhi.

After the plunder of the Imperial City in the year 1739 by Nadir Shah, that conqueror annexed Mooltan to his dominions and left a governor. On the rise of the Suddozies, one of that clan was appointed as Vicegerent, who, induced by his distance from Cabul, and the weakness of both the Mogul and Affghan Empires, soon assumed independance. Mr. Elphinstone mentions that Sirfuraz Khan, the Nawab of the day, shut his gates on him, and was in constant alarm, during the nineteen days the envoy remained at Mooltan, of his obtaining possession of the city with his small escort. The Nawab was then on the

footing of an independent Prince, and feared that Shah Soojah would cede to the English the recusant territory that he could not hold himself. The strength of the position of Mooltan, enabled the weak governors to hold out for a time against Mahratta Seikh and Sindh marauders; it did not however prevent their lands from being harried, and even the city at length being occupied, first by the Mahrattas, and then by the Seikhs. But though Runjeet Singh plundered the place in 1806, and frequently levied Rakee (black mail) on the last Nawab, Muzuffer Khan, it was not until the year 1818 that the place was finally carried by storm, and the governor killed in the breach. Numbers and celerity of movement in this instance, as on many others, were the instruments of Runjeet Singh's success. The very Pathan feudatories in his camp, who had themselves been only subdued, were concerting to aid the besieged, when Runjeet by a free expenditure of his Akalies, headed by their notorious leader, Phoola\* Singh, carried the place, and brought the remnant of the Mooltan territory under the Seikh yoke.

Abul-fazel tells us, that the Soubah of Mooltan (when united to Futtah) extended "from Ferozepoor to Sewistan 403 cose; and was in breadth, from Kutpoor to Jeselmeer 108 cose. But with the additional length of Futtah, it measures to Kutch and Mekran 660 cose." Its present limits are very much contracted, but it nevertheless now occupies districts that formerly appertained to Soubah Lahore. We should roughly estimate the present province at 10,500 square miles, or 150 long and seventy (70) broad. Leech tells us that Mooltan is "not in the flourishing condition it was under Muzaffer Khan;" but considering its former and present condition, we consider the province to have improved under Seikh, or rather under the late Sawun Mull's rule. Elphinstone states, that in his time the country bore evident symptoms of deterioration; and that although the old water courses were very numerous, affording ample means of irrigation, many villages were in ruins; and that not above half the land around the city was cultivated. The cultivation has evidently since increased, and Masson tells us that "the gardens of Mooltan

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\* Phoola Singh led the Akali attack on Mr. (Sir Charles) Metcalfe's escort in 1809; he also made more than one inroad, south of the Sutlej, on such freebooting and murdering excursions, as the more fanatic Akalis were wont to undertake, wherever a field lay open for them. Moorcroft tells us, that Phoola Singh volunteered his services for the benefit of the British Government, to carry fire and sword wherever he might be ordered. He was a violent man, and when displeased with Runjeet Singh, would as readily have made an onslaught on the Khalsa, as expended his blood in its favor. He was eventually killed in the battle of Noushera performing prodigies of valour. Mounted on an elephant, he led the Seikhs to storm a long, low ridge of hill occupied by the Affghans; he succeeded, but at the expense of his life. A tomb was raised to his memory on the spot where he fell, by the grateful Maharajah.

are abundant, and well stocked with fruit trees, as mangoes, oranges, citrons, limes, &c. Its date trees also yield much fruit, and vegetables are grown in great plenty."

The city of Mooltan is surrounded by a wall ; it is situated about three miles east of the river Chenab (Masson says of the Ravi), the inundations of which extend to the suburbs. The city is built on a mound of considerable elevation. The bazaars are extensive. Leech tells us, that there are four thousand six hundred shops, and as he details the numbers of each trade and calling, it may be presumed that he had some means of proving the accuracy of the return. He enumerates sixty merchants and sixty bankers—215 pastry cooks, 112 goldsmiths, 45 enamellers, 160 *houses of dancing girls*, 250 silk weavers, 360 plain weavers, 112 temples, 109 mosques, 7 school-masters, 8 pandits, which, with grain-sellers and vendors and makers of all sorts of sundries, completes "in all 4,600 establishments" (page 80, report.) Mr. Thornton, however, erroneously calls these *establishments* of pandits, school-masters, weavers, dancing girls, &c., shops, saying "the *shops* amount altogether in number to 4,600," an error that would mislead, as to the wealth and importance of the place.

Mooltan is famed for its silk and carpet manufactories ; the loongees, or scarfs of Mooltan of fine rich silk, worked with gold, are greatly prized in India. Considerable trade is carried on with Affghanistan and India, as well as with Lahore and Amritsur, and now that a direct road has been opened, viâ Bhawalpoor to Delhi, we may hope, under good arrangements, that the intercourse with India will greatly increase. Mr. Thornton, on Leech's authority, states that the merchants are considered rich, and about fifteen of them are computed collectively to possess a million and a half of rupees. The word "about" saves Mr. Thornton ; but why use it, when Leech gives the names and capital of each individual of nineteen, and not fifteen, the total making 13,35,000, and not 15,00,000. Mr. Thornton is not good at figures.

The country around the city of Mooltan is covered with ruins of mosques, tombs, and dwelling houses, evidencing the antiquity and former extent of the place, though the latter less so than, at first thought, would appear. Orientals seldom or never repair the works of their ancestors, much less of their predecessors of a different faith ; a well, tank, or tomb is invariably allowed to go to ruin, wherever there are not especial funds allotted to their repair. So is it with cities. One Emperor of India chose to live at Agra or Futtehpoor Sikri, another at Delhi or Lahore—the consequence is that each of these last mentioned places are now

apart from the sites of the old towns, and so it is in a hundred instances in India and in the East generally. The ruins of one town are used to build another in the vicinity, giving an exaggerated idea of the city that is thought to have originally covered both the site of the new town, and of the space covered by the masses of ruins.

Mr. Thornton, referring to Malcolm, tells us "that north of the place (city of Mooltan) is the magnificent shrine of Sham Tubreeze, who, according to tradition, was flayed alive *here* as a martyr, and at whose prayer the sun descended from the heavens, and produced the intense heat from which Mooltan suffers, and for which it is proverbial." We doubt the propriety of admitting such legends into a book of reference; Malcolm at any rate should not have been the referee. Burnes, Masson, and Vigne all give the legend—the last referring to Malcolm, as to the Saint being a Soofi. Malcolm however does *not* mention Mooltan, but simply gives the legend of "Shems Tubreezee, who was sentenced to be flayed alive on account of his having raised a person that was dead to life." He wandered over the world, carrying his skin with him; but being excommunicated, was refused food. He found a dead ox, but being refused fire by man to cook with, he ordered the sun to descend, on which "the world (not Mooltan) was upon the point of being consumed, when the holy Shaikh commanded the flaming orb to resume its station in the heavens." In a place where, as Burnes tells us, the thermometer rises in an artificially cooled house in June to 100° of Fahrenheit, it may not be considered surprising, that a rude people should have a legend to account for the heat, though the fact is, that the thermometer rises quite as high at Sukkur, Ferozepoor and Lahore, at which places ninety degrees is no unusual temperature during the night in June. Burnes records the Persian couplet, written doubtless by one who had emigrated from the colder climes of the North West,

"Chuhar cheez hust, tookfujat-i-Mooltan,  
Gird, Guda, Gurma, wu Goristan,"

which may be rendered "graves, heat, beggars and dust are the four rarities of Mooltan." The same traveller tells us, that the forty thousand Mahommedans who reside in the city of Mooltan, are unmolested by the Seikhs.\* Trade is encouraged and protected. The Muezzin's cry is, how-

\* There is one exception, and it is a proof of either the policy or good feeling of Runjeet Sing, perhaps of both. The Kalora family, when driven out of Sindh by the Talpooris (the late Ameers), were provided with a rent-free estate, near Dhera Ghazi Khan. When the territory was subdued by Runjeet Sing, he continued the lands, almost uncurtailed, to the descendants of the fallen Princes, and Wood tells us, "No troops are quartered among them, and here the Mahommedan is even permitted to raise his voice in prayer."

ever, prohibited as elsewhere within the Seikh dominions. The mosques too are often polluted, and in the words of Burnes "in a verandah of the tomb of Shumsi Tabreezee, a "Gooroo" or priest of that (Seikh) persuasion, had taken up his abode since the conquest of the city." Such, as all over the Punjab, are the insults to which the Mahomedans are liable. In all other respects the faithful are as free as are the Seikhs or Hindoos, and a Mussulman in authority will as readily belabour one of the Khalsa, as he will a follower of his own prophet.

The slaughter of kine here, as throughout the Seikh dominion is prohibited under penalty of death, and the person, of whatever caste, who is even the innocent or accidental cause of the death of a cow, does not escape severe punishment. No persons, however, torture and abuse bullocks; and we have even seen the Sands, or holy bulls, that feed at large in the bazars and fields, unmercifully beaten, and even a leg broken, when the owner of a field of a grain could punish them unobserved; but yet the horror that is caused by the slaughter of kine is great. Within the last three years, every shop was shut at Almora, Amballa, and Loodhianah owing to the traders ascertaining that bullocks had been killed in those towns. Doulut Rao Sindia offered, when the treaty was being made, at the peace, to make a further grant of territory on condition of a clause being inserted in the treaty, that kine should not be killed in the ceded Pergunnahs. In the Mogul times, a favoured chief or trader occasionally obtained such grace, from the Mahomedan rulers, for his town or state; and the favor was highly estimated. During the late war in Affghanistan, when the Lahore Government gave aid in men, camels and grain, they would not furnish a bullock—not even on a guarantee that the cattle should not be slaughtered.

A word about Sawan Mull, the late able and respectable ruler of Mooltan, of whom we wrote a brief obituary notice in our last number. Indian names are so sadly murdered by English writers, that as Mr. Thornton (whose nomenclature by the bye is very good) does not mention the late Dewan, we may give him a further brief notice lest he be lost to fame in Mr. Masson's mention of "a Brahim Sohand Mull," or in Vigne's "Samun Mull." The late soobadar, or as he was usually called Dewan, Sawun Mull was not a Brahim, as Masson states, but a Khurtree—a mongrel sort of Chutree calling themselves of Rajpoot descent, but, in the Punjab, almost all employed as wholesale or retail dealers, or as writers. The *Mull* family, Mr. Masson might have known, are not Brahmins. In Hindostan we understand them to be Seraudi Bunyas. According to Sir C. Wade, Sawun Mull was originally a Mohurrer (writer) in



the Lahore Finance Office. After a time, he renounced the world and became a recluse—a very common trick at native Durbars, and one that told especially well with Runjeet Singh. After a time, Sawun Mull returned to Court, and was re-admitted to the service with increased favor.

We should be surprised to see a Downing Street clerk, or a Leadenhall Street linen-draper, appointed to the command of a corps of Lancers, or of a brigade of Infantry or Artillery ; but such appointments are every day made in the Punjab, where at this moment we see Adjoodea Pershad and Joda Ram, Ventura's and Avitable's dewans, commanding the brigades of those officers. So it was with Sawun Mull. "In 1823-4, when the Maharajah extended his authority to the confluence of the Punjab with the Indus, he appointed Sawun Mull to remain with a garrison of troops at Sitpur. While there, he applied to farm the adjacent territory extending to Shujabad, and gaining favor with his master for the zeal and ability with which he conducted the civil administration of those districts, in 1829, he was nominated to the Government of Mooltan, in which office I had an opportunity of observing the state of the cultivation, and from the reports of every class of the population, that his representation was well deserved."\* For twenty years the able dewan managed the country placed under his charge. An almost unexampled period for a renter or Governor to hold office in the Punjab, or indeed anywhere in the east ; and in this case especially extraordinary, as Rajah Dhyani Sing, the powerful minister of nearly all that period, was the dewan's bitter enemy, and often by covert as well as by open means sought his removal or destruction. We have, in former numbers, given some anecdotes in exemplification of Sawun Mull's character, and need, therefore, only say that he has left a fairer name, than any Governor who has for many a day ruled a province or district of the Punjab. He was strict, but not according to native notions, cruel ; he took from the cultivator and trader all he could take without killing the nest egg ; but he allowed no ravaging by murree or mazaree plunderers, or by more lawless Seikh soldiers. He kept both his own people and his wild neighbours in hand by combined energy and moderation. He was a man who knew when to be strict—when to be lenient. Contrasted with the ignorant, the faithless and ruthless spirits around him, Sawun Mull was a wise, and honest, and a merciful man. He was *so good* as to be held up as an example of integrity in the Punjab and its neighbourhood. He was not *so good* as to

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\* Sir C. Wade.

have been above taking advantage, fair or unfair, of an enemy. He was not *too virtuous* to have been a conqueror. Like Augustus, he would not have hesitated at crime to gain his purpose ; but like the same Augustus, when secure in authority, he would have wielded it for the welfare of his people. An oriental vice-regent has a difficult game to play. A bad governor may make a good sovereign. If the former would leave his children the fruit of his toils, if he would himself be safe for a day, he must oppress his charge, that he may bribe the court myrmidons. Sawun Mull extorted less, and bribed less than any governor in the Punjab. In short, Sawun Mull was one of those men who found empires. Had he lived, he must have played a conspicuous part in the approaching break-up of the Punjab empire. His son Dewan Moolraj, who has succeeded to his offices, is said to be a good and able man, and we trust will even improve his father's ways, and remember that the ruler's strength is in the wealth and security of his people. Domestic dissension, the curse of native courts, is however already at work against him, and may involve the destruction of the whole family. Who can calculate on the stability of any eastern establishment ?

At page 101, volume 1, under the head of Bhawalpoor, Dr. Lord is given as authority that "the Ghara is a sluggish, muddy stream." Now Lord appears only to have seen the river in the Bhawalpoor territory ; at any rate, a much better authority on the subject would have been Mackeson, who is elsewhere quoted, under the same head (Bhawalpoor,) and the fact is that the Sutlej is as rapid as any of the six rivers of the Punjab except the Indus (Sinde), flowing at from two miles, in the cold weather, to four and five miles per hour in the hot and rainy season. At page 104, Leech, in connexion with Masson, is given as authority that the dominant race in Bhawalpoor are Jats. Masson does erroneously so state at page 26, vol. 1., but Leech correctly says, "Buhawal-khan is by caste a weaver (kooree). A Persian manuscript now before us, giving a full account of the Bhawalpoor family, thus commences : "It is related, that Daood (David) Abassee was a man of note at Shikarpoor, his family was from Arabia, and followed the calling of weavers. Daood and his brethren were however mighty huntsmen and well skilled as marksmen." Thus fully confirming Leech's account in opposition to Masson's. Postans, moreover, the best authority on Sindh affairs, states in his Personal Observations : "The Jutts are a quiet inoffensive class, and exceedingly valuable subjects to the Sindh state," whereas it is notorious that the Daood-putras are most turbulent ones. After telling us who the Jutts are, Postans says, "the Daood-putras who inhabit

generally the country of that name in the North, are to be met with in various parts of Sindh."—Page 41, (*Postans' Observations.*)

At page 105, Mr. Thornton makes the rulers of Bhawalpoor to have "assumed the title of Khan;" what less could they have assumed? Half our table attendants being, or affecting to be, of Patan blood, call themselves Khan (Lord.) It would have been more correct to have said, that the chiefs arrogated to themselves the title of Nawab, as hundreds of others in Hindostan have done. So many of these gentlemen rose at once in the Dekkan, during the great Nizam-ool-moolk's time, that he ordered his servants to beat every Nawab coming into his presence with their shoes. Masson is given as authority that Bahawal Khan has "seven regiments of infantry, each containing 350 men, and having six field pieces; the latter are worked by 400 artillerymen." Now Masson's statement is hap-hazard enough, but to our reading Mr. Thornton here makes him more absurd than he really is. Masson's words are "to each regiment (which were previously stated to be seven) are attached six guns, which may suppose some four hundred artillerymen." Whereas from Mr. Thornton's statement, it would be inferred that there are altogether six guns, and that they are manned by four hundred gunners. We have seen Bahawal Khan's army and doubt if there are, or rather were, more than six field guns equipped, or if there were one hundred artillerymen, instead of four as surmised by Masson. The condition in which native chiefs keep their guns is notorious; a few large ones without ammunition, gunners, or any means of being used, are often considered sufficient to keep the populace and neighbourhood in awe. At Julalabad there was one such gun, called the *Kazee*, that used to be taken out into the plain by the Barakzyes, to administer justice on especial occasions of refractoriness. In Oude, such expounders of the law are to be seen in the court-yards of many Amils; but seldom or never are artillerymen attached to them.

The account of the Daood-putra army given by Major Leech, is we consider much more correct than that of Mr. Masson. The former tells us that the whole Daood-putra force is 12,000 men, including 2,000 regular infantry and 147 golundaz. Leech adds that not above three thousand could be brought into the field. Above, he himself tells us, that the father of the present Khan (Mahomed Sadick Khan, who received Mr. Elphinstone) took 8,000 into the action at Forgad, near Subzulkote, where though he won the day, he was obliged to surrender Subzulkote to the Sindians.

Late events on the N. W. frontier, as well as the position of Bhawalpoor, make it a place of much interest. A brief sketch of the country and of its history may therefore be here appropriately given. The annals of the family run thus—

The Daoodputras were (and are) one of the wild, stranger, tribes of Sindh. They claim descent from Abbas, the uncle of Mahomed, hence Daood, a leading man of the tribe, was called Abbasee. A weaver by profession, he was a robber-soldier by choice. About one century ago, he came into notice, at the head of twelve hundred of his brethren. His depredations were so extensive around Shikarpoor, that Ahmed Shah sent an army against him from Kabul. Unable to meet the royal force, he fled with his followers and their families into the desert, east of the Indus. They met a fakir who told Daood not to be discouraged, for his posterity should be princes. The tribe dug a few kutchas (without bricks) wells in the roe (desert) and awaited the arrival of their enemy, whom taking at advantage, they discomfited, and caused to retreat. Sadik Khan, the grandson of Daood, making a circuit, endeavoured to intercept the flying Affghans, but was himself taken prisoner and carried to Kabul. The tribe was however no more molested by Ahmed Shah, and after a time Sadik Khan was released and permitted to return to his family. Their fortunes now daily improved, the fakir's prophecy fulfilled itself, and out of the neighbouring states a principality was soon carved. The brother of Daood was a great warrior, his name was Gohur; from him the second great division of the Daoodputras called Guhrances has sprung. The immediate descendants of Daood taking the first rank are called Purjanees, from Peeruj, the son of Daood, who had four sons, the three eldest of whom Sadik, Bahawul and Koobarik Khan, successively filled the musnud, which they had contributed to raise. Bahawul Khan procured a royal sunnud from Delhi for the possessions the family had acquired from the neighbouring states of Bikanier, Jesselmere, and Mooltan.\* He founded the town of Bhawalpoor calling it after himself. Mobarik Khan succeeded his brother, and encouraged traders and cultivators to settle in his country. Having no child, he adopted Jafier Khan, the son of his younger brother Futteh Khan, who by the title of Bahawul Khan, succeeded him. The young Nawab was violently opposed by more than one pretender to the musnud, but after the usual scenes of blood, in such cases, at Eastern courts he established his authority, and enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. His son Sadik Khan received Mr. Elphinstone. The

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\* Portion of a note by Colonel Wade affixed to Leech's report on Mooltan,

present Bahawal Khan is son of Sadik Khan, and we believe it to be the established rule of the family, that the reigning Nawabs are alternately to receive the names, or rather titles, of Bahawal and Sadik Khan.

The Daoodputras are a particularly fine race of men—tall, stout and able-bodied, accustomed to the heats of Sindh; good marksmen and adventurous hunters, they possess many of the materials that form conquerors. Their rise, though much about the same time that so many sovereignties were established in India, was not exactly in the usual fashion of Hindostan. They colonized deserted wilds, and partly by sufferance, partly by conquest from their several neighbours, on both sides the Ghara, their principalities soon acquired strength and rose into importance. The great desert, however, interfered with their progress to the South, while North and East, the rising power of the Seikhs met them. They accordingly lost their possessions beyond the Ghara, though they long afterwards continued to rent districts in Mooltan, and retained the farming of Dera Ghazee Khan until the year 1832. The Seikhs constantly threatened them, even on the left bank of the Ghara, and they assuredly would have been absorbed by Rurjeet Sing, but for British protection. When it reached them, the territory extended 300 miles, along the Ghara, Punjab, and Indus, with an average breadth of about seventy miles. Not above a fifth of the (enclosed) area thus included is, however, cultivated or even culturable. The Roe, or Desert, is not always sand, but more generally a high, dry, stiff soil, so devoid of water, that nothing but stunted Jhund and babool trees (*Mimosas*) are produced. Water is only to be found at depths of 200 and 300 feet. The Desert\* appears to be gaining on the cultivated strip of ten miles along the river, and the periodical winds from the desert drive up heaps of sand, that form in various places, hillocks of 50 and 100 feet high. There are in different places traces of the channels of old streams, whose drying up has desolated an immense extent of country.

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\* It may be considered visionary to expect to be able to stop the progress of the Desert, but there can be no doubt that the desolating effects of sand drifts are to be partially obviated. We would suggest to the botanical world, the good that might be done by encouraging, in our dry soils bordering on sand beds, such plants as run out long fibrous roots forming a mat over the sandy soil. On the N. and N. W. coast of Ireland, where the wind blows across the Atlantic, we have seen miles of arable land desolated by the light sand blown from the shore. One gentleman whose estate had been thus deteriorated, offered a reward "to any one who could discover a plan to prevent the wind from blowing the sand." We never heard of any claimant for this prize but there, certainly, are means to prevent the sand being blown by the wind. On the coast we speak of, the Bent, a coarse dry grass, or rather reed, with long jointed fibrous roots, forms a strong matted coat, effectually keeping down the sand. Probably the Guinea grass might be found equally serviceable in India.

The country yields indigo, sugar, wheat, barley, and vegetables of different kinds. The fruits of Upper Hindoostan are produced in the gardens. Near the rivers, patches of luxuriant beauty are to be met with. We once found ourselves in, as it were, a lake of green sward, evidently the bed of an old stream, surrounded by a forest of Jhow shrubs (tamarisk), taller than our elephants. In a country where a tree is a rarity, and all around is parched, these forests of bright green tamarisk are very pleasant to the sportsman or traveller. The mirage extends over these plains. On one occasion in the Bhawalpooor territory, we saw a line of battlements before us, and could scarcely believe that the landscape was an illusion, and that we were miles from the nearest castle. The sun was near the horizon, and behind us, when looking westward, we saw a long line of turreted curtain, wall-flanked by towers. The whole totally unlike any fort in the neighbourhood. Our private authorities estimate the revenues of Bhawalpooor, before the late grant, at fourteen lakhs of rupees; of which four and a half are enjoyed by the relations and clansmen of the Nawab, in rent free and military tenures; four lakhs are expended on (what is called) the regular army, and the balance of five and half lakhs goes to the privy purse. The territory made over by Lord Ellenborough, we believe, yields about six lakhs, so that the present income of Bahawal Khan may be considered twenty lakhs, which by judicious liberality to traders and cultivators, he may easily raise to half a million of money, benefiting his subjects, no less than himself. The culturable portion of the territory being along the banks of great rivers, and intersected by the many streams (we have the names of twelve large ones before us) that flow from the Ghara and Punjnud, is capable of indefinite improvement. There is, however, little or no irrigation except from these streams, large and small. Well-water is scarce and often brackish. The climate is trying for foreigners, who seldom escape fevers, and are teased with swellings of the tongue and gums.

The Nawab is a keen sportsman, and for eight months in the year is in the desert, and on its borders, moving from one temporary village to another, roughly run up with grass and reeds. Bahawal Khan usually rides on a swift camel, and makes field sports the business of his life. He is generally followed by half, or more of his army, and by the majority of his Sirdars. On one of his excursions we fell in with him and were much pleased with his frank and manly manner. There was a decorum and at the same time simplicity about his rustic Durbar, that made more impression on our mind than the tinsel and silks of more holiday Courts. Eight hundreds troops, or there-

abouts, were drawn up to receive us, outside, and the Khan himself surrounded by nearly a hundred chiefs and petty officers, welcomed us at the door of his sylvan-shed, and courteously led us to his own large, soft, guddee, placed on the cloth-covered ground. We were seated at his right hand, while around and behind us, in positions, half sitting, half kneeling on the floor, the numerous Daoodputra and mercenary retainers attended in perfect silence. The conversation turned chiefly on hunting; when a grizzly grey-beard, behind the Nawab, was pointed out as the hero who, single handed, had killed a tiger. At parting we were presented with a beautiful long rifle made by the Khan's own gunsmiths. All went pleasantly at the interview, and, in our mind, we pronounced Bahawul Khan to be one of the pleasantest chiefs we had met. His country is not ill managed; very much better, indeed, than that of either of his neighbours of Sindh or Mundote. Bahawul Khan not only owes his existence as a power to our protection, but for slight services in the way of provisions during the Affghan war, Lord Ellenborough restored to him the Subzulkote and other lands wrested from his father by the Sindh Ameers. He has many reasons to bless the Company's rule, and *he is* thankful for the benefits conferred on him, and if judiciously treated, will probably continue a good friend to the British Government.

To return, however, to Mr. Thornton's work. Under the head of Bulti (page 120), we have, "Its greatest length which is about 170 miles, is from South-East; North-West its breadth not more than fifty or sixty. Its superficial extent is about 12,000 square miles." Now the above area should be the product of the average length and breadth, but taking the greatest length and breadth given we have  $170 \times 60 = 10,200$  instead of 12,000 square miles. Of this sort of error there are several examples in the volumes before us.

As Mr. Thornton is too lenient to Masson and others, so is he at times unduly severe to some of his authorities. In the same article, Bulti, (page 122) is an example of what we conceive unjust, or at least of unproved, objections. "The amount of population of Bulti, (Little Thibet, of which Iskardoh is the capital) has sometimes been preposterously exaggerated, being stated at 300,000 families, or, (if five persons be allowed to each family,) at 1,500,000 souls; a twentieth part of this amount, or 75,000 would probably be not remote from the truth. Such a supposition would rate the density of the population at a little more than six to the square mile." In the margin, Wade (Sir Claude) is given as the authority who has "preposterously exaggerated," but we are not favoured

with any grounds for the cavalier assumption of exaggeration. Mr. Thornton states at page 100, as already quoted of Bulti, that "Its superficial extent is about 12,000 square miles," and adds, "it consists principally of a valley." Now he has not only dealt harshly with Wade, but is himself materially in error in one of two points. Either Bulti does not consist "principally of a valley;" or if so, it must, according to all received opinions, contain more than six souls to the square mile, and would not improbably contain 120, as stated by Wade. All who have travelled in mountainous countries, whether in Europe or Asia, will have observed that, however barren and uninhabited the hills, wherever a valley opens out, whether of one or of a hundred square miles, *there* the population is as dense as, if not denser than in the adjoining low countries. A hundred specimens of valleys might be given in our own Himalayas. We lately counted the houses in three valleys of five, eight and twelve square miles, and estimating each house to have only four inmates, the population in those valleys is not less than (230) two hundred and thirty to the square mile.

Under another head we find "Iskardoh, the capital of Bultistan, is situated on an elevated plain, forming the bottom of a "valley embosomed in stupendous ranges of mountains. The "plain or valley of Iskardoh is nineteen miles long and seven "broad." This account is very different from what we have just quoted, "its superficial extent is about 12,000 square miles. It consists principally of a valley, having an average elevation of from 6,000 to 7,000 above the sea." In some parts of the above statement there is clearly an error; we pretend not to explain, but we should be inclined to suppose that Bultistan contains *several small* valleys, more or less like that of Iskardoh, and is occupied, by a population as near to Wade's as to Thornton's estimate, perhaps by thirty souls, instead of six, to the square mile.

At the next page (123) we have Wade again sneered at, though this time in company with Vigne. "Some have idly "supposed that the people of Bulti are descended from some "settlers of the army of Alexander, and that Iskardoh is a "corruption of Iskanderia or Alexanderia, but they might "as plausibly assign such a descent to the Esquimaux." Colonel Wade was not a traveller and only wrote second-hand, telling us not of a fact, but of a "tradition." There seems to us more reason to smile at Vigne's mode of getting out of his Alexanderian scrape than at his falling into it. The Mongolian features of the inhabitants of Bulti offer no proof that they may not at one time have been conquered and ruled by Greeks, or descendants of Greeks. As good proofs could be given that



London was never held by the Romans, or Constantinople by the Greeks. Out of the followers of Alexander who founded the Bactrian and other Asiatic empires, unquestionably but few were Greeks; and year by year, when intercourse with Greece had ceased, they must have deteriorated, as have the Portuguese descendants of Albuquerque, of whom a thousand years hence it may well be doubted, if their race ever held dominion in India. But to Mr. Vigne, as quoted by Thornton—

"Vigne, who at one time maintained the fabulous Greek origin of Iskardoh, in retraction states, that "Iskardo, Skhardo, or Kardo, as it is sometimes called, is obviously only an abbreviation of Sagara Do, the two floods or rivers." He then mentions, that the people of Ladakh call it Sagar Khood, and adds, "Sagara is an old Sanscrit word for the ocean; and in this case Sagar Khood may signify the valley of the great flood or river: *do* signifying two in Persian; and its cognate is added to the name Sagur, because the open space is formed by the junction of two streams, the Indus and the Shighur river."

Vigne's derivations are unfortunate; we have looked in half a dozen dictionaries for Sagur, and nowhere can we find that it means either flood or river—but simply sea, ocean.

Mr. Thornton tells us that, "two or three years ago Iskardoh "and the other strongholds of Butti were seized by Golab Singh, the cruel and rapacious Seikh ruler of Jamu." Golab Singh is not a Seikh but a Dogra Rajpoot, though in five places he is called by Mr. Thornton a Seikh.

Neemla, a small town rendered memorable by the defeat of Shah Soojah there, in the year 1809, by the Vizier Futteh Khan, is erroneously marked as about three miles east of Gundamuk, whereas, the distance is not less than seven miles, with an ascent too, just above Neemla, that makes it equal to ten miles of ordinary road. We have five times traversed the ground.

Did our limits permit, we would quote Mr. Thornton's description of the city of Lahore, although it contains several errors. Taking Masson as authority, he gives a somewhat exaggerated account of the strength of the place, and in two instances misquotes his authority. Mr. T. writes—

"Runjeet Singh ran a good trench around the walls, and beyond this constructed a line of strong works and redoubts round the entire circumference, mounted them with heavy artillery, and cleared away such ruins and other objects as might yield shelter to assailants."

The above gives a too formidable idea of the defences. Masson does not say that the glacis is cleared away, but, that Runjeet Singh "*is removing* the vast heaps of rubbish and ruins." This *removing* has been going on, or rather orders have yearly been given for the removal of the mounds, ever since our acquaintance with Lahore commenced; and yet there is, to this

day, rubbish and ruin enough to give cover for an army, in several directions, nearly up to the edge of the ditch. Mr. T. states the city to be on a small stream flowing from the Ravee, and about two miles east of the main stream. Masson's words, however, are, "situated within a mile of the Ravee river." In noticing Shah Dura, or the tomb of the Mogul emperor, Mr. T. tells us on the authority of Burnes—

"There is a tradition that Aurungzebe demolished a dome that formerly covered this mausoleum, in order that the rain might fall on the tomb of his grandfather, in reprobation of his licentious conduct; but Moorcroft supposes that the building was never finished. This beautiful monument is about three miles west of Lahore."

Moorcroft is probably correct. A professedly religious Mussulman would hardly destroy his own grandfather's tomb. Aurungzebe was not himself so moral as to have been able to cast stones at his ancestor. He lived in open concubinage with his own sister Roshnera Begum, as his father Shah Jehan did with her sister—his own daughter. We are aware of no licentiousness of Jehangeer equalling such iniquities. The latter monarch, it is true, caused his father (Akber's) minister Abul Fazel to be assassinated; but the faithful, doubtless, considered the deed justifiable, if not meritorious, on account of the heretical opinions of the minister. When safe from his father's anger, Jehangeer boasted of the act. On the authority, also, of Burnes, Lahore is stated to have a smaller population than Amritsur; this is not the case, unless indeed when the camp is at the holy city; but independent of the troops and their train we consider Lahore to contain from 100,000 to 120,000 souls (as given by Thornton,) and Amritsur, about 80, or 90,000. Mr. Thornton calculates that, "as it is larger than Lahore, its population is probably about 120,000." His whole account of Amritsur would give an impression of the sacred city being a grander and richer place than it really is. Since the Gooroo-Matas, or Seikh national assemblies, ceased, it has lost much of its importance. The Gazetteer notes it as having "spacious bazaars, furnished with the richest wares, it has also considerable manufactures of coarse cloths and inferior silks, &c." The authority for this statement is marked, "Moorcroft, Vol. I, page 114." Having, in our rambles, through Amritsur, seen neither spacious bazaars nor the richest wares, we referred to Moorcroft, and found no mention of one or other at page 114. He, however, states at page 110, that "at Amritsur shawls are largely manufactured, but they are of an inferior quality." After thrice examining all that Moorcroft says of Amritsur, we have been unable to discover a word about bazaars or wares, or indeed any item of the local trade, except that of shawls. Leech is also quoted on the same

subject in this manner, "viii, 3, page 79;" which we take to mean report 8, paragraph 3, page 79. We have carefully read the whole report, and find no other than incidental mention *that bills* are given at Mooltan on Amritsur, and that dupattas, silk, cochineal, assafoetida, horses, gold, carpets and cotton fabrics are exported from Mooltan to Lahore and Amritsur. A third authority is quoted on the same subject, viz. Burnes; "Trade of the Derayut, 98-101;" but, on reference, we simply find Amritsur mentioned as one of the places with which the traders of Dera Ghazee Khan communicate. Mr. Thornton omits the information that Amritsur is a walled town. He might have certified that its defences being of mud, lower and thicker than the brick work of Lahore, the former city is the most defensible. He tells us that,

"The most striking object in Amritsur is the huge fortress Govindghur built by Runjeet Singh in 1809, ostensibly to protect the pilgrims, but in reality to overawe their vast and dangerous assemblage. Its great height and heavy batteries, rising one above the other, give it a very imposing appearance."

He should have written *near*, instead of "*in* Amritsur:" the nearest approaching faces of the citadel and city being five or six hundred yards apart.

Govindghur is certainly imposing from its height and treble lines of defence, one within the other; but, as the outer face does not exceed (400) four hundred yards, and there are treble breast-works, the inner area must be very confined. Against Native troops without mortars and howitzers, such fortifications are very formidable; but if ever a European army enters the Punjab, they should mask the city of Amritsur, cut off the citadel, shell, batter and storm the latter, when the holy city, as well as Govindghur, would be in their hands within three days of the batteries being opened.

The following is the description given of the village and tope of Manikyala; Mr. Thornton as usual furnishing us with the contradictory statements and deductions of travellers.

"Manikyala, in the Punjab, a village remarkable on account of an antique monument, or tope (as such objects are called by the natives), of great dimensions, said by the people of the neighbourhood to have been built by a prince of the name of Manik.\* According to Elphinstone, the height from the summit of the artificial mound on which the tope is situated to the summit of the tope itself, is about seventy feet, and the circumference is one hundred and fifty paces; but Court states the height to be eighty

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\* Hough remarks: "The difficulty in the execution of this work consists in the great size of the stones, which it would be difficult to remove from a quarry." Moorcroft observes, "They were, however, but pebbles, compared with the blocks we had seen in the ruined buildings of Kashmir, and the workmanship was equally inferior."—(ii 311.)

feet, and the circumference from three hundred and ten to three hundred and twenty feet. There does not appear to be anywhere so complete a description of this monument as that given by Elphinstone in the following words:—"The plan of the whole could, however, be easily discovered. Some broad steps (now mostly ruined) lead to the base of the pile round the base to a moulding on which are pilasters about four feet high and six feet asunder; these have plain capitals, and support a cornice marked with parallel lines and beadings. The whole of this may be seven or eight feet high, from the uppermost step to the top of the cornice. The building then retires, leaving a ledge of a foot or two broad, from which rises a perpendicular wall about six feet high; about a foot above the ledge, is a fillet formed by stones projecting a very little from the wall, and at the top of the wall is a more projecting cornice." Above this complex basement, which may be taken to be from sixteen to twenty feet high, rises a dome approaching in shape to a hemisphere, but truncated and flat near the summit. "It was built of large pieces of a hard stone common in the neighbourhood (which appeared to be composed of petrified vegetable matter.) mixed with smaller pieces of a sandy stone. The greater part of the outside was cased with the forementioned stone cut quite smooth." These stones are about three feet and a half long,\* and one and a half broad, and are so placed that the ends only are exposed. Elphinstone and his party considered it decidedly Grecian. Moorcroft, on the contrary, is of opinion that "it has not at all the character of a Grecian edifice. It has a much greater resemblance to the monumental structures of the Tibetans." Erskine, as quoted by Wilson, observes of it: "Although its origin is unknown, yet, in its hemispherical form and whole appearance, it carries with it a sufficient proof that it was a magnificent daghpo or Buddha shrine, constructed at a remote period by persons of the Buddhist faith." In 1830, General Ventura, in the service of Runjeet Sing, sank a perpendicular shaft in the centre of the platform on the summit, and at various depths found repositories, one below another, at the intervals of several feet. These contained coins of gold, silver, and copper, boxes and vessels of iron, brass, copper, and gold. The copper coins were considered to be some of those struck by the Indo-Scythian kings, Kadphises or Kanerkes, who are thought to have reigned about the latter part of the first and the commencement of the second century. There are fifteen other topes in this neighbourhood. One of these opened by Court, another officer in the service of Runjeet Singh,† was found to contain a coin of Julius Cæsar, one of Marc Antony, the Triumvir, and none of a much later date. The country around bears traces of having been formerly very populous, and the inhabitants assert that it was the site of an immense city. Burnes and Wilson consider it the site of the Taxila of the Greeks, the Taksha-sila of the Hindoos, the greatest city between the Indus and the Hydaspes (the Jailum). North-east of this place is a mausoleum surmounted by a dome, the burial-place of the Ghikar chiefs, who formerly held this country. Lat. 83° 32', long. 73° 9'.

Mr. Elphinstone is, we think, mistaken, while Moorcroft and Erskine are correct when they pronounce the mound to be a Buddhist shrine. Similar structures must be familiar to every traveller among the tribes who profess Buddhism. We have

\* Prinsep considered that this tope was constructed about the middle of the fourth century; but Cunningham maintains that its construction is probably to be dated about the commencement of the Christian era.

† According to Vigne (ii. 190), it is Muni-Kyala, "the city of rubies."

seen such, both in the Burman Empire, and among the Himalayan hills.

Burnes gives a peremptory opinion, that Manikyala is "the *Taxilla* of the Greeks, the *Taksha-sila* of the Hindoos ; but we cannot follow the reasoning by which he arrives at this conclusion. His words are, "I was much struck with the position of Manikyala, for it stands on a spacious plain, and the *tope* is to be distinguished at a distance of sixteen miles.

Various surmises have been thrown out regarding this site, but I do not hesitate to fix upon it as *Taxilla*, since, Arrian expressly tells us that 'that was the most populous city between the Indus and Hydaspes ;' which is the exact position of Manikyala"—the sequitur being that, because *Taxilla* was the most populous city between the Jelum and the Indus, two thousand years ago, therefore Manikyala marks the site of *Taxilla* ; not that *it is* a large city, or that *there is* any proof of its having been so ; but, because "it stands on a spacious plain, and the *tope* (in which Greek coins had been found) is to be distinguished at a distance of sixteen miles." There are a hundred such plains between the two rivers ; there are many such *topes* ; and there may have been a score of populous cities, each having at least as good claims to have been *Taxilla*, as Burnes parades in favor of Manikyala. This specimen alone shews how little value is to be set on Burnes's antiquarian researches. Vigne, as usual, gives an etymology, making the words Muni-Kyala to mean, "the city of rubies." He does not say in what language, and we would venture to suggest that as good derivation would be, "*the Saint's tomb*." From Muni, a holy man, and Kal, death, मणिक्काल. Such structures were certainly Buddhist tombs, or at least cenotaphs ; and however absurd our derivation may be, it is at least as reasonable as Vigne's. Both shew how easy it is to trace fanciful etymologies. Manikyala bears no especial marks of having ever been a great city ; but when writers are looking for facts to bear out their preconceived theories, it is no difficult matter for the imagination to mislead the reason into very strange mistakes. Burnes evidently inferred that Manikyalla was once the site of a great city, from the fact of there being on that spot a monumental structure, of remarkable size, containing Greek coins ; and because the neighbourhood shews many similar mounds. But if one such *tope* is, *per se*, proof of the site of an ancient city, all other such mounds must bear like testimony in favor of their respective localities, and there consequently must have been a large city in the middle of the Khybur pass, and in other, nearly as unlikely places, Moorcroft likewise saw symptoms

of Manikyala "having been formerly very populous, and "the inhabitants assert that it was the site of an immense "city." These intelligent travellers, had they not gone prepared to find wonders, would hardly have detected *such evident* marks of former greatness in the ruins about Manikyala. Perhaps, however, it was our own stupidity that was to blame, for in that spot we could see nothing more indicative of great antiquity or former splendour, than in a score of other places that have fallen under our observation.

Burnes does not seem to us more fortunate in determining the site of Nicoc, and Bucephalia, than when he decides on the position of Taxilla. Nor are we at all satisfied by his reasoning regarding the scene of Alexander's engagement with Porus. Mr. Elphinstone considered the battle to have been fought at Julalpoor; Burnes, near the village of Jelum, because Quintus Curtius writes "of sunken rocks." Burnes adds, that the notice "of islands in the stream, projecting banks, and waters dilated" by the same ancient writer is much in favor of Elphinstone's hypothesis. Rocks may last, but, "islands, projecting banks, and waters dilated," vanish and vary from day to day, and year to year, and it is altogether idle to argue on points of ancient geography from the general depth or breadth of Indian streams, or even from their course, unless where they run through a rocky channel. Still more futile is any hypothesis which assumes that islands and projecting banks existed centuries ago, where they now stand. Burnes says that the River Jelum is "fordable at all times, except in the Monsoon."\* The fact is, that in the month of January, when nearly at the lowest, camels have to be unladen before they can cross the stream, and at all seasons, as already observed, the fords are dangerous, zig-zag, and constantly shifting. We doubt whether the river is at any season fordable, opposite Julalpoor, or for more than four months of the year, near the town of Jelum. At no time is the passage there safe without a guide.

Mr. Thornton states on Hough's authority, that "Julalpoor is one of the great passages over the Jelum, on the route from Hindoostan to Affghanistan." As Hough could not have been at Julalpoor himself, he must have written from hearsay, or have copied from Burnes, when he says, "The high roads from the Indus pass this river at two places, at Julalpoor and Jelum."† *If there is* a high road by Julalpoor, we must have missed it on our travels, for such a path, if path it can be called, as we traversed direct between Manikyala and Julalpoor, we have

\* Page 57, Volume 1.

† Ibid.

not often seen. Across the Dhunnee plains, the road is smooth, except where occasionally broken by ravines; but, for twenty miles west of Julalpoor, the country is a confused mass of hills, a very "Ossa on Pelion heaped." The line of country is little, if at all traversed, except when large bodies of troops are sent to the Indus from Lahore; on which occasions the columns move by different routes, to save the main line by Jelum from utter spoliation. There were only two ferry boats at Julalpoor when we visited the place.

"Lughman," North-West of Julalabad (and familiar to British ears as the valley which contains the Fort of Budiabad, where the captives that escaped the Kabul massacre were confined) is erroneously stated to be "forty miles long, thirty miles broad," and to be bounded on the east by the Koom or Kana\* river. Mr. Thornton thus evidently includes in Lughman the two districts of Beysoot and Shewa, but the eastern boundary of Lughman is a ridge of hill running N. and S., from the N. W. corner of Shewa to the Kabul river, opposite the town of Charbagh, thus making Lughman scarcely average ten miles broad instead of thirty. The map is also in error, making it appear as if the Kooner river is the eastern boundary of Lughman.

Under the head of Kabul Province, Mr. Thornton, referring to Burnes and Masson, says "the principal towns are Kabul, the capital, Istalif, Ghuznee and Julalabad," but at page 295 Julalabad town is more properly shewn to be in the province of the same name. The reference on this subject to vol. 1, p. 407 of Masson, is erroneous; at this place there is no mention of Julalabad. The reference to Burnes is also incorrect. He does not state that Julalabad is in the province of Kabul; but, writing of the extent of Dost Mahomed Khan's authority, says "the eastern portion, or Julalabad, is a recent addition of territory."

At page 294 vol. 1, the article describing the province of Julalabad, seems to us replete with error. There is a province called Julalabad, of which a valley of the same name forms one portion: Mr. Thornton confounds the two. We give his own words, lest we should do him injustice:

"Julalabad.—A province of Afghanistan, so called from the name of the principal town. It is a valley forming a natural sub-division of the great valley of Kabul, being closed on the north by the Siakh Koh and the mountains of Lughman, on the east by the Ali Boghan hills and the Khyber range, on the south by the highlands of Nungnehar, on the west by the Kurkutchra range. It is in its greatest extent about sixty miles in length from east to west, and thirty miles in breadth from north to south, and lies between lat. 34° 10'—34° 40', long. 70°—71°."

\* Though called by Thornton the Kooner or Kanna river, its name is the Kaskote.

Eight authorities are quoted, but they have been sadly misunderstood. Masson distinctly calls the Sofed Koh\* the southern boundary; and though Wood does separate Nungnahar from Julalabad, he says, "I have, however, heard the word used to designate the valley of the Cabul river, and believe it the more correct definition of the two." MacGregor also lays down the correct boundaries, but Mr. Thornton, though he quotes all these writers, gives us the boundaries on three sides inaccurately—the Liah Koh *and* the mountains of Lughman as the northern boundary: which cannot possibly be true of both; for considering Kuj as in Lughman, the Siah Koh is its southern boundary. It is not very clear what other mountains of Sughman are alluded to; whether the N. the E. or western hills; the two last, running nearly *perpendicularly* from the Cabul river, can hardly be called the N. boundary; and, if the north hills are meant, these must be forty-seven miles from Julalabad, by Mr. Thornton's own account, as he makes Lughman forty miles long, and as Darunta, the south east corner of Ruj, is seven miles from the town of Julalabad, which would make the Province of Julalabad seventy miles broad. Neither can the eastern boundary of Julalabad be both, "the Ali-boghan hills, and the Khyber range," as they are nearly thirty miles apart. Nor can Nungnehar be in any sense the southern boundary of the province, but simply of the plain or valley of Julalabad. Wood states "the length of the plain of Julalabad is twenty-five miles, and its width does not exceed four miles." This account, as well as the boundaries given, are quoted by MacGregor, who therefore, with full opportunity for detecting error, must have considered it essentially correct. Mr. Thornton further affirms what is only partially true, that "the district is beautiful, and in general fertile." There are many mistakes in the following passages which conclude the account of Julalabad:

"In the desert tract of Butte Kot, at the eastern extremity of the valley, the heat sometimes produces a violent and fatal simoom. Men or beasts exposed to its influence are struck dead, and their frames so disorganized, that the limbs can with little effort be torn from the body. The valley is not only productive and well cultivated, but densely peopled and crowded with villages and castles—the latter rendered necessary by the turbulent and rapacious habits of the Affghans. In regard to natural advantages, it is altogether a delightful tract, the beauty of the vale being contrasted with the sublime appearance of the stupendous snow-clad mountains which surrounded it. Masson, an eye-witness, observes, "Few countries can possess more attractive scenery, or can exhibit so many grand features in its surrounding landscape." The revenue is now calculated to amount to Rs.



300,000. It is stated by Moorcroft to have been at one time 652,000, but under so unsettled a government as that of Afghanistan, such estimate must be liable to great inaccuracy."

The Buttee Kote simoom is little more than a bugbear. The heat reflected from a belt of stony desert seven or eight miles broad, is great, but the best proof that it is no worse at Buttee Kote than on other similar routes is, that Kafilahs passed almost weekly backward and forward, during the whole of the hot season that General Pollock remained at Julalabad. We have ridden at a stretch, in the month of June, straight from Dakka across to Julalabad, starting after breakfast, and thus crossing the simoomy belt at the very hottest time of the day, and were no worse for the trip. The scenery is not always beautiful—in the desert, for instance, and the scarcely less rocky country west of Julalabad, towards Gundamuk; there are, however, valleys of exquisite beauty on both sides the Cabul river; especially under the Sofed Koh, where, beneath the shade of noble trees, on the banks of a stream, all around looking fresh and lovely, with stupendous mountains towering over his head, the traveller may for a few hours fancy himself in fairy land. A single march will dispel his illusion. Mr. Thornton says, "the valley is not only productive and well cultivated, but densely peopled and crowded with villages and castles." Estimating the province at sixty miles long by thirty broad, (as given by the *Gazetteer*.) which at the very least it is, the revenue stated by Mr. Thornton of Rs. 300,000 was not much for it to pay; but the sum mentioned by Moorcroft is more probably correct, viz. Rs. 652,000, which is indeed almost the very amount paid to Shah Soojah in the year 1839 and 1840, he having received, including Lughman, Rs. 646,273. The *Gazetteer* makes one remark as to the population, but from a manuscript statement by Major MacGregor, now before us, we calculate it to be 116,465 souls.

Estimating the area at 2,000 square miles, (Mr. Thornton makes it 1,800) the above total would give only fifty-eight souls to the square mile, a direct refutation of the assertion that the province is "densely peopled." The whole number of villages amount only to 209. Castles, or as we should call them forts, abound in some directions, though they are seldom more than mere towers, and never consist of more than four turrets, connected by a curtain 30 or 40 yards in length. In other quarters, however, there are miles of country without a vestige of building or of cultivation. The castles generally protect villages and are considered as portions of them.

\* According to MacGregor, (not quoted by Thornton,) the principal valleys subject to the Governor of Julalabad are Goshta,

Kama, Shewa, Shegee, and Beysoot,\* north of the Cabul river. While south of the same are Julalabad, Chardeh, Butteekote, Besh Bolak, Dakka, and the numerous rich vales under the Sofed Koh, occupied by the Sinwaries and Kojianeas. What Wood surmises, MacGregor states to be fact, viz : that the above named country, (Julalabad province,) " is the valley of the Cabul river, but it is generally termed Nungnahar," meaning nine rivers, by which the valley is intersected. Except the Cabul river the Kashkote, (called by Mr. Thornton the Kooner river) and the Soorkh Road, the nine streams are mere rivulets, chiefly fed by the melting of the snows of the Sofed Koh. The Cabul river is navigable by boats from near Peshawur ; but above that city, rafts, formed of inflated hides, only are used. They are safer than they appear, and, except at two or three rapids and whirlpools, the voyager moves pleasantly along. The return journey is made by the raftsmen on foot, carrying the hides out of which they have allowed the air to escape. We once made the voyage on one of these rafts, from Julalabad to Peshawur, with great comfort, in about fifteen hours, being at the rate of nearly ten miles an hour. The mountain streamlets are led along the ridges and sides of the hills, and are often brought for miles, by artificial means, for purposes of irrigation, sometimes on raised aqueducts, and often in kureezes, or small tunnels. Wherever there is water under the hills, there are to be found many of the shrubs and wild flowers of Europe, with mulberries, pomegranates, grapes and other fruits. Indeed, nothing can exceed the loveliness and repose of some of the small valleys of Affghanistan, and they seem even more beautiful than they are, as being generally approached over stony belts of wilderness, and surmounted by dark, grim hills, occupied by grimmer inhabitants.

In the province are nine distinct tribes split into numerous sub-divisions. One fourth of the population are Khoogianeas, who inhabit about Gundamuk, Kujjer and Futteabad ; another fourth are Taujauks, scattered throughout the country ; a sixth are Momunds, occupying both sides the Cabul river towards the Khyber. The Shinwaries, who constitute another sixth, reside in the rich valleys under the Sofed Koh, towards Besbolak, and claim kindred with the occupants of Lohargi in the Khyber. The Hindoos are estimated at one twenty-third, (23d) of the

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\* The inhabitants of the beautifully rich valley of Beysoot are chiefly of Arab descent. The daughter of the petty chief was seen by Ahmed Shah Abdallee, then a mere follower of Nadir Shah, as she went down to the river for water ; he was struck with her beauty, and married her. She was the mother of Timoor Shah and grand-mother of Shah Soojah.

whole, and are scattered about, though chiefly to be found in large villages as Besh Bolak, Bala *Bagh*, Kujjer, &c.

In noticing the town of Julalabad, Mr. Thornton thus summarily flings aside a very accurate authority. "The amount of population is doubtful, but probably does not exceed 3,000, though Havelock estimates it at 10,000." The actual census table of Julalabad town has not fallen into our hands, but we have been permitted the use of several returns made by Major MacGregor. One gives the total of the nine roods (or districts,) of Julalabad as 23,293 houses, on which datum, allowing four persons to each house, he makes the total population to be 93,172. Considering that the multiplier should have been five, we have made the population 1,16,465. We have also lists of the villages of each rood, with statistical tables of produce, and shewing the total number of houses in each rood. But the total houses of the nine roods only amount to 20,259 instead of 23,293; while in the list of the Soork rood, in which the town is situated, the name of Julalabad has no statistical data opposite to it, shewing that a separate paper, (which has not fallen into our hands,) had been devoted to its statistics. The difference, then, between 23,293 and 20,259 or 3,034 houses, is evidently the number intended for the town of Julalabad which, at five souls to the house, would give 15,170 instead of 3,000, as pronounced by Thornton, or 10,000 as estimated by Havelock. A further proof of the correctness of our inference is, that the Soork rood has altogether only 2,827 houses, while among its twenty-seven villages are the large ones of Futtehabad, Balabagh, Sooltanpoor, Neemla and Charbagh, containing among them at least 1,200 inhabitants. It is therefore impossible that Julalabad could have been, with the twenty-one other villages, entered as having *only 1,627 houses*. We have explained this point fully, because we like excessive squeamishness and distrust of a respectable authority, as little as we do overweening confidence in less-trustworthy testimony. We never counted the houses of Julalabad, but from memory should say *it could not* have contained less than 10,000 inhabitants during Shah Soojah's last occupation of Affghanistan. No great number either, when we remember that the Suddozye kings usually made it their winter quarters, and that the provincial governor always resided there. In considering such questions, it must always be borne in mind, that there are no hamlets, and but few small villages, in Affghanistan; the people congregating together for mutual protection. There is not a village on the same side of the Cabul river, within five miles of Julalabad, which must therefore contain the cultivators of at least thirty square miles of arable land

Julalabad town was built by the emperor Akber, surnamed Jual-ud-deen, and called after himself. MacGregor gave a romantic account of its many vicissitudes, but its best and most permanent interest will always be mingled with the narrative of General Sale's memorable defence, in which MacGregor himself bore so worthy a part—

When treachery's storm was sweeping past  
And woes fell thick as hail,  
They gave their war cry to the blast  
And buckled on their mail  
Hemmed in by foes, and daily mocked  
With hope of coming aid,  
Their fortress gates they faster locked  
And poured their cannonade.  
Days upon days, to weeks had risen  
And weeks to months had swelled,  
While in their foe beleaguered prison  
His Court grim Famine held.  
Theirs was the soldiers' noblest worth  
And proud we all may feel,  
To claim a brotherhood of birth  
With those stern hearts of steel.\*

But to return to the Gazetteer—

Kapurthulla, the chief town of the Aloowala Sirdar, the descendant of the great Jusa Sing Kulal, who helped Runjeet Sing's family to the throne, is thus absurdly described, on the authority of Von Hugel. This gentleman evidently did not understand what was said to him in Hindustanee, but he seems to have delighted in differing from other travellers :—

"Kopurthella, a town in the Punjab, is about ten miles from the left bank of the Beas, and on the route from Loodiana to Lahore. Here Futteh Sing, the half-brother of Runjeet, built a magnificent street, a palace, and a temple, and near the town commenced and almost completed a mansion, in so massive a style, that he incurred the suspicions of the Maharajah, and was in consequence obliged to fly. Lat. 31° 24', long. 75° 21'."

According to our judgment, the name ought to be spelled Kapeirthulla. The town is one of some consequence, and contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is the seat of Nihal Sing Aloowala, as it was of Futteh Sing his father, who *was not* the half-brother of, nor any relation to Runjeet Sing, but who changed turbans with the Maharaja and thus became *his sworn brother*. The Maharaja, like his neighbours the Affghans, was most dangerous when he multiplied his oaths of friendship; he courted the Sirdar as long as he required his aid, and when he could do without him, tried every device to absorb the Aloowala possessions, as he had done those of almost all the other chiefs of the Seikh confederation. We have seen the "massive mansion" at Kapurthulla : there are a dozen more substantial at Lahore.

\* See lines that appeared in the *Delhi Gazette* for April 1842, slightly altered by the Author.

The crime of the Sirdar was, and is, that he has wealth, power and influence, and that he obtains a half sort of protection from the British, for his cis-Sutlej possessions.

On searching the Gazetteer for Kooner, the only mention we found of that name was as follows :—

"Kama River, so called from a district of that name through which it passes, bears also the name of the river Kooner, from a town on its eastern bank. It rises in the valley of Chirtal, in the Hindoo Koosh, and flowing south-west, traverses Kafiristan, whence it proceeds still in a south-west direction into Lughman, a province of Affghanistan, and falls into the Kabul river at its northern side, in lat. 34° 24', long. 70° 35'. Though about two hundred and twenty miles in length, it is, according to Moorcroft, of no great size."

This is a very inadequate notice of a country conspicuous in Affghan annals. The river is more generally known as that of Kashkote. The town of Pushoot, the capital of the province of Kooner, is about fifty miles north by east of Jelalabad, on the road to Bajour. The province has long been prominently before the public, as having been one of the most troublesome portions of Shah Soojah's dominions. It is now one of the most unmanageable under Dost Mahomed, whose son, Mahomed Akbar, has lately been again plundering and dispossessing in that quarter. To illustrate Affghan local history, we shall offer a few words regarding the family of the chiefs of Kooner, as a sample of the unholy feuds that have long distracted Affghanistan. The facts we give are chiefly drawn from a manuscript report by Major MacGregor.

The chief of Kooner, in the days of the Emperor Baber, was a Syud. A prince in his own strong country and a descendant of the Prophet, his alliance was considered worthy of the Emperor, who gave him his daughter in marriage. Hence, perhaps, the head of the family has assumed the title of Padshah or King of Kooner. Syud Nuzcef, the eighth in descent from Baber's daughter, had nineteen sons; of these several died early; one (Azeem) became mad, another (Jumal) turned ascetic; another emigrated to Hindostan, and the rest remained at home, to cabal against one another, and cut each other's throats. The downfall of the family is attributed to Syud Nuzcef having espoused the cause of Shah Mahmood when he was contending with his elder brother Shah Zuman for the kingdom of Affghanistan. A force under the Syud turned the scale against the unhappy Shah, and led to his capture and the eventual loss of his eyes. When Shah Soojah succeeded to the throne, he determined to avenge the wrongs of his brother Shah Zuman, on the chief of Kooner, and accordingly sent a force against him under Akram Khan Urzbegee. Unable to meet the royal

troops, Syud Nuzeeff fled to the hills, whence he negotiated with Akram Khan, with whom he was on friendly terms. The latter accordingly, accepting a bribe, and taking one of the sons of Syud Nuzeeff as an hostage, abandoned Pushoot, which he had seized. Through Akram Khan's influence at Court, the Syuds remained unmolested, until the Barukzyes had put down the Suddozyes. But when Mahommed Zuman was Governor of Julalabad, he demanded the cession of the valley of Shewah, one of the most productive districts of Kooner; it was refused; a fight ensued, when the Governor's troops were worsted and himself wounded. This victory, however, proved ruinous to Syud Nuzeeff, bringing down on him the whole force of Mahommed Azeen Khan, the then head of the Barukzye family. Pushood was captured, and Syud Nuzeeff himself, seized and sent to Peshawur. Azeem Khan, leaving his son Akram Khan as Governor, proceeded to Peshawur and endeavoured to conciliate the old Syud, even offering him a maintenance of Rs. 40,000 per annum. He refused all pecuniary aid, and only asked permission to visit the tombs of his ancestors, near Kooner. This was granted; he went, and having performed the usual ceremonies, took advantage of his vicinity to Kooner, slipped into the valley, raised his standard, was joined by his people, and closely besieged Akram Khan. The young Chief held out stoutly, until reinforced from Kabul. On the arrival of succour, a capitulation was proposed by the garrison, offering to Syud Nuzeeff the restoration of his principality, shorn of the valley of Shewa, on condition that he should nominate as Deputy his own son Buhaoodeen, the same whom Akram Khan Urzbegee had taken away as a hostage in Shah Soojah's time. The old Chief unwillingly consented, but dissensions soon arose between the father and his son, the Deputy. Their broils were fostered by the Barukzyes, who at last encouraged Buhaoodeen to seize and imprison his father. He did so, but soon released him; when the old man acquired the mastery and drove his son out of the country. At this time, with the exception of Mahaoodeen Khan, all Nuzeeff Khan's sons were in open or secret rebellion against him, and they regarded their brother with no good will, because of his fidelity. Accordingly one of the rebel brothers, by name Fakir, took advantage of the old Syud's temporary absence, to get rid of Mahaoodeen, by stabbing him in open Durbar. The murderer was banished, but soon obtained a small government under his too indulgent parent. Syud Fakir, however, was not touched by this forbearance; he continued his intrigues and soon returned to Pushoot, seized and imprisoned, and finally killed his father, though aged eighty years.

The rival brothers now contended with the parricide, but latterly the several parties merged into two, one for the double murderer Fakir, the other for Buhaoodeen. Each of these two brothers entrenched himself near the town of Pushoot, and for *eight years* carried on a desultory warfare, each party collecting the revenues of the country occupied by his own troops. In 1834, Dost Mahomed Khan interfered in favor of Buhaoodeen, assigning to Fakir for his maintenance the village of Charbagh, five miles west of Julalabad, where the man who had in cold blood slain, first his brother and then his father, resides in honor to this day. Buhaoodeen soon incurred Dost Mahomed's displeasure, by harbouring a Frenchman by name Carren, who the Ameer believed to be an English spy, and whose surrender he repeatedly demanded. Meeting with a refusal, Dost Mahommed ordered his son to proceed, and by any means in his power, to seize the recusant Buhaoodeen. Mahommed Akber made no scruple of swearing friendship, enticing the unwary Syud to Julalabad, and then imprisoning him. He next marched to Pushoot, and attacked Buhaoodeen's two sons, Nizamooden and Husamooden. The former fled and joined Prince Timoor, who with Colonel Wade, was then advancing against the Khyber. Dost Mahommed placed Syud Hashim, one of the other brothers in charge of the province, on his promising to pay 28,000 Rs. annually. In January 1840, Buhaoodeen was reinstated by the British authorities, a change which stirred up the petty war of Pushoot—a campaign not yet forgotten perhaps by many of our readers and mournfully remembered\* by the friends of those who there shed their blood.

The son of the murdered Mahaoodeen is Syud Ahyaooodeen, (whose name must be familiar to many who were in Affghanistan) a handsome, gallant, young fellow, who took a warm part in favor of the British during the Kabul insurrection. He joined Captain Mackeson at Peshawur, and was the main instrument in supplying the Julalabad garrison with cash; on one occasion, proceeding himself with 500 or 1,000 gold coins as far as Gohsta, and thence sending two of his own people into the besieged town in the face of the enemy. He accompanied General Pollock's army to Kabul, and when Sir Richmond Shakespeare made his me-

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\* As usual in Affghanistan, and in India too, an inefficient force was sent against Pushoot. A breach was effected on each side of the gateway, but an inner gate was found closed. An attempt to blow it in failed, though the gallant young Pigou, (who afterwards fell before a like insignificant fortress) was the Engineer. An excellent young officer, Collinson of the 37th N. I. was killed with nineteen men, and double the number wounded. The garrison having repelled the attack, shortly after evacuated the place, repeating exactly the occurrences of a hundred such assaults, in Hindostan and Affghanistan.

morale move on Bamean for the rescue of the prisoners, Syud Ahyaooden was by his side, in worthy fellowship with the bold and venturesome knight. Ahyaooden is now an exile, living on the bounty of the British Government near Peshawur. Not long since, we read in the Akhbars, that he had found some treasure, and being ordered to attend before the Seikh Governor Tej Singh to surrender the cash, he replied that he knew no master but the British Government. The Seikhs, and indeed all demi-savages, respect such fearless characters as Ahyaooden. The Syud is the best Affghan of our acquaintance; he neither flatters nor swaggers. His manners are simple, and his conduct won the regard of many officers at a period when he was "among the faithless faithful only found." We therefore wish him long life to enjoy his pension.

Such murderous acts as those of the Syud Fakir are common in almost every family in Affghanistan. Each has its tale of blood. We narrate one other: Azeez Khan Ghyljie, one of the notables whom Sale thrashed on the 5th April, had a feud with his cousin Mayoodeen, (the brother of Gool Mahomed of local fame,) for carrying off his widowed mother, though with her own consent. He at last patched up a truce, and invited the offender and his brother Hyder to a feast in a house, beneath which he had previously lodged a quantity of powder. At a signal the host left the apartment and, abandoning several of his *friends*, he blew up the whole party. He was begged to give his own partizans time to escape; but refused, lest the intended victims should thereby take alarm.

Among them was only one old man, wise enough to suspect treachery in time to make his escape. We give his narrative as related to us by Dr. Robertson, the intelligent Surgeon of H. M.'s 13th Lt. Infantry. "As we were riding along" said that gentleman, "we came to the ruin of a house which, with all around, bore the appearance of an old explosion. I remarked to my companion that the house must have been blown up. "Oh yes!" he replied, "and I barely escaped being one of the victims. That was the house in which Azeez Khan got rid of his cousins and their friends, aye, and of some of his own, at the same time, Sahib; I'll tell you how it was. We were all seated, and had taken our fill of *such* pilaos and soups. After dinner the pipes were brought in, and we were comfortably smoking, when I thought I observed a smell very like gunpowder. I whispered to the man next me, that I hoped there was no trap laid for the company. He was too well satisfied with his dinner and with the passing hookah, to move or to take alarm, and told me to be quiet. Presently I caught another



"whiff of sulphur, and, observing that Azeez Khan had just glided out, I said not a word but moved off too. My horse was at hand, I mounted, and when a little way from the house, set off at speed ; but before I had quite lost sight of the building, I heard a report that told me what had happened. Look, Sahib, there are some of the blackened timbers lying yet, and that great hole is where the powder was buried. Not one of the guests escaped except myself." The old man thought only of his own good fortune, and blamed not Azeez Khan.

Oaths on the Koran, and guarantees of Syuds and Peers, are the usual modes of decoying adversaries to their doom. Dost Mahomed was an especial adept in the art. Affghanistan is overrun, even worse than India, with religious mendicants, making a trade of what they call religion, but generally themselves among the worst of the land. We were once told by an Affghan, when speaking on the subject, "oh, yes Sahib, the Peer-Zadahs, Akhoon-Zadahs, and Sahib-Zadahs are all Haramzadahs," which may be interpreted, that "the Sons of Saints, Teachers and Chiefs are all blackguards."

Our readers may grumble at the circuitous route by which we have been conducting them to Kashmir, but we could not find in our hearts to hurry over the intervening country, or pass without examination the sign-posts and way-marks set up by former travellers. The remainder of this article shall be devoted to Kashmir itself, combining a portion of what is said by Mr. Thornton and some of his authorities, with such particulars as we have been able to collect from other quarters. The modern writers from whom Mr. Thornton has chiefly derived his information regarding Kashmir, are Forster, Moorcroft, Von Hugel, Jacquemont. and Vigne ; while Bernier and the Ayceen Akberry have also been freely used. The articles under the several heads of "Kashmir," "Serinagur," its capital ; "Jelum," the great river that runs through the valley ; though each containing some contradictions, incidental on the discrepancies among the authors quoted, are on the whole, all very interesting, and we recommend them to the attention of our readers. The compiler must indeed have been perplexed by the extraordinary disagreement he found in the testimony given by eye-witnesses, not only on points of opinion, but on matters of fact.

Vigne, who saw all things with an artist's eye, was delighted with the scenery of Kashmir. He is enthusiastic in his remarks on its varied beauties of wood and water, of mountain and of dell. Old Bernier described the valley to be an Eden, and Abul Fazel reports it as a garden in perpetual spring. Yet Jacquemont, fresh from the arid plans of Hindoostan, though

allowing the bounding mountains to be grand, could see no beauty in the filling-up of the picture. Moorcroft considered Kashmir unhealthy, while Hugel pronounced it one of the most salubrious countries in the world. Vigne writes of sudden storms, causing the foam to arise on the lake; but Hugel declares that the air is perfectly still. The last-named author also tells of the extraordinary *dryness* of the air, in a country bounded by cloud-catching mountains intersected by streams, and whose staple produce is rice? Jacquemont could not, during the hot weather, cool himself, even in the snow-fed lake,\* in a land where snow lies a foot or more deep for four months of the year, where it rains for two months more, and which is constantly liable to showers. Vigne and Moorcroft agree with the geographer Rennell that the valley was originally the bed of a lake, but Von Hugel treats their combined opinion with scorn, and will have none "of the traditions of the Scribes" (Brahmins.) In our judgment the Baron is here as wrong as he is positive. He is nearer right when he says that the horses of Kashmir are small but active, and of great bottom, even though Moorcroft, a Veterinary Surgeon, speaks slightly of them. We are the more surprised that the latter gentleman should have done so, as he was one time the advocate of the Hindostani *Tattoo*, declaring with truth, that they were more blood animals, than any breed of horses in the country.

In the face of almost universal opinion in favor of the physical appearance of the people, Jacquemont despaired of ever surrendering "to the oriental proverb about the beauty of the Cashmerian women."† Considering, however, that the proverb has even reached Europe, we are surprised to find the judicious Foster speak disparagingly on the subject. This may have arisen from his having seen only unfavourable specimens among the poorest, and most squalid class, with whom he himself lived a sort of involuntary prisoner, in constant alarm of being forcibly detained as a gunner by the Affghan governor.

Yet most of those who have emigrated from Kashmir to Hindostan to seek refuge from Affghan and Seikh exaction, are people of this very class: and, despite their filth and laziness they are a strikingly handsome race, with a most remarkable resemblance to each other. The Kashmirian profile, especially, has a defined and well-proportioned character, very different

\* Jacquemont's affectation was the more absurd, in that he had just before travelled through the Punjab in no very princely style, with the thermometer in his tent at least twenty degrees higher than he could have had it, in the hottest weather in Kashmir.

† Page 123, Volume 2, *Journey in India*.

from the unfinished clumsy outline, common to Hindustanees. There is something, too, in the gait of a Kashmiree woman that Mrs. Siddons might have studied. Often have we remarked at Loodiana, Simla, and other towns on this side the Sutlej, where Kashmiree emigrants have settled, one of these women, perhaps old and wrinkled, certainly filthy and ragged, yet stalking along the street with the air of a queen, and adjusting her threadbare drapery into folds fit for a statuary. Their dress is very picturesque. Ample paijamas,\* over which they wear a loose large shirt, almost as wide as a surplice, fastened by a button round the throat, and hanging in folds to the knees, with wide open sleeves, which, when not tucked up, fall over the hands. The shirt is generally fastened round the waist by a bright red girdle, called Dentanoo. The hair is combed together to the back of the head, and there plaited into a massive braid ornamented with shells, tassels, coins or jewels according to the means of the lady. A light cap, or rather fillet, of scarlet cloth, is worn, rising three or four inches perpendicularly from the forehead, giving height and dignity to the well-set head. To the inner rim of this fillet is gathered a long muslin sheet or veil (called poochee) which generally hangs back to leave the arms free, but which when drawn round the shoulders is wide enough to cover the whole person.

The men's dress is not less picturesque. A large and gracefully folded turban, wide paijamas, and long, closely fitting vest, over which they generally wear a loose choga, or cloak. The head is kept closely shaven, but the beard is of luxuriant growth. The shoe commonly worn in Kashmir is made of a grass called Poolhurroo. Our remarks, as already said, have been made chiefly within the British provinces, and probably may be mainly applicable to the Mussulman Kashmirees, but what we have personally remarked makes us very sceptical as to Von Hugel's assertions quoted by Mr. Thornton :

"All the Hindoos of Kashmir are Brahmins, who are, in a physical point of view, distinguished from the rest of the population by darker complexions, a circumstance the reverse of that observable in other parts of India, throughout which that caste is remarkable for the comparative lightness of their hue. The native Brahmins in Kashmir informed Hugel, that subsequently to the establishment of Mahometanism, the number of their caste was by oppression reduced to eleven, and that it was recruited by the settlement of 400 Brahminical families from the dark-complexioned natives of the Deccan."

For many years we have been acquainted with Kashmiree Brahmins, and always considered them remarkably fair-complexioned. While we write, we have one at our elbow; he is not darker

\* The Hindoo women do not wear paijamas.

than many Europeans, much fairer indeed than most Spaniards. He is an acute and well-educated man, and yet when we asked him about the legend of the immigration of his ancestors from the Dekkan, he replied he never heard of such an event. We have also consulted two original manuscripts and all the published accounts of Kashmir, but can nowhere find any hint corroborating the statement of Von Hugel, who evidently misapprehended what was said to him on this and many other subjects. The majority of Hindoos in Kashmir are Brahmins, and call themselves pundits, but wherever Brahmins are to be found, there must necessarily be inferior castes, springing from concubinage and mixed marriages.

The last discrepancy we propose to notice is that regarding the pillars of the Jumma Musjid or great mosque\* at Sirinagar. Moorcroft circumstantially tells us—"The number of pillars is "three hundred and eighty-four, the intervals are usually considerable. The columns are formed of an assemblage of "square blocks of deodar, about a foot in diameter, laid at right "angles to each other, so that each face presents a succession of "butts and sides, or to speak more technically, a bond of "alternate headers and leaders; the blocks are probably secured "together by pins, but these are not seen exteriorly."† While Vigne, as quoted by Thornton, as decidedly states—"The foundations are of stone, but the roof of the surrounding cloister, "or interior, is supported by two rows of pillars, three "hundred and ninety-two in all, on plain stone bases, each "pillar being formed of a single deodar tree, about thirty feet in "height."‡ Mr. Thornton, though putting Moorcroft's account in the text, throws his mantle over Vigne in a note. Moorcroft, however, not only enters into particulars, but gives the reason for the singular mode of building: it being with advertence to the frequency of earthquakes. We therefore suspect that Vigne only jotted down the number of pillars on the spot, and trusted to memory for the rest of his description. He is too honest a man for us, for a moment, to suspect any intentional misrepresentation.

And now we gladly close our ungracious task of fault-finding. Mr. Thornton's literary merits are so well known in England, that his statements must not be allowed to pass unanalysed, lest his name should give currency to error. As an historian, his merits have already been canvassed in this Review; and, as on that ground too, we were obliged to question his opinions and

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\* This mosque, Moorcroft says, is capable of holding 60,000 people.

† Pages 120-121, volume II.

‡ Page 240, vol. II.

statements, we are the more anxious to do justice to the claims he unquestionably possesses.

In compiling the *Gazetteer*, he has evidently spared no pains, and we are satisfied, has never wilfully misled his readers ; but he has dived for facts in the dark, and has filled his basket indiscriminately with rubbish and with pearls. We began by asserting that without some personal experience as a traveller, no geographer is competent to separate the false from the true, on modern questions of topography and statistics. We do not blame Mr. Thornton for not possessing this advantage ; but we regret that, in its absence, he should have employed much labour and research, which might have been bestowed more advantageously.

Our diminishing limits forbid us here to pursue the tempting game of philological discussion—

" To chase  
A parting syllable through time and space,  
Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,  
Through Gaul and Greece, and into Noah's ark."

We therefore forego all controversy respecting the derivation of the name "Kashmir," and will not even attempt to settle the important question, as to whether the valley was originally drained by a demon or a god. Existing appearances confirm the local legends that it was the bed of a lake, until its waters narrowed into the Jelum river, forced a passage through the Baramula pass, in the Pir Punjal range, into the plain of the Punjab.

Abul Fazel tells us that, in the time of Akber, the Soobah of Kashmir was "composed of Cashmeer, Pehkely, Bhembher, Sewad, Bijore, Kandahar, and Zabulistan. Formerly it had Ghuzneh, but now it has Cabul for the capital." In the introductory notice of the twelve (and afterwards fifteen) Soobahs of the Empire, "Cashmeer" is not named, but "Cabul" is, shewing that the Soobahdary was more generally known by the name of its capital, Cabul. During the Mogul times, the valley of Kashmir had generally an officer of rank as Governor, some times more or less dependant on the Soobahdar of Kabul or Lahore, but more frequently reporting direct to Delhi. The great Ali Murdhan Khan, whose name is preserved by his bridges, aqueducts and remains of canals, was for thirteen years Governor of Kashmir. His utilitarian philanthropy makes us almost forget that, when holding the viceroyalty of Kandahar for the Persian King, he sold his charge to the Delhi Emperor. Under its Mogul Governors, as under its ancient Kings, the ruler of Kashmir's authority was limited to the plain surface of

the valley, or it extended over the rude tribes nestling among the surrounding hills, or sometimes it even included circumjacent Rajahs and Chiefs, according to the strength and character of the Hakim (ruler) of the day.

We purpose here, however, to restrict ourselves to a brief description of the Valley of Kashmir. It is bounded on the north, by Little Thibet; on the south, by Rajawur, Jummoo, and Ramnugger; on the east by Kishtawur and Ladak; and on the west, by Pukli and Pūnch; according to Thornton, it lies between 33° 15' and 34° 30' N. L. and 73° 40' and 75° 30' East longitude. It is an elevated region, rising about 5,600 feet above the sea, and embosomed in stupendous mountains, which tower above the valley from three to nine thousand feet. On the north, these hills are extremely steep and craggy, with ragged precipices, down which large cataracts rush. To the south and south-west the heights slope more generally towards the plain, and are clothed with fine forests. For a great portion of the year, these mountains are covered with snow.

The elevated ridges encircling Kashmir are indented by twenty-seven known passes, of which eleven are practicable for horses. The three principal passes into the Punjab are the Paramula, being the bed of the Jelum river, the Pir Punjal (through Bimber and Rajawar) and the Banihal opposite Jumoo, and Ramnugger.\* The Seikhs, when invading Kashmir, took light guns slung on poles and carried by men, through the Barimala pass. The Emperor Akbar three times entered the valley by the Pir Punjal route, and Bernier accompanied Aurungzebe by the same route.

The mountain chains are almost entirely of igneous origin; several small basaltic hills are scattered over the valley. Primary formations are seldom to be found, but blocks of granite are scattered over some of the passes. Sandstone, clay and pebbly conglomerate cover many of the mountain slopes.

The valley forms an irregular ellipse, the outline of which is broken by several projections, and by a concave indentation to the north, opposite the city of Sirinagur. The greatest length, from the crest of the eastern to the crest of the western hills, is one hundred and twenty-five miles; the least is ninety miles. The greatest breadth is sixty-two, and the least, thirty-eight miles, making the average length of the valley, from the summits of its girdling mountains, one hundred and seven miles, and its

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\* Pir Punjal pass is about 12,000 feet above the sea.

Banihal	Do.	9,000	do.
Baramula	Do.	8,500	do.

average breadth fifty miles. The area of the valley will therefore be 5,350 square miles. The level alluvial portion may be estimated at 1,491\* square miles, but there are likewise many small elevated plains and terraced sides of hills affording good arable land and excellent pasture. The soil is generally light and porous, readily absorbing the snow and rain. The air is therefore comparatively dry, very much more so indeed than might be anticipated from the quantity of water that falls during the year. Snow usually falls from the beginning of December until the middle of March, and sometimes lies two feet deep. During April and May there are continual falls of rain.

The valley is now divided into thirty-six Pergunnahs ; formerly the eastern division was called Meraj ; the western, Kamraj, the chief towns are, Sirinagur, the capital ; Islamabad, Shupeyon, Baramula, Pampar, Sopur, Bijbahar and Shababad.

The houses are usually three and four stories high, and have often terraced roofs, covered with earth and planted with flowers. The brick-work of the buildings is largely mixed with timber frame-work as a precaution against earthquakes which are frequent and violent. The lower stories are devoted to the cattle ; the upper to the families.

The population is now estimated at only 200,000 souls, and is stated to have been thus reduced, within the last twenty years from 800,000 ; but, great as has been the misery suffered, we are inclined to doubt the extent of the reduction. We would estimate the present population at between three and four hundred thousand souls.

We have already given our opinion of the people ; the general character they bear is a strange mixture of good and bad ; the first inherent, the last probably the effect of long oppression. They are well formed and have handsome features, often with blooming cheeks, aquiline noses, fine white teeth, and large dark eyes. The women are in great request throughout India and the Punjab, as dancers and singers. Men and women are

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\* Bernier calls the valley 30 leagues by ten or twelve ; Forster says 80 miles by 40 miles ; Hamilton (in his Hindoostan) gives the length, including mountains, 110 miles ; breadth, 60 miles. Mr. Thornton gives length, 120 ; breadth, 70 miles ; but he strangely estimates the extreme area at only 4,500 square miles. Von Hugel gives the extreme area 5,000, and the bottom of the valley 75 by 40 miles. The area of the level alluvial tract, according to the lengths and breadths given by Hugel, Vigne and Moorcroft are respectively 1,725, 2,250 and 500 square miles ; from which, by what process we know not, Mr. Thornton deduces the said level surface to be 2,000 square miles. Our estimate of 1,491 is derived from an average of the three. Moorcroft's of only 500 miles is clearly too little, as Vigne's is probably too much ; but the best practical surveyor could not be expected to guess at any thing like the exact quantity of level ground lying in thousands of detached portions and separated by ravines, rivers, hills, &c., &c.

light-hearted and good-humoured; witty and ingenious and extremely fond of pleasure. They are good mechanics and skilful artificers. The men are very able-bodied, and as porters, carry loads of 150 pounds weight over the highest passes. They are however cowardly, quarrelsome, litigious, filthy, and extremely immoral; and among nations of liars, they are famed for their mendacity; they have in short, the vices of slaves. The Mahomedans in the valley are considered to be about eight times as numerous as the Hindoos. The Suni sect prevail. The Hindoos of India consider all Kashmir as holy ground, and pilgrimages are made to the several shrines in the valley. The Mahomedans are all either immigrants from India, Persia, and Afghanistan, who came with the various conquerors, or the descendants of forced converts from Hinduism. The same game is said to be now again playing,—the insurrectionists forcing all Seikhs and Hindoos that fall into their hands to abjure their respective faiths under penalty of death.

The valley is generally salubrious; but in low spots, at particular seasons, feverish miasma arises. Latterly the cholera has extended to Kashmir, but the valley is free from most of the violent epidemic diseases that afflict other countries, and on the whole, may vie in salubrity with any country in the world. In the cold weather the thermometer seldom falls below 30° of Fahrenheit, and in the hottest weather, during July and August it rarely rises to eighty. The average temperature of the year is about fifty-five. By ascending the surrounding hills any desired temperature may be obtained; from the mountains, innumerable cataracts and streams come down and swell the Jelum and other rivers which intersect the whole valley, giving ample supplies of water for irrigation and the means of water conveyance from one end of the plain to the other.

The level of the Jelum river, which conduces much to the prosperity of the valley, is generally above that of the low alluvial tract, so that its waters can be easily applied to irrigation. There are three principal lakes and many small mountain ones, the city lake called "the Dal" (or "the lake") adjoins the city on the N. E. side and joins the Jelum by a channel two miles long. The lake is six miles long by four broad, the Manasa is the most beautiful lake in Kashmir. The Wulier lake is about twenty miles by nine wide, and is, in fact, merely an expansion of the Jelum.

The staple produce of the country is rice, on which the poor classes chiefly subsist. The Singhara, or water-nut, which grows at the bottom of the Wulier lake, is also a main source of livelihood to many; the nuts are eaten raw, or are either boiled or roasted and then reduced to flour and made into gruel. Sixty thousand



ton weight of these nuts, feeding 20,000 persons are stated (by Thornton) to be annually grown on the great lake, a portion of the valley having a rich loamy soil, produces large quantities of excellent saffron; wheat, barley, millet, maize, and vetches are also grown, but to no extent. Large quantities of oil seeds are also grown. Most of the plants, fruits, flowers and forest trees of Europe, are to be found in the valley or among the neighbouring hills. Cucumbers and melons of excellent quality are produced in floating gardens in the city lake.

Iron of good quality is found in abundance; lead mines have also been lately worked. The people talk of silver and gold, but *have not yet* discovered their localities.

The zoology of Kashmir is not rich; the principal wild animals to be found are the black and brown bear, the wolf, leopard, jackal, fox, otter, stoat, ibex, wild-goat, musk-deer, and several other kinds of deer. There are many birds of prey, vultures, eagles, falcons, hawks, and also herons, which furnish the small feathers, so much prized by the Seikhs for plumes. Geese, ducks, snipe, woodcocks, jays, nightingale, and many small birds also abound. Sheep and goats of good quality are plentiful, and are eaten by those who can afford animal food; the latter by Hindoos, both animals by Mahommedans. The kine are poor and little encouraged. Asses and mules are numerous. A fine breed of dogs, as large and powerful as Newfoundlands, are employed to guard the flocks against wild beasts. Fish in great abundance and of various kind are procurable.

Moorcroft gives a very interesting account (at chapter 3, part 3) of the staple manufactories of shawls, leather work, lacquered ware and fire-arms: all have much fallen off, and trade is now almost at a stand-still.

The revenue of the country has been very much over-estimated, perhaps owing to the fact that the Kashmir rupee is only equal in value to nine (instead of sixteen) annas of the Company's coin. The present proceeds of the valley are not above twenty-five lakhs or £250,000 per annum, and the local expenses must absorb at least half that sum, though the Seikhs, trusting too much to the effeminacy and cowardice of the population, keep up a very slight garrison.

The language of the people is a dialect of the Sanscrit, but is written in the Devanagri character. It contains many Persian words.

There is nothing like an authentic history of Kashmir prior to the middle of the sixteenth century. Its early fabulous legends are too meagre and incoherent to admit of any satisfactory translation into the language of fact. Abul Fazel, indeed, tells

us of two hundred and twenty-six native monarchs, previous to the conquest by the Mogul emperors. One hundred and ninety-four were of the Hindoo and Budhist persuasions. Lists of the several dynasties (except of the first which numbered fifty-three princes) are given in the Ayeen Akbery, but as the reigns of ten monarchs are stretched over five hundred and ninety-two years, we cannot regard these tables as establishing anything beyond the bare fact, that successive independent native monarchs, during many centuries, governed Kashmir.

Tradition, as usual, preserves no medium characters, but exaggerates the tyranny of tyrants, the virtues of virtuous princes. We have thus in Kashmir, as elsewhere, conquerors who outdid Alexander, and cultivators of peace who outrivalled the combined wisdom and justice of Solomon and of Noorshirwan. As in modern days, the conqueror, the legislator, the man of peace, and the man of war, each had his turn. An early monarch took such pleasure in witnessing the sufferings of animals, that when an elephant in his train once fell down a precipice, and in its agony uttered doleful cries, the delighted Prince ordered a hundred others to be precipitated from the same place for his amusement. During the reign of another king, a great rock blocked up the course of one of the rivers in the valley. The workmen were unable to remove it, and gave over the endeavour in despair; "a voice was heard proclaiming that, if a virtuous female would lay her hand upon the stone, it would disappear." Woman\* after woman was brought, but the rock remaining unmoved, "the Rajah put to death the wives for their incontinency, their children for being bastards, and the husbands for permitting the wickedness, till at length three millions of persons were massacred." The miracle was at length performed by a potter's wife. A good Vizier, who had been crucified by his sovereign, rose from the dead and succeeded to the throne. One monarch gave away eleven years' revenue to the poor. One king of Kashmir ruled over all Hindoostan. Several conquered westward and southward. Rajah Sultadut "conquered Iran, Turan, Fars, Hindostan, Khatai and almost all the rest of the habitable world." Such are the materials of the early annals—foreign war and domestic tyranny, with an occasional instance of profuse and reckless liberality.

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\* Four years ago some convulsion of nature precipitated a rock into the bed of the Attock (Indus), so as to block up the channel of that river. For some weeks or months the stream was stopped, till at length the accumulated waters forced for themselves a passage, carrying destruction to all before them for miles on either side of the river. The damage thus caused, may be estimated from the one fact, that the flood rose thirty feet or more under the fort of Attock.

From the specimens, however, that still remain of ancient buildings, of great extent and magnificence, as well as from the many proofs of former exceeding population, we may infer that Kashmir, under its native sovereigns, enjoyed at least an average share of the chief blessings of peace and justice. But the tremendous mountains on the north proved no barrier against Thibetian invasion, and the passes of the south and west admitted the Moguls, Affghans, and Seikhs. Each have in their turn desolated its fair fields, and, for nearly three hundred years, have treated this rich and beautiful country as the step-child of their professedly parental governments.

Thirty-two Mahommedan princes reigned in the country, previous to its conquest by the Emperor Akbar. The last Hindoo king was a prince of little Thibet, who had subdued Kashmir: he appointed Shahmeer, a Mahommedan officer of the late Rajah, his Vizier, and was by him converted to the religion of Islam. The king dying soon after, the Vizier Shahmeer, assumed the name of Sultan Shumshaoodcen, married his master's widow, and seized the throne. The Emperors Baber and Humayoon each sent armies to Kashmir, were at first successful, but failed to establish themselves there. The arms of Akbar were defeated in two campaigns, but, aided by treachery, he at length made good his footing in Kashmir A. D. 1591. The Emperor Akbar thrice visited it, and Jehangceer, Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe each made triumphal progresses to the valley, enjoying for the hot season its various pleasures. The traveller Bernier accompanied Aurungzebe, and is loud in his praise of the beauty of the country and of its people.

The last Mogul governor, by name Kassim Khan, son of a previous Vicegerent, threatened the lives of some of the local Chiefs. They fled to Lahore to Jehan Khan, then governing the Punjab for Ahmed Shah Abdali, gave him full information concerning the passes, and in the year of our Lord 1752, led a force under Abdoolah Khan into the valley. The Mogul Governor fled, without a struggle. Abdoolah Khan plundered the country; extorted cash from all who could pay, "leaving nothing movable in the capital city." He then returned to Lahore, after a stay of six months, during which time he raised the revenue from thirty-six (36) to forty-five (45) lakhs of Rupees, leaving Sookh Jewun, a Hindoo, as Governor.

Sookh Jewun ruled mercifully, but it was for his own sake. During nine years he paid no revenue; and, trusting to Ahmed Shah's having more urgent employment elsewhere, he at length assumed the entire sovereignty of Kashmir. He entertained 40,000 Seikhs, Dograhs and Hindostanis, and prepared to

defend his usurpation. The Shah, being at length aroused, sent Noorodeen Khan, with a strong force, against Sookh Jewun. The prestige of victory was on the side of the Affghans. They were also poor and hardy, while the troops, long located in Kashmir, had lost their soldierly qualities in the luxury and effeminacy of the valley. Sookh Jewun however gave battle, was defeated, taken prisoner, and deprived of his eyes. Noorodeen succeeded to the viceroyalty. He governed the province fairly, and paid his dues to the king ; a combination of liberality and obedience that has rarely been found in Eastern, and especially in Kashmircan Governors. As a reward he was, in two years, superseded. His successor on whose account he had been thus dishonored, made friends on the spot, but instead of remitting the tribute to Kabul, sent the Shah a Koran, with a humble message that the holy book was all that remained of the revenues of Kashmir, after paying the expenses of the army and of improving the country. Noorodeen was again sent with troops to displace the rebellious viceroy, and again for two years, was faithful to his trust and merciful to the people. But when he heard that he was to be once more superseded, and that by an enuuch, he left the valley under charge of a Deputy, and proceeded to Court to plead his own cause. The Deputy collected a large force and declared independence.

For the third time was the good Governor sent with an army and once more, rescued the country from an usurper. For two years more, he was permitted to hold the Government, but was finally removed in favor of the same eunuch who had before been promised the appointment. The palace minion was soon ousted by a hardier soldier named Umur Khan, who for six years kept the valley on his own account, and bequeathed it to his younger son Azad Khan. Amed Shah was now dead, and his empire had fallen into the feebler hands of his son Timoor, who long submitted to the insolence of Azad. Kashmir had been gradually recovering the spoliation of Abdoolah Khan, but Azad Khan renewed the worst days of its worst tyranny. He especially oppressed the Hindoos, who fled from his yoke in great numbers to Hindoostan. At length Timoor Shah sent a large force against the Governor, under his elder brother Moor-teza Khan. The royal army was defeated ; many prisoners were taken, put into boats, and sunk in the lake to terrify future invaders. The Shah however appointed Muddud Khan, a bolder leader, to head his next army. He was joined by many refugees, the victims of Azad Khan's oppression. The tyrant was surprised, and fled to Punch, closely pursued by a detachment under Moola Guffoor. Azad Khan being refused

support by the Punch Raja, committed suicide, but had not expired, when his pursuers came up, and wreaked their revenge for past cruelties, by tearing out the wretched man's eyes. Moolla Guffoor, who was the son of a Seikh captured and converted by Ahmed Shah, governed Kashmir well for a year, when he was, at his own request, relieved.

Seven Governors then rapidly succeeded each other, in scarcely more than as many years; one only, Jooma Khan, holding the reins for six years, with moderation and justice. At length Shah Zeman sent his Vizier Shere Mahomed to settle the country and appoint a Governor. The Vizier selected Abdoola Khan who ruled righteously for several years, and then, leaving his younger brother Atta Mahomed as Deputy, went to pay his respects at Court. The Shah forthwith seized and imprisoned the Viceroy, and sent Moola Mahomed Khan with an army against the deputy. A rajah who was friendly to the old Governor intercepted Moola Mahomed in Kashmir. Zeman Shah was soon afterwards defeated by Mahmood Shah, who released Abdoolah Khan and sent him back to his Government. Remembering past royal doings Abdoolah Khan now strengthened himself, enlisted soldiers from the surrounding hills and from Hindostan, seized Rajawaur, Punch, Kishtawur, Pukle, Little Thibet and Dhumtour, and received tribute from many Rajahs and Chiefs who had heretofore been independent. All this time he made no remittances to the Kabul Sovereign, who accordingly sent his Vizier against him. Two battles were fought, in both of which the Governor was defeated, and shortly after died. Sher Mahomed appointed his own Son Atta Mahomed as Governor, and, returning himself to Affghanistan, was soon after put to death by Shah Soojah.

Atta Mahomed governed moderately for six years, during which time Affghanistan was convulsed by the rival claims of the several descendants of Timoor Shah. Shah Soojah was at this time enticed into Kashmir and imprisoned by Atta Mahomed and his brother Jehandad Khan, who had obtained considerable influence in the province of Peshawur, and acquired possession of the fort of Attock. The Minister, Futteh Khan Barukzye, now advanced at the head of a considerable force to recover Kashmir, but hearing of the preparations made by Atta Mahomed, he obtained an interview with Runjeet Singh, then in the full flush of victory, and requested the co-operation of a portion of his army. The Maharajah, who would not have desired a better opportunity of feeling his way into the happy valley, gladly agreed, and deputed his able

minister Dewan Mokhum Chund, with a considerable force to aid Futteh Khan. The combined army advanced, and Atta Mahomed, doubting the fidelity of his troops, made no opposition. With a view of conciliating the Dooranies, he released Shah Soojah and treated him with great respect, but the followers of the Shah all joined Futteh Khan. Atta Mahomed then surrendered at discretion, and was taken, with all his property, to Kabul by Futteh Khan, who left his own brother Azeem Khan governor. Shah Soojah joined the Seikhs. Jehandad Khan who had fled on hearing of the captivity of his brother, sold the Fort of Attok for two lakhs of rupees and a Jagheer to Runjeet Singh. Azeem Khan governed Kashmir for six years, and oppressed the country fearfully, raising the revenue to eighty lakhs of rupes.

The purchase of Attok was much resented by Futteh Khan, but Runjeet Singh declared that it was caused by his own breach of faith, in not fulfilling the terms of their agreement, and paying the expenses of Dewan Mokhum Chund's contingent. This dispute ended in a battle, where the Maharajah was completely successful, and found encouragement for his further designs. He made his usual unscrupulous arrangements, gained over several of the hill Rajahs and subdued others, till at least he judged his schemes ripe for an advance on Rajawaur. Azeem Khan boldly met the Seikh army and completely defeated it, obliging a retreat to Lahore. Two years after, (A. D. 1819,) Azeem Khan hearing of the cruelty practised on his brother Futteh Khan by Prince Kamran, left his brother Jubber Khan as Deputy, and himself proceeded to Affghanistan.

The Maharajah, who had been baffled but not discouraged by one defeat, now took advantage of the Governor's absence and that of a portion of his army, again to send troops against Kashmir, under command of Misr Dewan Chund, Hurree Sing-Nuloo, Futteh Singh Man, Juggut Sing, Khooshyal Sing, Sham Sing and others of his ablest officers. Jubber Khan made a weak and ill-arranged defence, was himself wounded, his troops were dispersed, and the Seikh rule was established in the valley. Runjeet owed his success mainly to the co-operation of the Punch and Rajawaur Rajahs, and to the guidance of many Kashmir exiles, who had fled from Affghan tyranny. Berdher Pundit who, with his whole family had been forcibly converted to Islamism, was the chief guide of the Seikh army

The Maharajah's delight was extreme at the easy victory he

had gained. He counted on the plunder of a rich instead of an exhausted country.

Dewan Molee Ram, the son of Mokhum Chund, lately deceased, was made Governor, but soon disappointed the greedy expectations of the Maharajah. His earliest report announced the poverty of the country, and that such was then the excessive price of the necessaries of life, that the poor were selling their children. The Governor, however, in a short time effected what was called a revenue settlement of the country, by farming it out for sixty nine lakhs of Rupees. He was soon after recalled, but his son Kripa Ram, appears to have succeeded him. Like his father, the son soon fell into disgrace and was summoned to "the presence." At first he satisfied the Maharajah, by bringing with him fifteen lakhs of Rupees, but Runjeet Singh having separately examined several Kashmir Pundits respecting the collections that had been made, became, or affected to be, convinced that the Dewan had embezzled thirty-six lakhs. After much bullying Runjeet Singh obtained Motec Ram's signature to an agreement that he would pay nine lakhs of Rupees on account of his son. Their Jagheers were confiscated, and both were for some months imprisoned; at length they were released, and informed that they should be restored to favour on paying four lakhs of Rupees, but this they declared their inability to do. Motec Ram then went on a pilgrimage, the usual resource of disgraced Hindoo or Seikh ministers. Kripa Ram soon followed, and for a long time remained at Kunkul near Hurdwar, where his actual poverty was the best vindication of his former conduct. Kowr Sher Sing, (the late Maharajah,) fresh from his victory over Syud Ahmed Shah, was next sent as Governor to Kashmir, but he too failed in making the due collections. The country was, at the time we refer to, suffering under various calamities. In the year 1828 an earthquake had destroyed many lives: two months afterwards, this was followed by cholera, which carried off an eighth of the population. And now, in 1833, when an unseasonable fall of snow had almost entirely destroyed the rice crop, and while the wretched inhabitants were dying by thousands, and the survivors flying from the country in flocks, the revenue screw was even more closely applied; less, let us hope, from deliberate barbarity, than from ignorance of the true state of affairs.

The sufferers flocked \* in thousands to the Punjab and to

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\* The refugees were kindly received in the British provinces. Many settled for the time at Loodiana, but hundreds of families found their way even as far as Furruckabad in the Dooh, where Hakeem Mehndee, the late Vizier of Oude, and some

Hindustan ; numbers dying on the road, and others selling their children for a morsel of bread. Even Runjeet Singh's heart seems to have been touched for the time ; he gave some relief to those who came to Lahore, and ordered that the people of Kashmir should not be oppressed. But while issuing such injunctions, he took measures that increased the distress. He sent Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, Bhae Goormukh Singh and Sheikh Golam Mohyooddeen as a commission to assist and watch Sher Singh ; enjoined them *to spare* the country, *but to collect* the revenue. To watch *them* again he soon after sent two revenue Mootsudees (writers,) by name Mahtab Roy and Utter Mull. Sher Singh, feeling that he was distrusted, sent his Dewan named Bysakha Singh, to his reputed father (the Maharajah,) who, after hearing his report and receiving no cash, ordered him into arrest at large.

He was then offered liberty, on paying a quarter of a lakh of rupees ; the Dewan replied he had not a cowrie with him, but would procure the required sum from Kashmir. The Maharajah then consulted Rajah Dhyani Singh and Fakeer Azeezooddeen, as to what should be done with the defaulter. Eventually he was placed under charge of Purshooram Bog\* Tazeenah (literally whipper,) with a guard of five hundred men, with orders to take him to Kashmir and there deliver him over to Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, who was enjoined to find out where his (Bysakha Singh's) money was concealed, and to extract it from him. At the end of the first march Purshooram wrote to the Maharajah that the Dewan would pay five lakhs, on condition of not being sent back to Kashmir. He was ordered to sign a bond to that effect ; two and a half lakhs were eventually forthcoming, and General Allard, in whose charge he was placed, became security for the balance. Whether it was ever paid we are not aware.†

European gentlemen, fed them gratuitously for a time, and at length the former established them in a Shawl manufactory, and located a portion in a village which he purchased for that purpose. Five years after, when famine broke out in the same Doon, how different was the conduct of the British Government to what had been that of Runjeet Singh ! Lakhs of rupees of revenue were remitted, and even a large sum expended in feeding the multitudes that flocked into all the large stations. We believe that we are within the mark, estimating the loss of revenue at a million of money, during the year 1838.

\* A *gentleman*, employed as Executor of Runjeet Singh's dirty work, including spying, whipping and minor tortures. Runjeet did not kill, or the *Bog* might be called Chief Executioner.

† Mr. Masson writing of General Allard says, at page 405, vol. I, "He was universally and deservedly respected." Mr. M. adds that he cherishes "a regard for his memory," but at page 446 of the same volume, we are told "even General Allard condescended to serve the Maharajah's views in such respects, and while I was there, had in charge two Brahman prisoners, who were most ignominiously treated, and tortured with thumb-screws, under the notion of forcing them to disgorge the wealth they were accused of having amassed in Kashmir. The men may have been guilty, but I



The Maharajah soon ascertained that although he had aggravated the miseries of Kashmir by the number of officials let loose on the land, he had not taken the right way to increase his own receipts from thence. Jemadar Khooshyal Singh wrote that, by advice of Sher Singh, the Commissioners had imprisoned the Native Khardars (Kashmeree Agents), and had thus obtained a promise of eleven thousand rupees, which sum however could only be paid by instalments. The old Maharajah began to perceive that there was a combination against him. He accordingly called upon the Agents of Sher Singh, and ordered them to collect one and a half lakh of rupees from that Prince's Jaghirs on both sides the Sutlej, and to pay the amount into the treasury, when it should be credited to their master in his Kashmir accounts. Sher Singh and the Commissioners were all soon recalled, and long remained under displeasure; the Maharajah, taking every possible means of ascertaining to what amount they had respectively plundered Goormukh Singh, was especially called upon, if he valued his own safety, to give evidence against Khooshyal Singh. But we are not aware that Runjeet recovered any considerable sum, and the Jemadar (Khooshyal Singh) died the other day, one of the richest men in the Punjab.

Such is an epitome of the Seikh system of administration. It begins and ends in an endeavour to extract the last possible farthing of revenue. When the district or province is at hand, and the proceeds are well known, the work of squeezing a Viceroy is simple; but from distant or troubled frontiers, very little cash has ever come directly into the royal treasury; though eventually on the death or imprisonment of the plunderers, the sovereign frequently recovers a large share of the spoil.

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grieved to hear that their religious prejudices as to food had been purposely violated, and to witness them occupied, under terror of the bayonet, in the degrading labour of bringing baskets of earth on their heads into the General's gardens." The French general then, who superintended thumb-screwing, was a man "universally and deservedly respected." We would leave Mr. Masson to get out of his dilemma in his own fashion, but out of respect to the memory of the gallant general, we will express our entire disbelief of the story as told by Masson. The prisoners alluded to must have been Bysakha Singh and his son, though Masson as usual gives us as little help as possible, by names or dates, towards testing his statement. We however annex a literal translation of a manuscript now before us, written by a respectable native, quite unconnected with either the durbar, the prisoner or General Allard, the simple statement is the best exculpation of the old general. "The Maharajah called Bysakha Singh and his son and told them if they would pay down a lakhs and get the security of General Allard, or of any other officer, for the balance, he would be satisfied. The Dewan agreed, and with his son was accordingly sent to General Allard with orders to keep them under a guard. On the second day, the general went to the Maharajah and stated that Dewan Bysakha asked permission to proceed to Pattealea to raise the money, leaving his son Heera Singh and Kan Singh as his security. Runjeet Singh consented, and the Dewan was permitted to depart under charge of a guard."

Runjeet Sing now devised a scheme for the more profitable management of Kashmir. His dignitaries and his own (supposititious) son had deceived him. He now deputed a simple commandant of a regiment as Governor. In a former number, we narrated the death, by the violence of his soldiery, of old Colonel Mean Sing, a respectable man of his kind, in the year 1841. We also narrated, that when Raja Golab Sing proceeded to Kashmir to avenge Mean Sing's death, he took with him Sheikh Goolam Mohyooddeen, who has since held the government of that province. The Sheikh we believe to be an intelligent and not ill-disposed man, though supposed to be a creature of Golab Sing. He has had great experience in Kashmir affairs. Originally a shoemaker, he gave proof of early ability, which induced Dewan Kripa Ram, when Governor of Kashmir, to take him by the hand and at length to make him his chief financier. He was then sent as joint Commissioner with Khooshyal Sing, and unless he has recently been disposed of by the rebels, he is to this day Governor of Kashmir. Mohyooddeen is an old man, and has a son, Sheikh Immamooddeen, Kardar of the Jullunder Dooab, who we observe is, with other officers, ordered to Kashmir with reinforcements to the support of his father.

The people of Kashmir, endowed with a light and volatile temperament, and having for generations learned to look on oppression as their destiny, have proved easy victims to each successive tyrant. A new Governor might improve a condition which he could hardly make more abject; but, when the yoke became intolerably galling, Kashmir always furnished a large party ready to league with foreign invaders. Thus were Moguls Affghans and Seikhs successively admitted to the valley by a domestic faction. Rebellion, or rather tumult, has been raging there for two months past. The specific cause of complaint has not reached us, but, the Persian proverb says, "it is the last feather in the load, that breaks the camel's back." Wherever a spirited leader arises among such a people, he will not have far to seek for grievances to avenge. In the present instance, however, we surmise that the outbreak is not among the inhabitants of the valley but among the neighbouring tributary and only half-subdued Rajahs, who, from time immemorial, have chafed at any attempts on their independence. For one year that such chiefs have paid tribute they have been ten years free. The Moguls could seldom touch them. The Seikhs and Jummo Rajahs have assailed them more successfully; but they are hardy and occupy a strong country, and if they could only act

together, they might without difficulty liberate themselves, or even subdue Kashmir. There is, however, no bond of unity among them, and unless a master-spirit arise, the confederacy, whatever it may be, will soon fall to pieces. We should not, however, be surprised to find that the outbreak is secretly, if not openly, instigated by Rajah Goolab Sing, either with the view of weakening the Seikh Government, or with the direct object of increasing his own influence in Kashmir. As yet he has not been called on to aid the Governor. If he is applied to, and consents, it will not be for nothing. At this moment there is not so able a schemer among the many intriguers in India. Heera Sing is indeed clever, and has been brought up in the school of his father and uncle, but he has not the experience, and he wants the patience and judgment of Goolab Sing. The nephew will dare much, but the very fire of youth may lead to his destruction.\* The uncle will bide his time, and watch events—be neither too soon nor too late in striking his blow. He is quite unscrupulous as to means; and with as much courage as any man need possess, combines the rarer power of keeping it subordinate to the more useful quality of prudence. Golab Sing is truly a dangerous man to the integrity of the Seikh state. We watch his steps with interest. The wealth of Lahore is now at Jummo, and by the events of the last few months, Golab Sing has shewn that, while commanding an almost impregnable country, he can collect a force at least equal to what the Khalsa can bring against him; that he can ravage the Punjab at will, while his own domains are comparatively safe. As long however as he can retain the salt mines and his many farms and jagheers in the Punjab, why should he openly quarrel with the Durbar? While he can avowedly benefit by the Khalsa, and at the same time take his measures for an eventual separation of interests, he is not likely to hazard a premature rupture. Rajah Golab Sing will not draw the sword rashly, but when it is drawn, the Seikhs will find him a very formidable enemy, and, if he once acquires Kashmir, an invincible one.

We have just reperused Mr. Vigne's picture of the military and civil advantage which the British Government would derive from occupying Kashmir. He writes glowingly of civilization, of missionary labours, and of our Simla sanatorium being emp-

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\* And as we are despatching this sheet to press, intelligence of the destruction of the young Rajah has actually reached us. As we have before remarked, the writer of Punjabee annals, finds the ground ever shifting beneath him. Heera Sing has been removed from the stage; and the troops of Golab Sing are said to have taken part against the minister.

tied into Kashmir. He states that, some forty years ago, a deputation from thence arrived at Delhi, with a request "that the Company's Government would take the country under its protection," and laments that their petition was rejected. Had it been granted, "the East India Company might have long since been in possession of the Punjab." Mr. Vigne might have added, that when we had acquired the Punjab, we should have been at hand to pounce on Affghanistan.

But away with such reasoning, which is only a mask for a principle that, barefaced, we should be ashamed to admit. Benevolence of this sort seldom goes forth except towards sufferers who inhabit a country that holds out a prospect of substantial reward to its benefactors. We concur in the opinion, that Kashmir would be an inestimable gem in the British crown, and possessing the intervening country, an excellent military position. We also believe that under British rule, the miseries of Kashmir would be relieved, but as we have no manner of claim on the country, and have no present ability to move a finger in its favour, it is idle to expend our sympathies on the subject.

Should providence ever place Kashmir under British protection, it will then be time enough to consider what remedy may be applied to its wounds. In the mean time, we have an obvious duty before us in improving the extensive tracts already under our rule. We have hills and villages, forests and plains lying to our hand sufficient to employ our full energies during the next century. Let us place our own native subjects, in the mountains and in the plains, on a footing of comfort and security. Let us occupy our thinly-populated hills with our worn-out veterans and their children, and we shall require no better military position than is already in our hands. At worst, when the time of need comes, we shall have a happy native population in our rear, and a contended army, backed by a hardy band of European colonists, ready to meet the invader.

## THE ALGEBRA OF THE HINDUS.

BY REV. THOMAS SMITH, D.D.

- ART. V.—I. *Lilawati, or a treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry, by Bhascara Acharja. Translated from the original Sanscrit, by John Taylor, M. D., of the Hon'ble East India Company's Bombay Medical Establishment. Bombay, 1816.*
2. *Algebra, with Arithmetic and Mensuration, from the Sanscrit of Brahme Gupta and Bhascara. Translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., F. R. S., &c. London, 1817.*
  3. *History of Algebra in all Nations, by Charles Hutton, L. L. D. (Mathematical and Philosophical Tracts, vol. II.) London, 1812.*
  4. *Lectures on the Principles of Demonstrative Mathematics, by the Rev. Philip Kelland, A. M., F. R. S. S. L. and E., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. Late Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge. Edinburgh, 1843.*

HERODOTUS informs us that geometry took its origin in Egypt, and supposes that necessity was the mother of the invention;—that the purpose of it was to delineate the boundaries of the fields on their emerging from the waters of the Nile. We see no reason to reject the venerable historian's statement of the fact, nor to accept his theory in regard to it. As to the fact, it seems to be incontrovertible that geometry as a science was unknown in Greece before the time of Thales the Milesian, and there seems no reason to question the uniform tradition, that he imported the knowledge of it from Egypt. But as to the theory of Herodotus regarding the necessity that gave rise to the invention,\* we can suppose no foundation on which it can rest, except the etymology of the Greek name of the science (ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΑ, or measure of the earth) and this is useless as a foundation for the hypothesis, unless it can be shewn that this name is an exact rendering of the Egyptian name of the science. Moreover, we should suppose that γεωμετρία is not the term that would have been employed to signify the mensuration of *land*, since we know of no instance in which the term γαία or γῆ is employed in such a sense. If we might be allowed to conjecture, we would venture to suggest that this name was given to the science only when it reached such a stage of advancement, that mathematicians began to apply it to the determination of the size of the earth. In fact, the whole amount of geometry that would be required for the purpose indicated by Herodotus, (the rather that he

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\* It is to be observed that Herodotus states it merely as an opinion of his own, not as a historical fact. His words are these—οοχετι δε μοι ενθευτεν γεωμετρηι ευρεθαισα, εἰς την Ελλάδα ἵπανελθειν.—*Euterpe*, 109.

tells us the Egyptian estates were all squares) would be the problem to draw a straight line between two points, and this problem we presume it was not left to the Egyptians to be the first to solve.

This consideration suggests to us a fact that seems to have been strangely overlooked by writers on the history of the Mathematical sciences;—viz. that, speaking strictly, the mathematical sciences could have no beginning apart from the original creation of the human race, for their first elements are bound up in the very constitution of the mind of man. We believe there has never been a man capable of exercising his faculties, who did not know that *things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another*, yet no one who knows this can properly be said to be wholly ignorant of mathematical science. From this initial point, a line continuous and unbroken stretches upwards and onward to all that modern mathematicians know of the properties and relation of space and figure, and is destined to be prolonged to all that their successors shall ever know. And what is true of geometry is equally true in regard to algebra—the other great branch of mathematical science. An utter ignorance of number and quantity seems to be scarce compatible with rationality. We scarcely know how thought can be exercised apart from a knowledge that there is a difference between *one* and *two*. Yet this is the foundation of algebra, the first step on the ladder that stretches continuously upward to that lofty eminence from which Lagrange looked down. If in this statement we be in error at all, it is, we apprehend, in speaking of the ascent from the lowest degree of knowledge that is compatible with rationality, to the highest attainment in this department that is permitted to man in his present state of being, as accomplished by a series of successive steps: it is rather by a continuous plane of gentlest and scarcely perceptible elevation, so that of those engaged in the ascent it is often difficult to determine who has attained the greatest height. There is no break in the whole ascent; and this, we may state in passing, is one of the grand advantages of mathematical study as a mental exercise. There is no man who is incapable of the study, neither is there any man who does not find in it full employment for all his faculties. No man is incapable of taking his place on the bottom of the plane, and beginning the ascent; no man on the other hand has ever reached, or will ever reach, the summit.

This, too, it is that renders the history of mathematical discovery often a work of great difficulty. Of this the most notable example is furnished by the long-agitated, and still un-

decided question as to the invention of the differential or fluxional Calculus. All mathematicians, and multitudes who are mathematicians, are familiar with the details of this celebrated contest, in which it was most warmly disputed whether Newton or Leibnitz should be regarded as the inventor of the Calculus. To some it might appear that this would be a matter of very easy determination; but the fact is, that neither the one nor the other advanced more than a scarcely measurable step above the point reached by several of their predecessors. Roberval and Fermat and Wallis and Pascal are constantly mentioned as having approached indefinitely near to the method; and we believe it might be shewn, that one who is never mentioned at all in connection with this subject, approached, at an earlier period, nearer to it than any of them. We mean the famous Napier of Mercheston, the inventor of the most useful of all mathematical instruments, the logarithmic Calculus. These facts shew how difficult it is to trace the progress of mathematical discovery. But if it be so in regard to those lofty elevations which so few can reach, and where each man stands prominently out to the view of all who are capable of seeing so far aloft, and where there is comparatively little chance of the favored ones jostling each other, how much more may we expect to find difficulties in ascertaining the precedence of those who throng the lower regions, where progress is comparatively easy. We are told, for example, that Pythagoras discovered the proposition that is now universally known as Euclid's forty-seventh, and we do not doubt the fact; but we can pronounce no judgment as to the merit of the discovery, since we know not, and now we can never know, what propositions were known to him and his predecessors before—or, to keep up the figure that we have hitherto employed,—since we cannot tell how far, in taking this step, he left his contemporaries behind. It is scarcely possible to construct a square and draw its diagonals without perceiving by inspection, that in an isosceles right-angled triangle the squares on the sides are equal to the square on the hypotenuse, since it is evident that the square of half the diagonal is equal to half the original square, and therefore the square of the whole diagonal equal to double the original squares, or equal to the sum of the squares of the two sides of the square: that is, the sum of the squares of the sides of an isosceles right-angled triangle of which the diagonal of the original square is the hypotenuse. Thus, then, a particular case of this celebrated proposition is almost self-evident; and it does not seem to us, now that it could ever

be a matter of difficulty to generalize the theorem ; but then we know that it is one thing to invent new methods of proving a truth, and another and very different thing to discover the truth itself. If, however, it be true that Thales brought the knowledge of geometry into Greece, and if it be true that Pythagoras, who was born sixty years after, was overjoyed at the discovery of the equality of the squares on the sides of a right-angled triangle to the square on the hypotenuse, we may safely conclude both that the amount of knowledge introduced by Thales was not great, and that the progress of the Greeks in geometry was not rapid,—that no one of them shot far ahead of his predecessors or compeers.

In the history of mathematical science we have no very marked exception to our theory of the gradual progress of invention and discovery, unless it be in the case of Euclid : and it is not improbable that his merits *as a discoverer* may be very considerably over-estimated from an ignorance of the attainments of his immediate predecessors. It is difficult indeed on the one hand to suppose that one man could have so far surpassed all others as Euclid must have done, had he been the discoverer of any considerable number of the propositions in his *ELEMENTS*, as well as the arranger of the whole ; and equally difficult to suppose on the other hand, that a man possessed of so pure and exquisite a mathematical taste should not have been himself a great discoverer. For ourselves we are disposed to believe (since the matter must ever remain one of mere conjecture) that the *ELEMENTS* were chiefly or entirely composed out of previously existing materials. There is that about them which indicates that the materials existed in his mind in their totality from the outset, and fell naturally into their proper places. At all events it is the exquisiteness of its arrangements that makes the *ELEMENTS* such an incomparable book, for incomparable it unquestionably is. There is not a more singular fact in the whole history of man than this—that in the most progressive of all the pure sciences, a work composed in the comparative infancy of the science should hold its place to this day as the very best elementary work that has yet been produced. That it will still hold that place we think may be safely asserted, for we can confidently appeal to every mathematician whether he does not feel a degree of revulsion from the very idea of intermeddling with Euclid,—a revulsion similar in kind to that which the pious Christian feels when neological criticism lays its impious hand on the inspired record of his faith.

It appears then that even among the ancient Greeks,—yea



even among the English and German mathematicians of the eighteenth century, the progress of mathematical discovery cannot be accurately traced. Now if the question as to the discovery of the Calculus be destined to remain for ever undecided, as it apparently is, how much more may we expect to find it impossible to trace the history of discoveries far less important, in times far more distant, in a country where there was no printing to record discoveries, nor TRANSACTIONS of societies at once to identify and treasure them? The history of the Hindu mathematics is accordingly, as might well be expected, hopelessly obscure. Whether the Hindus derived their first knowledge of mathematics *as a science* from Egypt, or whether the Egyptians on the other hand derived theirs from India, or whether both drew from a common fountain, or whether each nation set forth independently from those first principles, which, as we have attempted to show, are inseparable from the existence of rationality—will probably never be determined. One thing, however, which we may notice as deserving attention, both as interesting in itself and as pointing to an origin of the science distinct from the Egyptian source from which the stream of Greek mathematics took its rise, is the very different direction that the mathematical pursuit seems to have taken in the two countries. If we assume that the Grecian mathematics are the development of that science whose rudiments were found in Egypt in the days of Thales, then we must infer that *geometry*, or the science which treats of figure and space, was far more cultivated there than algebra, or the science which treats of numerable quantity. Now the very opposite seems to have been the case in India. The Greek algebra was as nothing in comparison with the Greek geometry; the Hindu geometry was as little worthy of comparison with the Hindu algebra. How far this difference might be accounted for, on the supposition of a common origin, by the difference of climate and of the habits of the people, we must leave to others who may be better qualified and disposed than we, to speculate upon. It seems certain that the countrymen of Phidias and Praxiteles and Apelles must have been more capable than the Hindus of appreciating the beauties of mathematical figure; while the mysteries of number, a thing undefinable but real, a thing regarding which men may reason all their days without making the matter a whit plainer, must have been equally grateful to the taste of the abstruse Hindu sages. As for the common notion (adopted by Professor Kelland in the work whose title stands at the head of this article) that the attempts at the quadrature and the duplication of the cube had a great influence in promoting the progress of geometry among the

Greeks, we set nothing by it. Every one knows the application made by Lord Bacon of the fable of the youths being made to dig up their vineyard under the delusive belief that there was a treasure buried in the soil, but with all deference we must express a doubt whether such results have really followed the vain pursuits of men in geometry, alchemy and astrology as are generally supposed to have resulted from them. At all events, we think it very certain that the questions as to the duplication of the cube and the quadrature of the circle must have arisen, not in the infancy of geometrical science, but after it had made considerable progress, and thus if the spirit of geometrical science had not taken this direction, it must have taken some other, and probably a far better one. Any one who thinks otherwise may as well suppose that an apple falling before a peasant would have led him to the theory of universal gradation, or that if no apple had fallen before Newton, he would never have solved that sublime theory.

As with the heroes who fought before Agamemnon, so has it fared with the Hindu algebraists who studied before Brahme-gupta. This Brahme-gupta, who lived in the seventh century of the Christian era, and Bhascara who flourished in the twelfth century, are the authors of the works translated by Mr. Colebrooke, — the standard works of Hindu mathematics. All subsequent algebraists have been content merely to illustrate and simplify the works of Brahme-gupta and Bhascara. An account of these works is therefore, to all intents and purpose, an account of the Hindu algebra. Such an account we purpose in the present article to give. Some of the commentators indeed mention several algebraists who seem to have preceded Brahme-gupta, but of them no record remains, but the mere mention of their names. Arya Bhatta, indeed, who lived, as is supposed, in the 4th century, was certainly an algebraist, and is mentioned, by a commentator on Bhascara, as the founder of the science ; but what was the amount of his attainments it is impossible to discover. Nor may we suppose that algebra was wholly unknown before his time. In fact, we find allusion in very ancient Hindu books, which leave no doubt on our minds, that algebra was cultivated at a very early period among the Hindus. One came under our observation very recently which it may be well to quote as a specimen of many that we have met with from time to time. In the *Nalodaya*, recently translated by the Revd. Dr. Yates of Calcutta, we find that when its hero Naloh in the days of his humiliation was serving as charioteer to Ritipurna, his master astonished him by telling at sight the number of leaves and fruit on a particular tree ; Ritipurna's power of doing this the poet as-

cribes to his familiarity with dice. The passage as translated by Dr. Yates is as follows :—

He afterwards resolved to shew his skill  
And to astonish and delight the mind  
Of his expert and pious charioteer  
With calculations of immense extent.  
Such knowledge had he gained by means of dice,  
That when a tree was full of leaves and fruit  
He could, at sight, of each the number tell.  
Descending from the car he marked a tree  
And told in sums exact its whole contents.  
When Nala counted all the leaves and fruit  
And found the sum of both and each agree  
With what had been declared, he was surprised,  
And wished to understand the wondrous art  
By which such calculations could be made.  
The king as ardently desired to know  
By what mysterious art the charioteer  
All other men in horsemanship excelled.  
So they agreed their secrets to reveal  
And from each other mutual aid derive.  
But when these heroes famed for martial deeds  
Had thus their art consented to transfer ;  
The transfer they confirmed by solemn oath  
That neither to a third should e'er disclose  
The science which they both now understood.

*Nalodaya, Book IV.*

We cannot hesitate for a moment to conclude that this passage is intended to indicate that Ritapurna was an algebraist. The poet was either himself ignorant, or deemed it inconsistent with his poetical design, to inform us of the data on which the calculations proceeded ; but his allusion to dice is quite sufficient, independently of every thing else, to shew us that it was an algebraical process that he has thus, either from ignorance or from choice, invested with mystery. There is no connection between anything that can be indicated by means of dice, and the number of leaves and fruit on a particular tree : but the same algebraist calculated, as algebraists calculate now, the chances of the throws of dice, and calculated also the number of leaves on a tree from so small data, that the uninitiated supposed that it was done by mere intuition. The question that Ritapurna actually solved might be such an one as those that occur in our ordinary school-books—as for example, the number of leaves on the tree is to the number of fruit in a given proportion, say as 2 to 1, and 3 times the number of leaves added to 6 times the number of fruit, make 20,000. All those who are acquainted with the

elements of algebra know that such questions as these may be endlessly multiplied. We can have no doubt that it was the solution of such a question as this, that Kalidas intended to eulogise on the part of Ritipurna, though as to its actual difficulty it is of course impossible for us even to conjecture. But whether the question actually solved was difficult or not, what we have at present to do with is this, that at the period in question, the algebraist was on a footing with the "horse-whisperer" as an object of admiration. The science was therefore, precisely in the same state in regard to its advancement and diffusion that it had attained in Europe in the days of our own Baron Napier of Merkiston, who astonishes the minds of his superstitious countrymen by similarly divulging the results, and concealing the processes of his calculations. Now Kalidas lived in the days of Vikramaditya, a little before the commencement of the Christian era. At this period, therefore, we conclude that the science of algebra was so far known in Hindustan, that its professors were able to solve such equations as those given in our ordinary school-books, and so far unknown, that such solutions were regarded as amazing, and almost miraculous, not by the vulgar alone, but even by the generally intelligent but unmathematical portion of the community. This is all that we know regarding the history of algebra till the time of Brahmegupta. Probably, more might be inferred from allusions in the poets similar to that quoted above; and we may be permitted to observe that, it is a subject well worthy the attention of the oriental scholar.

We have before us the principal, or rather the only, algebraical works of the Hindus, viz. the *Ganita* (arithmetic) and *Cut-taca* (algebra) of Brahmegupta, and the *Lilavati* and *Bija Ginata* of Bhascara Acharya. These are all translated (in a manner that requires not our praise) by the late Mr. Colebrooke; and the *Lilavati* also by Dr. Taylor of Bombay. From Dr. Taylor's and Mr. Colebrooke's works having been published in consecutive years, the one at Bombay and the other in London, we suppose that the translators laboured without any knowledge of each other's intentions. It is well that they did so, as not only is Mr. Colebrooke's work far more complete than it would have been without the *Lilavati*, but the possession of a two-fold rendering is the most satisfactory guarantee to the student ignorant of the original Sanscrit, that the renderings are faithful.\* As it is, it is

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\* We have learned caution by a somewhat ludicrous experience in regard to translations of these same books. A few years ago, being anxious to attain some knowledge of the Hindu mathematics, and not being even aware of the existence of either of the books now before us, we procured the services of a Pandit, an alumnus

perfectly satisfactory to find that, with great variation in the mode of rendering, the *Lilavati* as translated by Colebrooke and by Taylor is substantially the same. Taylor's is the more literal, and therefore, to us, the more valuable translation ; Colebrooke's is the more elegant, and is moreover enriched by selections from the annotations of the principal Hindu commentators, some of which contain explanations without which the text were well nigh unintelligible.

One striking and important fact we ought to notice at the outset. That it appears certain that we are indebted to the Hindus for our numerals, though, having derived them through the medium of the Arabs, we have appropriated to them the name of that people. Although the numerals of our modern typographers differ very much from the Sanscrit characters, so that it were scarcely possible to recognize them, yet it is not difficult to trace the process by which they were transmuted from the original Sanscrit form into their present elegant figures. Dr. Hutton in his mathematical tracts gives several figures by way of shewing the transition, and it appears to us clear on inspection that the case is made out. In fact, the figures actually used in Europe up till four hundred years ago, were almost as like the Sanscrit characters as they were like the modern numerals. If it be granted then that the decimal notation originated with the Hindus, it will be difficult to deny them the highest place in the scale of algebraical eminence, for there is unquestionably nothing in the whole range of mathematical science that combines elegance with utility to a greater extent than the decimal notation. But then, while we believe that the decimal characters were derived from the Hindus, we believe that the decimal scale, properly so called, is of a far more ancient date. In fact, it seems altogether a catholic system, common to the whole human race ; and must, as we think, have been in use wherever there were men with two hands and five fingers on each. But if we be indebted to the Hindus for the decimal notation alone, our obligation to them is sufficiently great. Those who know most of numbers will be most willing to admit this, for they will be best able to tell at once how admirable the decimal system of notation is, and how important to the

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of the Sanscrit College in Calcutta, who engaged to translate a portion of the *Lilavati* into Bengali every day. This he brought to us on the following morning and we read it together. In this way we had accomplished nearly the whole book when one morning we were astonished by finding an example relating to the *Governor Janiral Sahib's* elephant. We soon found that he had thought it his duty to *accommodate* the work of the sage old Bhascara to European comprehension, not by translating it, but by diluting it with the mixture of what little he knew of European mathematics. Thus did we throw away a good deal of money and more precious time, but gained withal some profitable experience.

progress of mathematical science is a good system of notation. The full beauty of our arithmetical notation consists in its extension to decimal fractions, by keeping up the rule that the value of a figure shall be diminished tenfold by its removal one place towards the right hand. It is not clearly ascertained who first introduced this extension of the decimal notation. It is sometimes stated to have been introduced only by Stevinus near the end of the sixteenth century; but this, we believe, is incorrect, although we are not able to state positively who was the first to make use of it. It is interesting to observe that a very near approximation to the idea of decimal fractions occurs in the *Lilavati*. In the chapter on Plane figure, a rule is given for extracting the square-root of a number, in which is contained the germ of our notion of decimal fractions. The rule is as follows.—“From the product of numerator and denominator, multiplied by any square number assumed, extract the square root; that divided by the denominator taken into the root of the multiplier, will be an approximation.” The illustrative example given under this rule is the following: “This irrational hypotenuse  $\frac{1}{2} \sqrt{1352}$  (is proposed).\* The product of its numerator and denominator is 1352; multiplied by a myriad (the square of 100) the product is 13520000. Its root is 3677 nearly. This divided by the denominator taken into the square root of the multiplier, viz. 800, gives the approximate root  $4\frac{577}{800}$ . It is the hypotenuse. So in every similar instance.”—(*Colebrooke*, p. 60.) Now we say that this rule, as illustrated by this example virtually and essentially directs the use of decimals. For suppose that instead of a fraction, an integer were the number given for the extraction of its root. Then the denominator being unity, the rule would amount simply to this, to add pairs of cyphers to the number, and divide the root by as many tens as there are pairs of cyphers added. But this is nothing else than our ordinary method of decimal fractions. We reckon this a point of considerable interest, and we are not aware that it has been pointed out before.

From the subject of arithmetical notation we pass naturally to the subject of algebraical notation, in its more limited sense. This is the strong point of our modern algebra, and as might be expected, the weak point of the Hindu science. Algebraical notation is the machinery of our modern analysis, and not more superior is the mechanical apparatus in one of our great factories to the rude implements of the Bengali spinners and

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\* Square of hypotenuse is meant.—ED. C. R.

weavers, than is the notation of our modern algebra to the cumbrous diction of Brahmegeupta and Bhascara, for we observe no progress in this respect during the five centuries that elapsed between these mathematicians. We believe we cannot better exhibit the contrast between the two systems than by selecting at random an equation with its solution from the Bija-ganita, and appending the solution as it would be effected by a school-boy in these days. Here is an example taken *ad aperturam libri*.

It is an example of an indeterminate equation of the first degree.

Example: What numbers being multiplied respectively by five, seven, and nine, and divided by twenty, have remainders increasing in progression by the common difference one, and quotients equal to the remainders.

In this case put the residues  $ya$  1,  $ya$  1  $ru$  1,  $ya$  1  $ru$  2. They are the quotients also. Let the first number be  $ca$  1. From this multiplied by five, subtracting the divisor taken into the quotient, the remainder is  $ca$  5— $ya$  20. Making this equal to  $ya$  1, a

value of  $yavat-lavat$  is obtained  $\frac{ca\ 5}{ya\ 21}$ . Let the second number be put  $nt$  1,

From this multiplied by seven, subtracting the divisor taken into  $ya$  added to one, the result is  $nt$  7— $ya$  20— $ru$  20; and making this equal to  $ya$  1  $ru$  1, a value of  $yavat-lavat$  is had  $\frac{nt\ 7-ru\ 21}{ya\ 21}$ .

Let the third number be  $pt$  1. From this multiplied by nine, subtracting the divisor taken into  $ya$  added to two, the residue is  $pt$  9— $ya$  20— $ru$  40, and making this equal to  $ya$  1  $ru$  2, a value of  $yavat-lavat$  is found  $pt$  9— $ru$  42. From the equation of the

first and second of these, the value of  $cdalaca$  is  $\frac{nt\ 7-ru\ 21}{ca\ 5}$ , and from that of the

second and third, the value of  $nilaca$  is  $\frac{pt\ 9-ru\ 42}{nt\ 7}$ . This being "last" value, the

investigation of the pulverizer takes place: and quotient and multiplier, with additives [derived from their divisors], are by that method found,  $lo$  9  $ru$  6 value of  $nt$

Here the additive is designated  $lshitaca$ ; and the expressions in their order, are values of  $nilaca$  and  $ptlaca$ . Substituting for  $nt$  by this value, in that of  $ca$ , and dividing by its denominator, the value of  $ca$  comes out fractional  $lo$  63  $ru$  21. To

make it integer by investigation of the pulverizer, reduce the dividend and additive to their least terms by the common measure twenty-one, and the values  $cdalaca$  and  $lshitaca$  are found  $ha$  63  $ru$  49 value of  $ca$ . Substituting for  $lshitaca$  by its value, in

the values of  $nilaca$  and  $ptlaca$ , these are brought out  $ha$  45  $ru$  33 value of  $nt$ . Again, with these values,  $ha$  63  $ru$  49 for  $ca$  substituting for  $cdalaca$  and the rest in the values

of  $yavat-lavat$  and dividing by the appertinent denominators, the value of  $ya$  is obtained  $ha$  15  $ru$  10. Here, as the quotient is equal to the residue, and the residue cannot exceed the divisor, substitute nought only for  $harilaca$ , and the quotients are found 10, 11, 12. Deducing  $cdalaca$  and the rest from their values, the quantities are brought out in distinct numbers, 42, 33, 28.

This question, if solved in our manner, would stand thus:

Let  $x$ ,  $y$  and  $z$  be the three numbers; then by the question:

$$\begin{array}{l} 5x = a + \frac{21a}{20} \\ 7y = a + 1 + \frac{21(a+1)}{20} \\ 9z = a + 2 + \frac{21(a+2)}{20} \end{array} \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{in which } a \text{ is an inde-} \\ \text{terminate number.} \end{array}$$

These equations, if multiplied by 20, become severally

$$\begin{array}{l} 5x = 21a \\ 7y = 21(a+1) \therefore y = 3(a+1) \\ 9z = 21(a+2) \therefore 3z = 7(a+2) \end{array}$$

We have now to determine  $a$  such, that  $x$ ,  $y$  and  $z$  may be all whole numbers. It is evident that in order to give  $x$  a whole number,  $a$  must be a multiple of 5, since 5 and 21 are incommensurable numbers. If therefore we try  $a=5$ , we find that  $x$  and  $y$  are whole numbers, but  $z$  is not. We therefore try  $a=10$  and find  $x=42$ ,  $y=33$  and  $z=28$ .

This is a very simple example, and therefore the superiority of our notation is not so clearly seen as it would be in a more complicated example. This will however suffice for the present as an illustration of the inelegant manner of stating the operations as compared with our modern beautiful system. While on this subject, we may be permitted to say again, that we know nothing more thoroughly elegant than the modern system of algebraic notation, when employed in its complete form, with fractional and negative indexes. It has been gradually developed during three centuries by a process somewhat similar to the rise and progress of the sofa so humorously sketched by its bard. As was "the rugged rock washed by the sea" for a place of repose, so was the notation of the first Italian "Cossists." The "joint stool on three legs upborne" may represent the notation Cardan. Tartalea may take place with the introducer of the "four legs, with twisted form vermicular;" while Stevinus did that for algebra which was done for upholstery by him who transformed the stool into a chair. The notation of Des Cartes may represent the "settee." Lagrange must take rank with him who "in happier days" introduced the "sofa," while the spring cushions and all the improvements which make the sofas of these days far more luxurious than Cowper ever



dreamt of, have their parallel in the improvements introduced by Peacock and the rest of our Cambridge mathematicians.

Thus first necessity invented stools.  
Convenience next suggested elbow-chairs,  
And luxury the accomplished sofa last.

But to return to the Indian notation. It will not be difficult to explain to our readers the connection between it and ours. Corresponding to our  $a$  is the term  $ya$  1, our  $a +$  is represented by  $ya$  1  $ru$  1, and our  $a + 2$  by  $ya$  1  $ru$  2. Then the numbers sought are  $ca$  1,  $ni$  1 and  $pi$  1 corresponding to our  $x$ ,  $y$  and  $z$ . Thus  $ca$  5— $ya$  20 represents  $5x - 20a$ , and so on. The process of the *pulverizer* we shall return to ere long; at present we have only to do with the notation; which this short explanation will we trust render in some degree intelligible. It will be observed that a dot over a number or quantity indicates that it is to be subtracted,\* while  $ru$ , the initial syllable of *rupa* (*form*) placed before a quantity marks it as an absolute number, and when it is positive or additive no sign is employed to mark the addition. *Yavat tavat*, (*as much or as many as*) is contracted into  $ya$ , and is generally employed, just as we employ any letter of the alphabet, to express a quantity either known or unknown.  $ca$ ,  $ni$ , and  $pi$ , are the initial syllables of the Sanscrit words signifying *black*, *blue* and *yellow*. These are generally used as the representatives of known quantities, as we use the first letters of the alphabet. Sometimes instead of the colors, the initial letters of the names of the things signified are employed, as we might make  $p$  stand for the price of a pearl and  $d$  for that of a diamond, if required to solve a question relating to the prices of jewellery.

The works of Brahmagupta translated by Mr. Colebrooke are the twelfth and eighteenth Chapters of the *Brahma-Sphuta Siddhanta*, a treatise on astronomy. This accounts for the great brevity with which the rules are expressed, a brevity which sometimes renders them scarcely intelligible. He sets out by informing us that "He who distinctly and severally knows addition and the rest of the twenty logistics, and the eight determinations, including measurement by shadow, is a mathematician" The twenty logistics are Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, Division, Square, Square-root, Cube, Cube-root, five Rules of Reduction of Fractions, Rule of three terms, (direct and inverse), of five terms, of seven terms, of nine terms and of eleven terms, and Barter. The eight determinations are, mixture, progression, plane figure, excavation, stack, saw, mound and shadow.

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\* We have substituted the Sign *Minus* for the convenience of the printers.

The first section consists of rules for the logistics, and the succeeding 8 for the determinations. Mixture corresponds with what in our books of arithmetic is called Partnership or Fellowship. Under progression is treated only what we call arithmetical progression. One rule is ingenious though a little complicated, and clearly indicates a considerable knowledge of the nature of series. It is, when translated into our ways of expression, as follows: Given the first term, the common difference and the sum of a series in arithmetical progression, to find the number of terms. The rule is as follows: "Add the square of the difference between twice the initial term and the common increase to the product of the sum of the progression by 8 times the increase; the square root, less the foregoing remainder, divided by twice the common increase, is the period." This rule when translated into our algebraic language will be as follows:  $a$  being the first term,  $d$  the common difference,  $s$  the sum of the series, and  $n$  the number of terms— thus  $n = \frac{\{(2a-d)^2 + 8ds\}^{\frac{1}{2}} - (2a-d)}{2d}$

This rule we do not find in any of our books, but it is easily deduced from the ordinary formula  $2s = n \{2a + (n-1)d\}$  from which, by the solution of a quadratic equation, we find

$$n = \frac{\{(2a-d)^2 + 8ds\}^{\frac{1}{2}} - (2a-d)}{2d}.$$

The section on "plane figure" teaches the methods of finding the areas of trigons and tetragons, both approximate and exact, as well as the lengths of various lines in the circle. It appears that Brahme-gupta was familiar with the propositions now known as Euc. I. 47. & III. 35. Beyond this it does not appear that his geometrical knowledge extended. It is remarkable that there is no allusion whatever to angles, triangles being merely distinguished as equilateral, isosceles and scalene. Mr. Colebrooke indeed introduces the term right-angled triangle, but explains that it is never viewed by the Hindu mathematicians with reference to its having a right-angle, but is spoken of only as the formal or elementary trigon, because every other trigon may be divided into two such by a perpendicular drawn from one of the angles on the opposite side. A point of more interest is the ratio between the diameter and circumference of a circle. The author states that the diameter being multiplied by 3 gives the "practical" circumference, but that the square root of ten times the square of the diameter is the "neat" circumference. In other words, the diameter is to the circum-

tion, correct only in one decimal place, whereas the proportion of  $7 : 22$  is correct to two places, and very nearly correct in the third. From the usually strict manner in which Brahme-gupta distinguishes between "gross" or approximate methods and correct ones, we should suppose that he believed this to be the accurate rectification of the circle, and if this be so, it indicates a very meagre acquaintance with geometry.

The section on "excavation" treats of what the Hindu Pandits are perpetually discussing under the title of "tank arithmetic." We learn from it that Brahme-gupta knew that a cone or pyramid is one-third of a cylinder or parallelopiped having the same base and altitude, a property which is generally understood to have been discovered by Archimedes. The section on "stacks" (of bricks) is merely a repetition of that on excavation, height only being substituted for depth. The like may be said of the section on "saw" or mensuration of timber, with the exception that the author introduces the calculation of the sawyers' wages, according to the different kinds of wood, precisely as if the rate were fixed as unalterably as the rule for finding the solid contents of a plank.

The section on "mounds of grain" assumes, that the ninth part of the circumference of the heap is the height in the case of bearded corn, the tenth part in that of coarse grain, and the eleventh part in that of fine grain; and then lays down this rule, that the height, multiplied by the square of the sixth part of the circumference, is the content. This rule proceeds upon the assumption formerly noticed, that the circumference of a circle is 3 times the diameter.

The section on "measure by shadow" is more properly astronomical than algebraical. It consists of three rules, the first of which is as follows:—"The half day being divided by the shadow (measured in lengths of the gnomon) added to one, the quotient is the elapsed or, the remaining portion of day, morning, or evening." This is a very rude approximation, which, as rightly stated by the commentator, does not answer for finding the time even in an equatorial position. As we are denied the use of figures, it is impossible for us to render the process intelligible by which the rule has been evolved. There are only two cases in which it will be strictly applicable, and these are, *first*, mid-day when and where the sun is vertical, for then the shadow being nothing, the time will be the half day, and *second*, every day and in every place when the sun is horizontal, that is at rising and setting, for then the shadow being infinite, the time elapsed since sunrise, or to clapse before sunset, will be nothing. In all

cases between these it will give a result completely erroneous. On this subject we may be allowed to make two remarks. The first is that it indicates the origin of the Hindu astronomy in a place within the tropics, and militates strongly against M. Bailly's notion (which we combated in a previous volume of the Review) of its having been derived from a hyperborean race. Our second remark is, that this rule may throw some light on a passage in Herodotus, the meaning of which has been much disputed. The passage we refer to is that, in which he states that the Greeks derived their knowledge of the pole, the gnomon and the division of the day from the Babylonians.\* Salmasius, as we learn from the notes to Beloe's translation of Herodotus, denies that the pole and the gnomon have any reference to horology. We venture to think differently, and to suggest that Herodotus refers to just such a problem as this of Brahme-gupta, which, by the way, his commentator tells us that he copied from earlier writers.

To this work is added a supplement, containing various rules for the abbreviation of the processes of calculation, and some other matters which do not require any particular remark.

The other work of Brahme-gupta, entitled *Cuttacad' haya*, or treatise on the Cutta or pulverizer, is, as we have stated, the eighteenth chapter of the Brahma-sphuta-Siddhanta. The prefatory paragraphs are as follows ;—" Since questions can scarcely be solved without the pulverizer, therefore will I propound the investigation of it, together with problems. By the pulverizer, cypher, negative, and affirmative, unknown quantity, elevation of the middle term, colors, and factum, well understood, a man becomes a teacher among the learned, and by the affected square." This same pulverizer plays a most conspicuous part in the Hindu algebra and astronomy, and we must endeavour clearly to explain what it is. In its simplest form it may be stated thus,—given a divisor and remainder, to find the quotient. In this form, it is of course an indeterminate problem, but if one or more other divisors and the corresponding remainders be given, the problem may become determinate. The rule for such a case is the following :—" Rule for the investigation of the pulverizer. The divisor which yields the greatest remainder is divided by that which yields the least : the residue is reciprocally divided, and the quotients are severally set down one under the other. The residue [of the recipro-

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\* Πολον μεν γαρ, και γνωμονα, και τα δυωδεκα μερεα της ημερης παρὰ Βαβυλωνιων εμαθον οι Ελληνες.

cal division] is multiplied by an assumed number such, that the product, having added to it the difference of the remainders, may be exactly divisible [by the residue's divisor]. That multiplier is to be set down [underneath] and the quotient last. The penultimate is taken into the term next above it, and the product, added to the ultimate term, is the *aganta*. This is divided by the divisor yielding least remainder, and the residue multiplied by the divisor yielding greatest remainder, and added to the greatest remainder is a remainder of [division by] the product of the divisors."

This rule will probably puzzle our readers. We believe we shall best make it plain by proposing a question and solving it in our own way, and then shewing the identity of the steps with those indicated by the rule. Let it be for example required to determine a number, which, being divided by 8 gives the remainder 3, and being divided by 7 gives the remainder 6.

Let  $x$  be the number required then by the question,

$$\frac{x}{8} = a + \frac{3}{8} \therefore x = 8a + 3$$

$$\frac{x}{7} = b + \frac{6}{7} \therefore x = 7b + 6$$

Hence  $7b + 6 = 8a + 3$

$$b = \frac{8a - 3}{7} \text{ which must be a whole number.}$$

Again, since  $\frac{8a - 3}{7}$  is a whole number  $\frac{a - 3}{7}$  must also be a whole number.

This condition will be fulfilled by making  $a$  any number in the arithmetical series 3, 10, 17, &c., which will give the number required 27, or 83, or 139, &c.

Now by Brahme Gupta's rule we have first to divide 7, the number which yields the greater remainder, by 8, the number that yields the less, the quotient is 0 and the remainder 7. This is then reciprocally divided, that is  $\frac{7}{8} = 1\frac{1}{8}$ . It ought to be observed that the quotient in this division is what we shall afterwards quote as the *first* quotient. This remainder 1 is to be multiplied by such a number that the product having—3 added to it, may be divisible by 7. This number is as before any one of the series 3, 10, 17, &c. Take 10, and the quotient is 1, which we call the *last* quotient, and then arrange the terms thus :

- 1 first quotient,
- 10 assumed number.
- 1 last quotient,

Then multiplying the penultimate into the preceding, and adding the ultimate, we get 11 for the *aganta*. This being divided by 8, the divisor yielding the least remainder, gives the residue 3. This multiplied by 7 and added to 6 makes 27, the remainder resulting from dividing the required number by 56 the product of 7 and 8. Hence the number is, as before, found to be 27, or  $56 + 27 = 83$ , or  $112 + 27 = 139$ , &c. It will not be difficult now for any one acquainted with algebra to trace the *rationale* of the pulverizer,\*—but it will be difficult for any one not acquainted with the Hindus, and ignorant that simplicity is not an element in their ideas of excellence, to account for the fact that Brahmegeupta did not prefer the simple process of merely multiplying the assumed number by the greater divisor and adding the remainder in order to find the quotient required, rather than the complicated process of multiplying the first quotient by the assumed number and adding the last quotient, then dividing the result by the divisor yielding the least remainder, multiplying the remainder resulting from this division by the divisor yielding the greatest remainder and then adding to this product the greater remainder itself, in order to find not the number sought, but another number from which that is not a whit more easily found than from the assumed number itself. Such, however, is a method quite characteristic of the Hindu mind.

Such then is the pulverizer, which it will be seen is neither more nor less than a method of resolving indeterminate equations of the first degree. It is of most important application in the

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\* It may be well, however, for the sake of such as are but moderately skilled in analysis, to carry out our own process to Brahmegeupta's result, in order to shew more clearly the *rationale* of his method; we therefore resume the process.

Adding the two original equations together we get—

$$\frac{x}{8} + \frac{x}{7} = a + b + \frac{3}{8} + \frac{6}{7}$$

$$\frac{15x}{56} = a + b + \frac{69}{56}$$

$$\frac{15x}{56} = \frac{15a-3}{7} + \frac{69}{56}$$

$$\frac{x}{56} = \frac{a-\frac{1}{3}}{7} + \frac{69}{840}$$

But  $\frac{a-3}{7}$  is a whole number, therefore  $\frac{a-\frac{1}{3}}{7} = \text{a whole number} + \frac{24}{7}$ . Hence the remainder resulting from dividing the number sought by the product of the given divisors is

$$\frac{24}{7} + \frac{69}{840} = \frac{14}{35} + \frac{69}{840} = \frac{405}{840} = \frac{27}{56}$$

Hindu astronomy, for from it can be found, as is evident, the number of revolutions that have taken place since the conjunction of any number of heavenly bodies, by knowing their periodic times and the fraction of a revolution elapsed at any given time. Suppose, for example, the periodic times of three heavenly bodies to be 50 days, 120 days and 365 days, respectively, and that at given periods they were 4 days, 3 days and 2 days respectively, past a particular point in the heavens, then it is evident that by the pulverizer could be found the number of revolutions that they must severally have made since they were all in conjunction in that point. This is unquestionably the process by which the Hindu astronomers fixed the commencement of the Kali-yug, which occupied so much of our attention in a previous article. We have caught the coiners with the very mould in their hands; and M. Bailly, if he were alive, could not by any possible advocacy counterbalance the weight of this circumstantial evidence.

The other sections of this work do not require particular notice. They only give more complicated cases of the pulverizer with astronomical applications.

We have dwelt thus long on the works of Brahmagupta, and have therefore now only to notice a very few improvements introduced after his time, as manifested in the works of Bhāscara. These works are two, the *Lilavati* and the *Bija Ganita*. The meaning of the former of these titles is curious. We find it given by Dr. Hutton from the preface to a Persian translation of the work. It indicates a degree of indelicacy that will astonish mere European readers, but which is quite in keeping with the manners of the Hindus to the present day.

"It is said that the composing the *Lilawati* was occasioned by the following circumstance. *Lilawati* was the name of the author's (Bhāscara's) daughter, concerning whom it appeared, from the qualities of the Ascendant at her birth, that she was destined to pass her life unmarried, and to remain without children. The father ascertained a lucky hour for contracting her in marriage, that she might be firmly connected, and have children. It is said that when that hour approached, he brought his daughter and his intended son near him. He left the hour-cup on the vessel of water, and kept in attendance a time-knowing astrologer, in order that when the cup should subside in the water, those two precious jewels should be united. But, as the intended arrangement was not according to destiny, it happened that the girl, from a curiosity natural to children, looked into the cup, to observe the water coming in at the hole; when by chance a pearl separated from her bridal dress, fell into the cup, and, rolling down to the hole, stopped the influx of the water. So the astrologer waited in expectation of the promised hour. When the operation of the cup had thus been delayed beyond all moderate time, the father was in consternation, and

examining, he found that a small pearl had stopped the course of the water, and that the long-expected hour was passed. In short, the father, thus disappointed said to his unfortunate daughter, I will write a book of your name, which shall remain to the latest times—for good name is a second life, and the ground-work of eternal existence ”

In accordance with this origin of the work, it is throughout adressed to Lilavati, in a way that, to our apprehensions, is sometimes very grotesque. Take a few of the examples at random. “Ten times the square root of a flock of geese seeing the clouds collect flew to the Manus lake, one-eighth of the whole flew from the edge of the water amongst a multitude of water-lilies, and three couples were observed playing in the water. Tell me, my young girl with beautiful locks, what were the whole number of geese ? Again—“ Beautiful and dear Lilavati, whose eyes are like a fawn’s ! tell me what is the number resulting from one hundred and thirty-five taken into twelve ? if thou be skilled in multiplication by whole or by parts, whether by sub-division of form or separation of digits. Tell me auspicious woman, what is the quotient of the product divided by the same multiplier.”

One of the most interesting processes we find in the work of Bhascara, is his method of completing the square in quadratic equations. This method was introduced into the European world by Dr. Hutton, in the work whose title stands at the head of the present article, and has now, we observe, found its way into some of our elementary works on algebra, under the designation of the Hindu method. As however it may still be unknown to many of our readers, and as it is in some cases very decidedly preferable to the ordinary method, it may be as well to present it here at length. Let the equation be  $ax^2 + bx = c$ , the ordinary method of completing the square would be by dividing both sides by  $a$ , and then adding to each side the square of  $\frac{b}{2a}$ ; instead of this however Bhascara directs us to multiply both sides of the equation by four times the co-efficient of the second power, and to add to each side the square of the co-efficient of the simple power. Thus the complete equation will be this —  $4a^2x + 4abx + b^2 = 4ac + b^2$  the first side of which is a complete square. This method, with a simplification of our own which it is not necessary to specify here, we have for a long time used in our practice whenever the second power of the unknown quantity has been affected by a co-efficient. It frequently saves a considerable amount of labor. Bhascara informs us that he takes this rule from Srid’hara.



One of the most interesting matters that we have met with in the works of Bhascara, is the following problem in the chapter of the Lilavati which treats on plane figure. The problem when stated, as it would be stated by a European mathematician, is the following : *Given the hypotenuse of a right angled triangle express'd by a whole number, to find the sides also expressed in whole numbers.* This problem we are directed to solve thus : "Twice the hypotenuse taken into an arbitrary number, being divided by the square of the arbitrary number added to one, the quotient is the upright. This taken apart is to be multiplied into the number put,—the difference between the product and the hypotenuse is the side."

Now it is evident that this is nothing else than the Diophantine equation  $x^2 + y^2 = a^2$  in which  $a$  is known number and is required to find  $x$  and  $y$  in whole numbers. The rule, translated into algebraical language, gives  $x = \frac{2 a b}{b^2 + 1}$  and  $y =$

$$\frac{2 a b^3}{b^2 + 1} - a = \frac{a (b^2 - 1)}{b^2 + 1}$$

The author, however, speaks too vaguely when he intimates that we are to assume any number whatever as a multiplier of the hypotenuse. On the contrary  $b$  must be taken such that  $\frac{a (b^2 - 1)}{b^2 + 1}$  shall be a whole number ; and in many cases no such number can be found, as ought evidently to be the case, as in very many instances the problem is impossible. It might easily be shewn that, in order that  $\frac{a (b^2 - 1)}{b^2 + 1}$  may be a whole num-

ber, we must have  $\frac{2 a}{b^2 + 1}$  a whole number. Hence in any particular case, since  $b$  must be less than  $2 a$ , and  $2 a$  must be divisible without a remainder by  $(b^2 + 1)$ ,  $b$  may be found by a very few trials, and the question solved if the case proposed be possible. The process, by which this rule must have been investigated, bespeaks no slight acquaintance with the principles of the indeterminate analysis, for although the investigation is neither difficult nor tedious when the principles of that analysis are clearly comprehended, yet an algebraist, without a distinct apprehension of those principles, could hardly by any possibility hit upon the process. The investigation may be here presented as it is given in the *Complément des élémens d'Algèbre* of Lacroix.

$$x^2 + y^2 = a^2, \text{ or } y^2 = a^2 - x^2$$

$$\text{Assume } y = bx - a \text{ then } b^2 x^2 - 2abx + a^2 = a^2 - x^2$$

$$x^2 (b^2 + 1) = 2abx$$

$$\text{and } x = \frac{2ab}{b^2 + 1}$$

$$y = bx - a = \frac{2ab^2}{b^2 + 1} - a = \frac{a(b^2 - 1)}{b^2 + 1}$$

The whole art of this investigation consists in the right assumption of the value of  $y$ ; an assumption which certainly could not have been hit upon by any but an expert analyst.

But Bhascara may cope with any algebraist, ancient or modern, in his ingenuity in this respect. As a proof of this we shall give one of the examples from the *Bija Ganita* with its solution, merely substituting our own notation for his, and this done, we shall trespass no further on the patience of our readers. "Example: Tell me, gentle and ingenious mathematician, two numbers, besides six and seven, such that their sum and their difference with three added to each may be squares; that the sum of their squares less four, and the difference of their squares with twelve added may also be squares; and half the product increased\* by the smaller number may be a cube; and the sum of all the roots, with two added, may be likewise a square."

Let  $x$  and  $y$  be the numbers required, and assume  
 $z - 1 = (x - y + 3)^{\frac{1}{2}} \dots \dots \dots (1)$

Then we have  $z^2 - 2z + 1 = x - y + 3$ ;  
 or  $z^2 - 2z - 2 = x - y$

Now this equation will be satisfied by  $x = z^2 - 2$ , and  $y = 2z$ .  
 From this we get

$$x + y + 3 = z^2 + 2z + 1 \therefore (x + y + 3)^{\frac{1}{2}} = z + 1 \dots (2)$$

$$x^2 + y^2 - 4 = z^4 \therefore (x^2 + y^2 - 4)^{\frac{1}{2}} = z^2 \dots (3)$$

$$x^2 - y^2 + 12 = z^4 - 8z^2 + 16 \therefore (x^2 - y^2 + 12)^{\frac{1}{2}} = z^2 - 4 \dots (4)$$

$$\frac{xy}{2} + y = z^3 \therefore \left(\frac{xy}{2} + y\right)^{\frac{1}{2}} = z \dots (5)$$

Now the sum of these five roots with 2 added, is, by the question, a complete square.

\* Colebrooke's translation says "diminished by," which is evidently a mistake.

Adding them together and increasing the sum by 2 we get  $2z^2 + 3z - 2$ , which being a complete square, let us make  $= v^2$ ;  $2z + 3z = v^2 + 2$

Mult. both sides by 8;  $16z^2 + 24z = 8v^2 + 16$

Add 9 to each side;  $16z^2 + 24z + 9 = 8v^2 + 25$

$$4z + 3 = (8v^2 + 25)^{\frac{1}{4}}$$

We must now take  $v$  such that  $8v^2 + 25$  shall be a complete square;  $v = 5$  will satisfy that condition, but as that would give the required numbers 6 and 7, it is excluded. No other value of  $v$  will serve our purpose until we come to  $v = 175$ ; this value of  $v$  gives  $4z + 3 = 495$ .

$$z = 123$$

Hence  $y = 2z = 246$  and  $x = z - 2 = 121$ .

It were superfluous to point out the exceeding elegance of this solution. Truly does Bhascara say that *sagacity is algebra*.

And now we would express a hope that the specimen we have given of the Hindu algebra may have the effect of attracting towards it the attention of mathematicians both in this country and in England. The learned Dr. Hutton got hold of a few fragments of an English version from a Persian translation of the writings of Bhascara, and so forcibly was he struck with its excellence, that he published the tract whose title stands at the head of this article, chiefly, as it seems, with the view of giving an account of it. The result of his comparison of it with the writings of Diophantus is very decidedly in favor of the Hindu sage. Yet so little attention seems to have been paid to his admirable treatise, that Sir John Leslie, writing many years afterwards, calls the *Lilavati* "a very poor performance, containing merely a few scanty precepts couched in obscure memorial verses." We trust that the sketch we have given in these pages, meagre though it be, is amply sufficient to refute this calumny. We have heard that Mr. Peacock has discussed the subject of Hindu algebra at large in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, but we have not had an opportunity of perusing his treatise.

We subjoin the concluding chapter of the *Bija Ganita* as a specimen of oriental composition:—

"ON earth was one named MAHESWARA, who followed the eminent path

of a holy teacher among the learned. His son BHASCARA, having from him derived the bud of knowledge, has composed this brief treatise of elemental computation.\*

As the treatises of algebra by BRAHMEGUPTA,† SRID'HARA and PAD-MANABHA are too diffusive, he has compressed the substance of them in a well-reasoned compendium, for the gratification of learners.

For the volume contains a thousand lines‡ including precept and example. Sometimes exemplified to explain the sense and bearing of a rule; sometimes to illustrate its scope and adaptation: one while to show variety of inferences; another while to manifest the principle. For there is no end of instances: and therefore a few only are exhibited. Since the wide ocean of science is difficultly traversed by men of little understanding: and, on the other hand, the intelligent have no occasion for copious instruction. A particle of tuition conveys science to a comprehensive mind; and having reached it, expands of its own impulse. As oil poured upon water, as a secret entrusted to the vile, as alms bestowed upon the worthy, however little, so does science infused into a wise mind spread by intrinsic force.

It is apparent to men of clear understanding, that the rule of three terms constitutes arithmetic; and sagacity, algebra. Accordingly I have said in the chapter on Spherics: §

“The rule of three terms is arithmetic; spotless understanding is algebra || What is there unknown to the intelligent? Therefore, for the dull alone, it ¶ is set forth.”

“To augment wisdom and strengthen confidence, read, do read, mathematician, this abridgment elegant in style, easily understood by youth, comprising the whole essence of computation, and containing the demonstration of its principles, replete with excellence and void of defect.”

\* *Laghu Vija-ganita.*

† The text expresses *Brahmākhyaya-vija*, algebra named from *Brahma*: alluding to the name of BRAHMEGUPTA, or to the title of his work *Brahmesiddhānta*, of which the 18th chapter treats of algebra. The commentator accordingly premises “Since there are treatises on algebra by BRAHMEGUPTA and the rest, what occasion is there for this?” The author replies “As the treatises, &c.” RAM.

‡ *Anushtubh*. Lines of thirty-two syllables, like the meter termed *anushtubh*. This intimation of the size of the volume regards both the prose and metrical part. The number of stanzas including rules and examples is 210; or, with the peroration, 219. Some of the rules, being divided by intervening examples in a different meter, have in the translation separate numbers affixed to the divisions. On the other hand a few maxims, and some quotations in verse, have been left unnumbered.

§ *Gôlādhyāya*. Sect. II, § 3.

|| *Vija*.

¶ The solution of certain problems set forth in the section. The preceding stanza, a part of which is cited by the scholiast of the *Līlāvati* (Ch. 12), premises, “I deliver for the instruction of youth a few answers of problems found by arithmetic, algebra, the pulverizer, the affected square, the sphere, and [astronomical] instruments.” *Gôl*. Sect. II. § 2.

In conclusion we must say that the impression produced upon our minds by the study of this subject is one of deep humiliation. Among the Hindus, six hundred, and even twelve hundred years ago, there were men who were as profoundly versed in this branch of mathematical science as were our fathers a hundred years ago. Their representatives in these days are the miserable drivellers whose whole knowledge amounts to a few scraps of "tank arithmetic," and that generally known only by rote. Shall it be then that the successors of Peacock and Airy, and Whewell and De Morgan shall ever become such pigmies in intellect? The history of Hindu science very clearly points out to us that there is nothing in the nature of man to prevent such a degeneracy. Yet we are not without hope, though it comes from another quarter. Since European science is not the property of a *man* but of the community, its continuance is not dependent on the accident of individual talents (though its extension may be,) but is secured on a basis as broad and firm as any thing human can rest upon. It was with the Hindu science as with the monstrous empires that rose by the prowess of a single hero and passed away along with him. But European science is now so deeply rooted and so widely spread, so amalgamated with all the institutions of government and all the arts of life, that nothing short of an entire revulsion of all that is human can ever eradicate it. This advantage, be it remembered, is one of the thousand unthought of blessings which we derive from that blessed book, which has taught us far more clearly than men were ever taught before, the duties and privileges of mankind. Little as some of our philosophers may dream of it, the bible is the palladium of our science, as well as of those blessings and privileges which are more directly traceable to it. Its absence, and the prevalence of all those barriers to improvement which it alone can wholly banish, have reduced the science of India to its present despicable state; its suppression produced the dark ages in Europe, and its restoration to its due place gave the impulse to that vast movement which has for three centuries been going on: and its dissemination, with all attendant blessings, is the means appointed by the Lord and Ruler of all, for introducing light and liberty and joy into all the dwellings of men.

## SIR PHILIP FRANCIS.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K. C. S. I.

*Correspondence of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke, between the years 1744 and the period of his decease in 1797; Edited by Charles William, Earl of Fitz-William, and Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Bourke, K. C. B. 4 vols. London, 1844.*

THOUGH nearly half a century has elapsed since the demise of Edmund Burke, the letters contained in these volumes are now for the first time given to the public. A delay so protracted, in admitting the world to the privilege of communion in this valuable propriety, was calculated to excite surprise and dissatisfaction. An attempt is, therefore, made by the editors, to account for it in a brief prefatory notice. It appears that on the death of Mr. Burke, the duties of the literary executorship devolved on Dr. French Laurence\*—the eminent civilian—and Dr. Robert King, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. From the joint labors of these two distinguished men resulted eight volumes of the octavo edition of their friend's works. Dr. Laurence was cut off in 1809; and the executorial duties, shortly afterwards rendered more onerous by the death in 1812 of Mrs. Burke who bequeathed all her husband's papers and the care of arranging them to the worthy Bishop, in conjunction with two others who appear to have been but sleeping partners in the literary concern, now rested entirely on Dr. King. His health was bad and his sight worse; but in spite of these infirmities against which his veneration for his deceased friend impelled him manfully to struggle, he added eight more volumes to the standard edition of Burke's works.

In 1828, the worthy divine, who had intimated his intention of giving in the concluding volumes of the "Works" some notice of the author's life, with extracts from his correspondence, was gathered to his fathers; and the Burke papers then passed into the hands of the late Earl of Fitz-William. From him they descended to the present Earl, who, in conjunction with Sir Richard Bourke—a distant relative of the deceased statesman—has at length given to the world some selections from the correspondence of Edmund Burke. The letters are without any accompanying memoir; but the Editors have added, here and there, a few

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\* Dr. Laurence was counsel to the Managers of the impeachment of Warren Hastings. He was an able and excellent man, universally esteemed, a sound lawyer and a writer of no little humour. Brougham says he "united in himself the indefatigable labor of a Dutch commentator with the alternate playfulness and sharpness of a Parisian wit." He was one of the writers of the *Rollin*, and, no doubt, we are indebted to his pen for the attacks it contains on Warren Hastings.

meagre explanatory notes, which any bookseller's hack might have done with equal ability and considerable more candour. The correspondence itself, it is almost superfluous to say, contains much interesting and suggestive matter. It may, therefore, appear ungracious to add that it has occasioned in us some disappointment. Interesting though it be, it is not *so* interesting as the title of the work led us to expect. The correspondence of such a man, ranging over a period of nearly half a century—and that too the most eventful half century in the history of Great Britain—might have furnished forth a more delicate banquet than that which has been set before us.

But, whatever might have been the general character of this long-projected work, it would have been permitted to us but to view it in one aspect. France, Ireland, and America, are the principal themes of the great statesman's epistolary discourse. With France, Ireland, and America, we have nothing to do. We notice these volumes only because some portions of them—scanty portions it must be acknowledged—relate to India and Indian affairs; because a few of the letters are addressed to, or bear the signatures of men famous in the annals of the East. We wish that these letters had been more numerous. We had hoped to have gathered from the correspondence something of the secret history of that great State Trial, which towards the close of the last century, called forth the highest efforts of oratory which have ever stirred with awe and admiration the hearts of a British audience; hoped to have alighted upon some direct revelations of the under-workings of the great machinery set in motion by the master hand of Burke; hoped to have seen something of the bare heart of the great orator—to have seen him off the stage, a genuine man, not made up for great displays, but a sample of natural humanity, with all the strong feelings, vivid first impressions, and urgent impulses of genius. We thought, moreover, that we might have found in these pages an exposure of the bitter malignity of Philip Francis—thought that we should have seen the silver veil of truth and justice—glittering delusions—upraised from the foul face of the grinning Mokanna—thought that we should have seen, in his real character, the man who, in this country, evinced the morality so boasted of at home, by hating his neighbour and loving his neighbour's wife.

But of all this we find nothing—nothing beyond a few occasional glimpses of the inner workings of the actors' hearts—rare, but for their rarity esteemed. There are letters in the collection from Burke to Francis, and from Francis to Burke; and letters between Burke and William Jones—all of which belong especially

to us. The epistles of the orientalist are few ; but all who admire the character of one of the best and ablest men, who have ever inhaled the hot and dusty air of Bengal, will read them with no common interest. They display much of the personal feelings—the hopes and fears—of the great linguist, who regarded a seat on the Indian Bench, as little more than a step towards an advancement in oriental scholarship. There are two letters, written at a time when he despaired of obtaining the prize, for which he was contending, and attributed his want of success to the enmity of the Chancellor Thurlow. Thurlow was rough but honest ; not made for popularity, but formed in the right mould of true manhood. Jones calls him a *beast* ; but characteristically veils the coarseness of the expression by clothing it in a classic garb. "As there has been a vacancy for five years" he writes, in a letter to Burke, dated early in 1782, "on the Bench of Calcutta, "it might be supplied without any further legislative provisions, "but the same *θηριον* (excuse a word formerly applied to *Æs-* "chines at Rome) who has obstructed all attempts to supply it, "since he has been in power, will I clearly see continue to ob- "struct not that measure only, but all other measures of Govern- "ment."....."I therefore despair," he says a little further on "at least of the Supreme Court, and as to the *Sedr* " *Addlet*, though with your kind assistance, I might possibly "obtain it from the Company, yet having already smarted "so severely, I have not courage enough, I confess, to enter "upon a new career of solicitation." We, therefore, find him turning his thoughts from the East towards the West, and contemplating, partly in a friendly and partly in a professional character, a voyage to Virginia. But this Western expedition was soon abandoned, and the disappointed orientalist again bethought himself, not without a pang of disappointment, of a return to his old professional pursuits in the Courts of Law. The "rugged" Thurlow was still in office. "I heard last night," says Jones in a letter to Burke, written in February 1783, "that the *θυριον* was to continue in office. "Now, I can assure you from my own personal knowledge, that "although he hates our species in general, yet his particular "hatred is directed against none more virulently than against "Lord North and the friends of the late excellent Marquis.\*" But in spite of the beast on the Woolsack—the "Caliban in power," as Jones elsewhere calls the Chancellor, the despairing barrister—thanks to the powerful interest of Lord Ashburton—

\* Rockingham.



was soon on his way to Calcutta with a patent of knighthood, an appointment as a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, and better than all, an amiable wife. The next letter bearing his signature, in the collection before us, is dated from Garden Reach. It is of so interesting a character that we need make no excuse for re-publishing it in its integrity :

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE EDMUND BURKE.

*Gardens, near Calcutta, April 13, 1784.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,

No good opportunity of writing to you has been neglected by me ; though my letters have been short, as I propose to send you my observations at large on the present state of judicature in this country, and on the most practicable means of improving it ; but I shall not have leisure to enlarge on those subjects till the long vacation, which I design to spend on the Ganges, visiting every remarkable place and considerable town on its banks, as high up as my time will allow me to proceed. Of politics you will hear nothing from me, because, as I have often told you, I have nothing to do with them in my judicial character ; and as to literature, though I have much to write, yet I have much also to read, and many points to investigate, before I can send you a detail of my remarks and discoveries. I should not, therefore, have written now, merely to say that it is hot in April, or that mango-fish are in season ; but a passage in a letter from the Bishop of St. Asaph,\* which I have just received, makes me desirous of expostulating a little with you ; and I request you to consider my expostulation as friendly, yet serious. You have declared, I find, that "if you *hear* of my *siding* with Hastings, you will do every thing in your power to get me recalled." What ! if you *hear* of only !—without examination,—without evidence ! Ought you not, rather, as a friend, who, whilst you reproved me for my ardour of temper, have often praised me for integrity and disinterestedness, to reject any such information with disdain, as improbable and defamatory ? Ought you not to know, from your long experience of my principles, that whilst I am a judge, I would rather perish than *side* with any man ? The charter of justice, indeed (and I am sorry for it,) makes me *multilateral* ; it gives me an *equity* side, a *law* side, an *ecclesiastical* side, a *crown* side, an *admiralty* side, and—the worst of all—in the case of ordinances and regulations, a *legislative* side ; but I neither have, nor will have, nor should any power or allurements on earth give me, a *political* side. As to Hastings, I am pleased with his conversation as a man of taste and a friend to letters. But whether his public conduct be wise or foolish, I shall not, in my present station, examine ; and if I should live to mention it after examination in the House of Commons, I shall speak of it as it deserves without extenuation if it be reprehensible, and without fear of any man, if I think it laudable. In regard to him and the council in their *collective* capacity, it is my fixed opinion that the court ought in no case to obstruct the operations of Government ; and let those at home (if there be such,) who would wholly disunite the judicial and executive powers here, be responsible to Britain for the consequences ; but such a disunion shall no more take place, if any exertions of mine can prevent it, than an union for any political purpose with the *individual* members of the government. You see, my dear Burke, that I am not deprecating

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\* Dr. Jonathan Shipley, whose daughter Sir William Jones married,

your resentment, ~~or~~ entreating you to moderate your thunder 'against me ; for with the shield of justice and truth, I should not fear the most impetuous attack even of an *enemy*, but should use in my defence those weapons which God has given me ; and though I had six sides, like a cube, yet, while I had no more, I should always fall, like that firm and regular solid, even and unchanged. It is impossible, therefore, that I can entertain apprehension of a *friend* ; and I persuade myself that, if I should be assailed by others (no just provocation, I promise you, shall be given by me,) your strongest tide of eloquence will be poured, like *Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῦ μελας ροοῖς*, to defend the fortunes of

My dear Sir,

Your faithful and affectionate,

W. JONES.

To this letter the editors have appended a foot-note in the following words :—"Doubtless, Mr. Burke never uttered the sentiments here imputed to him." We wish that we could participate in the confidence thus expressed in the erroneous character of the story told by the worthy Bishop of St. Asaph—a story, which to us at least, has the stamp of probability on the face of it. In the former article\* we have shown that Burke exerted himself to obtain the rescision of Sir John Shore's appointment to the Governor-Generalship, on no other grounds than that the latter was supposed to be a friend of Hastings ; and we cannot therefore consider it altogether incredible that something of a similar threat escaped the lips of the partisan, with reference to the Bengal judgeship. We believe the asserted fact. There is nothing in the character of Burke, when viewed through an impartial medium, to cause our judgment to reject it. Of the honest manliness of Jones' commentary, it is impossible to speak too highly. It becomes the character of the Christian judge. There had been judges before, and there have been judges since this letter was written, who have practically evinced a widely different sense of the nature of judicial obligations.

Though no more than slightly connected with the subject of the present article, we have been unable to resist this brief notice of the letters of Sir William Jones. The correspondence, in the volumes before us, between Burke and Francis, is less scanty and more interesting. Whilst making our selections from it, we shall endeavour to give some connected account of the latter. It is worthy of remark that whilst English writers rarely or never speak of this statesman save in terms of respect, in India his name is seldom mentioned without being coupled with some opprobrious epithet. Francis appears to have enjoyed, up to the time of his death, the character of a public

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\* Calcutta Review, Vol. I. Art. "Lord Teignmouth."

man of unimpeachable integrity ; and it has since been affirmed—we shall presently shew with what degree of truth—that his virtue towered above the mists of cotemporary malice, and that none ventured to aim the darts of calumny at one, in all respects, so unassailable. It is certain that writers and speakers of the highest repute have borne testimony to his deserts, and it is no pleasant duty to assail the character of the man, whom Fox and Burke delighted to honor, and over whom Brougham has pronounced an *éloge*. But the truth must be spoken. Francis would be little known to the present generation, but for his fierce antagonism to Warren Hastings. To India and to Hastings he owes his reputation ; for the suspicion of his authorship of a series of clever and scurrilous epistles in a public journal, now often spoken of but rarely pursued, would not have rendered him a noticeable man. He owes the place he occupies in the page of history mainly to an accident of the same description, as that which has rendered Sir Hudson Lowe an interesting historical character. Warren Hastings was his Napoleon. There are few of our Indian readers, who have not seen one of the rapacious crows, which in this country are so ubiquitous, carried along on the back of a buffaloe, whose hide it is greedily pecking. Cormorant Francis found a thick-hided buffaloe to carry him down the stream of time, and render him an object of interest to posterity.

Philip Francis was the son of Dr. Francis, who translated Horace and Demosthenes, wrote a couple of tragedies, which were not very successful, and enjoyed the honor of being concerned in the education of Charles James Fox. His grandfather and great-grandfather were Irish deans ; and he was descended, on the mother's side, from that Sir Thomas Roe, who came out to India in 1614, as Ambassador to the Emperor Jehangire. He was born in Dublin on the 22d of October 1740, and was educated in that city up to his 13th year, when he was removed to St. Paul's school, then under the superintendence of Mr. Thicknesse. When only sixteen he obtained, through the interest of Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, a small place in the Secretary of State's Office ; and two years afterwards (1758) Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham,) on the recommendation of Mr. Robert Wood, obtained for him the appointment of Secretary to General Bligh, in which capacity he was present at the capture and destruction of Cherburgh ; and, on the occasion of the attack on the rear-guard of the British army at St. Cas, tasted the perils of war without an opportunity of sharing in its honors.\* In 1760, he was appointed Secre-

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\* "From mere curiosity, and without arms," it is said "he was found standing in the ranks when the French approached very near and the firing began."

tary to the Earl of Kurnoul, Ambassador to Lisbon—the third situation which he was called upon to fill whilst yet in his minority. In 1763 he obtained a more permanent post, as a clerk in the War-office, and in this department he continued for some nine years, during which he contrived to lay the foundation of his after-notoriety. In 1772 he resigned his situation, or perhaps we ought to say he was dismissed from it, in consequence of a disagreement with Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War. With the precise history of this affair we are not acquainted. Lord Barrington appointed Mr. Chamier to the Deputy-Secretaryship. Francis was irritated, disgusted. In all probability, his vanity was wounded, and he conceived that he had been wronged by the promotion of a man, whose claims were inferior to his own; but whether he threw up his appointment in disgust, or whether his personal bearing towards his official superior was such as to provoke dismissal, we cannot confidently declare; but the most probable conjecture is, that he resigned to escape expulsion. JUNIUS, writing under the signature of VETERAN, on the 23rd of March 1772, says “I desire you will inform the public that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyly out of the War-office, has at last contrived to expel Mr. Francis.” Be this as it may, the clerk quitted the War-office, to appear shortly before the world in a more exalted position.

It was during the time of his connexion with the War-office, that Francis wrote the famous letters from which we have here made an extract. We state the fact as one, which in these days few, who have any real acquaintance with the subject, ever venture to doubt. The attempts to disprove Francis's authorship have been signal failures, whilst the evidence heaped up, on the other side, by Brougham, Macaulay and others, is full, satisfactory and conclusive. The main argument brought forward by parties, who are anxious to reject the claims of the War-office clerk, in favor of some more distinguished individual, consists in the fact that JUNIUS assailed Lord Chatham, and the assertion that Francis was deeply indebted to that nobleman and was one of his most enthusiastic admirers.\* We wish for the sake of humanity that it were impossible for a man to assail the character of his benefactor—we wish, for the sake of Mr. Francis, that it were impossible, that his nature could have permitted such an act. But we believe that men very often assail their benefactors, and that of

\* Which, however, he was not—Sir P. Francis spoke of him as “a great illustrious *faulty* human being,” thus leaving plenty of room to reconcile his censure with his praise.

all men Mr. Francis was the least likely to shrink from the assault. We believe too, that JUNIUS, setting aside altogether the question of identity, was capable of any amount of baseness. The writer, who delighted in making age and infirmity his butts; who was never so rampant in his malignity as when the visitations of Providence were the subjects of his discourse; who assailed the reputations of women, with as much rancour as the characters of men—was fully equal to the task of blackening the name of his benefactor, even if the benefactor were his own father. The fact is, however, that Francis was under no very great obligation to Lord Chatham. He had obtained an appointment from the Minister, but it was through the instrumentality of another gentleman; and appointments thus bestowed are generally debited by the recipient to the party on whose account the favor is granted. That Francis publicly eulogised Lord Chatham is true. On that nobleman's death he pronounced that his place could not be filled—and it is said, that the younger Pitt never forgave the speech.

But this is no sort of evidence against the identity of Francis with JUNIUS. It is neither impossible nor improbable that a man should write anonymously one thing in 1768, and utter in his own person, another in 1784. We have many modern instances of statesmen changing their opinions of measures, as well as of men, in a much shorter space of time. The only fact with which we are acquainted in any way subversive of Francis' claims is, that Woodfall offered the author half the profits of a new and complete edition of the letters, and that the offer was declined. But, perhaps, Francis had not learnt thrift at so early a period of life. Men are often generous when they have nothing—and penurious when they have much.

We do not purpose to recapitulate the long list of facts, which have been adduced, to substantiate Mr. Francis' claims to consideration as the author of these remarkable letters. One chapter of the thick volume of evidence would suffice to establish the fact in every reasonable mind. It is inconceivable that any body else should have taken so deep an interest in the minor concerns of the War-office—should have felt so deeply aggrieved by the advancement of Mr. Chamier,\* and entertained such strong personal resentment against Lord Barrington. The private letters to Wood-

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\* Lord Brougham says that Mr. Chamier's "very name had now perished but for this controversy." But Mr. Chamier was known and esteemed by Burke, Johnson, and others. He was one of the original nine Members of Johnson's Club, at the Turk's Head. Sir John Hawkins speaks, in high terms, of his character and acquirements.

fall shew the amount of individual interests and animosity, which the appointment of Mr. Chamier had awakened in the writer's breast; and there was no other man living, capable of writing the letters of JUNIUS, who could have been moved to so much anger by measures of such little public importance. The letters, whether public or private, relating to Lord Barrington and Mr. Chamier, are obviously not pure emanations of offended political virtue. Nor is it conceivable that any but Francis himself should have entertained so high an opinion of Francis. It is remarkable that in the Preliminary Essay attached to Woodfall's 2d edition (1814,) of the letters, though the claims of several very improbable, and other very insignificant parties are canvassed, no sort of notice, from first to last, is taken of the claims of Sir Philip Francis.\* It is not even mentioned that to him, among others, the letters had been attributed by the world.

Upon his removal from the War-office in 1772, Francis, accompanied by Mr. David Godfrey, betook himself to foreign travel, and visited France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany and Italy. At the close of the year he returned to England. The times were auspicious. The affairs of the East India Company were then engaging the earnest attention of Government and the country. A reform, and an important one, in the Indian administration was contemplated. Parliament had been for some time engaged in the discussion of Eastern affairs, and various measures had been debated in the House. At length in 1773, the Bill, well known under the name of the Regulating Act, was passed under the auspices of Lord North's Ministry; and three English gentlemen, under this Act, were appointed to take their seats in the Supreme Council, with the view of contracting the power and controlling the excesses of the Indian Governors.

A Committee of Supervision, consisting of Messrs. Vansittart, Grafton, and Ford had been some time before appointed; but the *Aurora*, wherein these unfortunate gentleman sailed for India, was never heard of after leaving England. To replace this Committee, which had proceeded to Bengal with full power to regulate and control the Company's affairs, it was designed to appoint another, and the first place was offered to Mr. Burke. Burke declined the honor. "I set it in every light I could possibly place it," he wrote in a letter dated October 1772, "and after the best deliberation in my power, I came to a resolution not to accept the offer which was made to me. My family and friends whom I met in town, had employed their thoughts

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\* We have little doubt that both the Woodfalls strongly suspected the authorship. The father was a school fellow of Francis.

"on the same subject, and on talking the matter pretty largely, "concurred in the same opinion. I shall therefore, call on "Sir George Colebrooke tomorrow and give him my final answer." Subsequently six gentlemen were nominated, at the India House, as Supervisors—General Monckton, Messrs. Cuming, Devaynes, Lascelles, Wier and Wheler; but His Majesty's government refused to confirm the appointment, and a bill was passed restraining the Court from nominating Supervisors. Burke opposed this measure. He also opposed the Regulating Act, which early in the following year Lord North carried through the House. Under this Act, the Governor of Bengal was appointed Governor-General of India, with the wholesome restraint of a Council of four members, three of whom were to be sent from England. Mr. Barwell, a civil servant of the Company, being appointed the fourth.

Finally, the selection fell on General Clavering, an honest man, with a powerful parliamentary connexion; on Colonel Monson, and lastly, on Mr. Philip Francis. Francis was then in his thirty-third year—but his judgment was conceived to be more mature than his age; and he was looked upon as the man of business, on whom was to devolve the most active part of the work of the Commission—and in respect of the Councillor's activity his friends had no cause of complaint. With the secret history, if any, of Francis' appointment to the Supreme Council, we are but imperfectly acquainted. It is known that Lord Barrington, who had been scandalously maligned by JUNIUS, recommended the man, whom he had dismissed from his own department, to Lord North, who was then at the head of the Government—but whether Francis owed his nomination to any peculiar fitness for public affairs, which he had evinced at his desk in the War-office; whether the terror inspired by the *Nonius Umbra* of JUNIUS suggested the advantages of his transportation to a distant colony, or whether Burke, to whom a somewhat similar appointment had been offered, exerted himself to obtain the situation for his friend, is no more than matter of conjecture. The appointment was a brilliant one for a young man recently removed from a clerkship in a public office—but it has been alleged that there was a condition attached to it, which somewhat diminished its value. Francis consented to carry a *rider*. The expression, in these days, may require some explanation. To carry a rider was to submit to the subtraction from the salary attached to an appointment, of a certain part, which went to furnish a pleasant sinecure to some friend of the Minister, who thus contrived at the same time to serve two parties. The sinecurist, drawing a certain part of another man's

official salary, was the *rider* ;\* and Francis was thus ridden ; but of the rider's name, and the weight of the incumbrance, we do not find any record.

Whether the three members, during their voyage out, met in daily council in the cuddy or on the quarter deck of the India-man, the safe arrival of which Lord Thurlow, sometime afterwards, publicly deplored—whether they varied the tedium of the long passage round the Cape by preparing for action against the Governor-General, whom they pretended to regard as nothing better than a pirate—it is impossible to declare. But it is certain that they entered the Hooghly in a frame of mind well disposed both to give and to take offence. As they neared the batteries of Fort William they were greeted with a salute of nineteen guns. Having calculated, upon what reasonable grounds it is impossible to conjecture, that they would have been received with a royal salute, the new members were highly incensed by this subtraction from their imagined honors. Francis, who had left England in a position to which no one would have touched a hat, was especially incensed. He appears at once to have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. From that moment he became the bitter, unrelenting enemy of Warren Hastings, and strained every muscle, exerted every wile, to drag the great man down from his eminence.

That Francis hated the Governor-General with a rancour and opposed him with an energy, worthy of the active malignity of JUNIUS, is a fact, which in spite of all his protestations, the world is by no means inclined to question. That he hated Hastings because he was Governor General, we believe to be an equally unquestionable fact. The clerk in the War-office was as envious as he was malignant ; and his estimate of his own worth was in proportion to his hatred and contempt of his neighbours. The violent letters, written by JUNIUS, under different signatures, laden with abuse of Lord Barrington, Chamier, and others, were drawn forth by a slight put upon him by the Secretary-at-War. Francis believed that he and he alone was entitled to the Deputyship. Lord Barrington promoted another man. Thus all the most prominent ingredients of his character were called into intense action—envy, malice, resentment, and all the evil spawn of mortified vanity. He hated the man thus promoted ; he hated Lord Barrington because his Lordship was his official supe-

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\* Such arrangements are well understood among official men in this country—but the name appears to be obsolete.



rior ; and subsequently he hated Warren Hastings, because he was Governor-General of India, whilst Philip Francis was but a Member of Council.

With characteristic arrogance and self-reliance, Francis—for he was the moving principle which regulated the proceedings of Clavering and Monson—lost no time in throwing the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of the Governor-General. Had he spent his whole life in India, intently studying the history, the manners, the laws of the people ; the system of British Government in India, the fiscal and judicial regulations of the Company ; the nature of all its political relations, and the individual character of all its servants ; this hot-brained clerk from the War-office could not have shaped all his measures with a greater confidence in the extent of his knowledge and the infallibility of his decisions. If Clive was a heaven-born general, Francis was—in his own estimation at least—a heaven-born politician. No sooner had he set his foot on the shores of India, than he leapt at once to the conviction, that he was infinitely superior, in respect of all important qualifications, to Hastings and Barwell who had lived, thought, and acted in India, ever since the period of their boyhood. He came out to discover abuses and he found them plenty as blackberries. His own imagination supplied them in every measure which had emanated from the Governor-General. All Hastings' measures were corrupt ; all whom he employed, creatures of corruption. The first thing the triad entered upon, was the recall of Mr. Middleton, the Agent at Lucknow, which so dismayed the Nabob, that he burst into tears and trembled with apprehension : and, finding how bitter were the feelings of the Council against him and how hopeless his case, fell soon afterwards into a state of disease from which he never recovered. The Rohilla war had furnished Francis with a fine point of attack. No one can deny that it was a vulnerable one. But the triumviri, when they seized the reins of government, by entering into negotiations of as questionable morality, showed how little they were really guided by any regard for honesty and justice.

But if there be nothing to be said in favor of Francis' morality, we cannot withhold the tribute due to his activity. His malignity never rested. When not full-armed to meet Hastings in the Council Chamber, irritating with senseless opposition and confounding with presumptuous ignorance the President, who if ever modern statesman has earned the title of πολυμητις is fairly entitled to the epithet, he was searching for evidence, which in Bengal was, and we fear it must be added is,

but another name for perjury ; encouraging the revengeful appetites of all whose schemes the Governor-General had baffled ; and inciting others, with hopes of reward, to bring forward their charges against the man whom they thus hated and feared. Under such fostering tuition these crawling things crept from their hiding places, and secure as they thought in the protection of the majority of the Council, put on a bold front, erected their crests and prepared to spit forth their venom. At the head of this brood was Nuncomar.

Of the interesting history of the downfall of this unhappy man, crushed by the weight of his own baseness, we purpose, though the subject be an attractive one, not to write in detail.\* Not Hastings and Impey, but Francis and Clavering, were the murderers of the wily native. They worked him up to the pitch of malicious daring, which ended in his destruction ; but having done this they could not save him. The writers who tax Francis and Clavering with having abandoned the unfortunate man, who in their behalf had perilled his life, do the Councillors a manifest injustice. The Council were powerless to remit the sentence or to reprieve the convict. Probably, they had no desire to do either ; but had their eagerness to save Nuncomar risen to fever heat, they must still have been contented to see him perish. It has been said that the worst possible use, to which we can put a man, is to hang him. It may be questioned whether Philip Francis was of this opinion. At all events, Nuncomar hanged was likely to be of more use to him than Nuncomar living. Serviceable as forged documents and unlimited false-swearing may have been, the gibbet, on which Nuncomar expiated his crimes, was a still more formidable weapon of attack. Francis must have chuckled over the execution of so exalted a victim, delighted to see his enemy commit himself in a manner, of all others, the best calculated to arouse the indignation of the people of England. Out of the rotting corpse of the perjured Brahmin, as the bees from the carcass of the lion which Samson slew in Timnath, came forth a swarm of witnesses against Hastings, laden with sweetness to the soul of Francis. The living Nuncomar, with all his baseness and subtility, could not have served his confederates in any way so surely—so effectually as by dying for them.

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\* It would be superfluous to refer our readers to Macaulay's masterly Essay on the Life of Warren Hastings—so universally is it known and admired—for a graphic sketch of the career of Nuncomar ; but we may take occasion to observe—and it affords us much pleasure to do so—that in Macfarlane's History of "Our Indian Empire," there is more interesting, and in many parts, *new* information, relative to the administration of Hastings, the opposition of the Council, and the great Trials to which they are afterwards led, than in any work with which we are acquainted.

It is not our intent to follow in detail the history of the great struggle between Hastings and his Council ; to show how week after week, every measure of the Governor-General was opposed by the triad of which Francis was the moving principle ; how the affairs of the Government were, by this malignant opposition, thrown into confusion ; and how at last Clavering was incited by Francis to make an effort to seize the reins of Government. These things belong, in the first instance, to the history of Warren Hastings, and to record them would be only to repeat what has already been so graphically written in connection with the life of that statesman. That every unworthy means to gain the ascendancy were resorted to by Francis ; that his tools were often of the meanest and most degraded, we believe—but it is true, at the same time, that he exerted the guile, with which his character was so plentifully imbued, to obtain the assistance of more worthy agents. Among these was Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, who lived to acknowledge that he had conceived a most mistaken estimate of his former friend. In all matters connected with questions of revenue, Francis availed himself of Shore's extensive knowledge and experience, and even employed the well-skilled pen of the civilian to draw up his Revenue Minutes. Captain Price, in one of his bitter pamphlets, tells an amusing story connected with Francis' reliance on his friend, which our readers may accept or not, just as their inclination leads them. "It happened," says this amusing but intemperate writer, "that at one time, Messrs. Anderson and Ducarrell were "out of Calcutta, and Mr. Hastings knowing that Mr. Shore was "the only man that Mr. Francis had left to assist him in drawing "up minutes, contrived, as it was reported, to order Mr. Shore "on an embassy to the Rajah of Kishnaghur, with whom he had "once resided as collecting chief. Mr. Francis, having not one "of his assistants at hand, fell sick, and could not attend at the "Council table, but desired that he might have all minutes sent "to him, and he would consider them and give his opinion at a "future meeting. After Mr. Hastings had laughed at him for "his schoolboy truancy for ten days or a fortnight, he wrote privately to Mr. Shore to return to Calcutta : this Mr. Shore let "Francis know, and he instantly grew better. This recovery, "Mr. Wheeler announced at the Council board. Mr. Hastings "said that he had known as much two days before, adding that "Mr. Shore was coming down. Whether Mr. Wheeler comprehended the jest or no, I know not : but Mr. Francis after having taken a few doses of salts, to save appearances by making "pale his visage, returned to his duty."

The history of the events which led to the attempted seizure of the Government is well known. Clavering and Francis overreached themselves. The bold spirit of defiance which they threw into all their proceedings roused Hastings to strenuous antagonism ; and finally he gained the victory. He was not one to be bullied ; and the promptitude and energy with which he acted on this occasion, were eminently characteristic of the man. It has been asserted by one who had some opportunities of access to the bureau of the Governor-General, that had Clavering been less insolent and presumptuous, Hastings would have abdicated in his favor. M. Grand, in the " Narrative of the life of a gentleman long resident in India," gives the following account of the transaction, which as coming from a contemporary, who was behind the scenes, is of greater interest than the more elaborate narratives of graver historians :—

Had Sir John Clavering conducted himself with common decency in the triumph which he thought he had obtained, not one friend of Mr. Hastings, nor one member of his family, but was fully persuaded, he would readily have abdicated. Instead of sending a conciliatory message to Mr. Hastings, desiring to ascertain his convenience, and, from that moment, trusting all their differences might be buried in oblivion, and testifying his wish and inclination to protect those whom Mr. Hastings respected, scarcely had the General finished the perusal of his despatches, than he peremptorily and bluntly summoned Mr. Hastings to meet him at ten in the morning in Council, and there to deliver over to him the keys of the Treasury and of Fort William. I was then living at a garden house, a short distance from town, with my recent acquired consort, and being in the habit of calling at Mr. Hastings, before I repaired to my office, I met, as I was going up the back stairs, my friend Major William Palmer, then the Governor's Military and Private Secretary. He seemed agitated, and in haste only whispered to me, that he was going in the Fort, to secure the obedience of the garrison. I continued ascending the steps, and entering the room, found Mr. Hastings busily writing with Mr. Bogle, Mr. Sumner, and Captain Roberts, Sir John Clavering's Aide-de-Camp, who was the bearer of the summons. Palmer soon returned, with the assurance of Colonel James Morgan, then commanding in the Fort, that he neither acknowledged nor should acknowledge, until Mr. Hastings gave him proper notification, any other authority as Governor than Mr. Hastings. The same injunctions had been immediately transmitted to the late Colonel Grananger Mure, who commanded at Barrackpore five battalions of Native Sepoys, and from whom the same success of implicit submission was equally expected. This was realized, and Mr. Hastings confiding in the justice of his cause, and military support, and indignant at Sir John's harsh proceedings, determined to resist the attempt to oust him from the chair, and accordingly, directed his Revenue Secretary, Mr. Sumner, to summon the General and Mr. Francis, to meet the Governor and Mr. Barwell, at an ordinary Revenue Council day. With this answer Capt. Roberts retired, and at twelve o'clock the divided Government were assembled, the latter in Mr. Sumner's office, and the former two gentlemen in Mr. Auriol's, who was then the Chief Secretary of Government. Parties began to gather. The Governor's body guard was doubled, and some apprehension arose of a civil commotion. In this

temper, and after some messages and conferences from the two Boards, it was at length agreed to call in the assistance and interposition of his Majesty's Judges, and to submit to their reference and decision, the act of resignation, the subsequent nominations, and the proceedings which had occurred in consequence; the respective parties, *viz.* the Governor and Mr. Barwell, and *vice versa*, Sir John Clavering and Mr. Francis, pledging themselves authentically and solemnly in the presence of the Judges, to abide by the issue.

The Judges were convened to meet in the evening at the Chief Justice's house, Sir Elijah Impey's, and gentlemen were requested to attend on the part of each Member of Government, Sir John D'Oyly and Major Palmer were present for Mr. Hastings, Mr. Addison for Sir John Clavering, Mr. Cator for Mr. Barwell, and the present Sir George Shee for Mr. Francis. During the time the Judges were closetted, intent on conferring, resolving, and having their opinions transcribed, we partook of a gay pleasant supper with Lady Impey, who retired not from table till two in the morning. We had two hours to await; at length the clock struck four, and at that moment, the doors opened, and two packets were given to the respective attendants. I accompanied my friends down stairs, and having had it whispered in my ear, that the Judges had pronounced unanimously in Mr. Hastings' favor, I went home, and resigned myself comfortably to that rest, which the state of previous anxiety I had endured so necessarily required.

The very discreditable history of the seduction of Madame Grand, to which the above extract naturally introduces us, it is impossible to pass over in silence. It is not merely a domestic episode in the life of Francis, for the consequences must greatly have sharpened the edge of his bitter resentment against Impey. Madame Grand was a very young and a very charming French woman. Her picture, painted by Zoffani, now adorns the walls of Mr. Marshman's residence at Serampore. There is more of feminine softness than of strength of character in her fair countenance; the sensual prevails everywhere over the intellectual. She was a Miss Werlé, "daughter of Monsieur Werlé, Capitaine du Port and Chevalier de Saint Louis;" and her union with M. Grand is alleged to have been "pure and disinterested and blessed with the sincerest attachment." But they had not been married a year before Francis marked her as his victim, and soon M. Grand discovered that he was the most miserable of men. We shall allow the afflicted husband to tell the story of his humiliation in his own words:

Here, I must pause a little, to call my reader's attention to contemplate the instability of human happiness! On the 8th of December 1778, I went out of my house, about nine o'clock, the happiest, as I thought myself, of men, and between eleven and twelve o'clock returned the same night to it, as miserable as any being could well feel. I left it, prepossessed with a sense, that I was blessed with the most beautiful as well as the most virtuous of wives, ourselves honored and respected, moving in the first circles, and having every prospect of speedy advancement. Scarcely had I sat down to supper at my benefactor Mr. Barwell's society, who required of his friends, to join

him every fortnight at this convivial meeting, than I was suddenly struck with the deepest anguish and pain. A servant who was in the habit of attending Mrs. Grand, came and whispered to me, that Mr. Francis was caught in my house, and secured by my Jemmadar (an upper servant exercising a certain authority over other servants). I rose up from table, ran to the terrace where grief, by a flood of tears, relieved itself for a moment. I then sent for a friend out, who I requested to accompany me, but the rank of the party, and the known attachment which, I was well aware he held to him, however he execrated his guilty action, pleaded his excuse with me. I collected myself, so much as circumstances would admit, and despatched the servant to acquaint the Jemmadar I was coming. On my way, I thought proper to call on my friend Major Palmer, and request the use of his sword, and to attend me as a friend, the purpose which I had in view, being to have released Mr. Francis, and seeing him out of my premises, compelled him to have measured himself with me, until one of us fell. Palmer approved of my determination, and we repaired to the spot. The porter, hearing my voice, opened the gate, and in my lower apartments, my friend and I beheld with astonishment the present Sir George Shee, bound to a chair, and endeavoring to obtain from my servants his release, with Mr. Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, and the late Mr. Archdekin, companions to him joining in the same prayer and entreaty. He complained of having been cruelly treated by them. My Jemmadar, on the contrary, told a plain tale. It was, that he had secured Mr. Francis, to meet the vengeance of his master, until Mr. Shee, assisted by the other gentlemen, upon a loud whistle sounded by Mr. Francis, had scaled the walls of my compound, rushed furiously on him, and, in the scuffle, occasioned Mr. Francis to escape. I asked Mr. Shee, and his comrades, in the presence of Mr. Palmer, if they had seen Mr. Francis, and contributed to his rescue; but finding I could only draw from them evasive answers, with a declaration, that, what had actuated their coming, was Mr. Shee's running over to Mr. Ducarrelli's house, which was opposite, in which they lodged, loudly calling for their aid, to prevent their friend Mr. Francis being murdered, they had, between a state of sleeping and waking, ran forward, without considering what they were doing. I ordered in consequence their release, and leaving my house to the care of my faithful Jemmadar and servants, I retired to Major Palmer's.

Seated on a chair, borne down with the deepest grief, I anxiously awaited the morning, to require from the undoer of my happiness, the satisfaction which the laws of honor prescribe, as a poor relief to the injury committed. I wrote to Mr. Francis, that, void of every spark of principle and honor as I deemed him, still, I trusted, he would not deny me the meeting, which I summoned him to immediately, with any friend whom he might choose to bring. His reply was laconic and easy. It was couched in these terms—"That, conscious of having done me no injury, and that I labored under a complete mistake, he begged leave to decline the proposed invitation, and that he had the honor to remain, my most obedient, &c., &c."

I now returned home, sent for Mrs. Grand's sister and brother-in-law from Chandernagore, occupied the lower apartments of my house, whilst Mrs. Grand remained in the upper, and on the Sunday following every thing was arranged for Mrs. Grand's returning with them, to live under their mansion and protection, myself contributing what was requisite for her support, independent of the monthly allowance which I chose to allot to her own disposal. An interview was entreated, and could not be denied. It lasted three hours, interrupted with the most poignant lamentations. I heard an

unvarnished relation, of the baseness of the arts employed for the seduction of a stranger, and attained only to her sixteenth year. I pitied her from my heart. I sincerely forgave her, and with a sorrow, approaching to distraction, we parted.

After the addition of insult to injury which I had suffered by Mr. Francis' reply, a course of law alone remained open, to identify the person and punish the crime. This, I had recourse to, not, without experiencing great difficulty, most of the complaisant Advocates of the Supreme Court having, either been retained by him, or intimidated from acting. At length I succeeded with one who brought the process to a successful issue. By the testimony of Mr. Shee, Mr. Archdekin, and others, the trespass was fully proved, and the trespasser was condemned by the Bench of Judges in damages of fifty thousand Sicca Rupees, with costs of suit.

Mr. Shee, the principal witness, on whose evidence every hope of crimination rested, had been induced to abscond, in the reliance which was placed, that he would thereby evade the jurisdiction, and save his *noble* patron from the disgraceful exposure and consequences which naturally followed; and not until the Bench had pronounced such contumelious conduct liable to corporal punishment, did he return, when the subpoena was regularly served on him, and most unwillingly was he compelled to appear before their tribunal. In the course of his examination, it was extorted from him and others, that he had lent his apartments for Mr. Francis to dress in black clothes to visit Mrs. Grand, at ten o'clock at night, accompanied with a ladder, ingeniously constructed under Mr. Shee's superintendence, cut and framed out of a large split bamboo, which they applied to the walls of the compound for Mr. Francis' conveniency to ascend; and as some dread was entertained he might be interrupted in his villainous design, it was preconcerted, that Mr. Shee, and others of his adherents and supporters in iniquity, should patrol around the house, in order to be within call of lending their assistance, in the event of their hearing the sound of the whistle, with which their patron had provided himself. To facilitate this means of aid, it was settled between them, that the ladder should remain, and from this resolution, unfortunate on their part, issued the discovery. My Hukabunder coming to the chest which stood in a passage through which Mr. Francis had been obliged to pass, observed the latter resting on the wall, and frightened, he withdrew, and communicated his apprehensions to the Jemmadar and other servants in the back court yard, of thieves having got in to rob the house. In this conference, they resolved, as the best means of detecting the offenders, and prevent their carrying away the spoil, to pull the ladder in, and arm and post themselves by the door, ready to seize the first person attempting to come out. In this manner did my Jemmadar grasp Mr. Francis, who, in vain offered for his ladder and release plenty of *Gold Mohurs*, which it was established in evidence during the trial, he had furnished himself and carried loose in his pocket for the insidious purpose of bribing a gentleman's servant, if the emergency existed. Equally, was it adduced, that he had been lavish in his promises of promoting my Jemmadar, proclaiming the high rank which he was vested with, and his certainty of succeeding to be Governor-General.

But, all his efforts of gold tendered, and promised favor, could not shake or corrupt the fidelity of the honest Rajapoot (a sect next to the Brahmins, and as remarkable for bravery as for attachment to those they serve), who, persisting to detain him, until his master came home, reduced Mr. Francis to the shift of effecting his enlargement, by having recourse to the scene which I have above described.

There are features of uncommon ugliness in this case. At a time, when morality in England was lax, and in India still laxer; when gallantry in the chamber was looked upon as a characteristic of a gentleman, almost as ennobling as gallantry in the field—even a statesman, might swerve from the path of moral duty without consigning himself to infamy. But here we see a man of mature years, deliberately addressing himself to the seduction of a young wife of sixteen; then coolly denying his guilt, and refusing to the injured husband the "satisfaction," which worldly men think it honorable to grant, and which, when it suited his purpose, Francis himself knew how to demand. But without human intervention, retribution ever dogs the heels of crime, and often assumes the guise most terrible to the offender. Grand brought an action against Francis in the Supreme Court, and the defendant was cast in damages to the amount of 50,000 Rupees. The judges were Impey, Hyde and Chambers. It is said that Hyde was desirous to fix the damages at a lakh of Rupees. Chambers\* thought that no damages should be given; but finding himself in the minority named 30,000 Rupees. Impey took a middle course and fixed 50,000 Rupees, which was the verdict of the Court. Hyde, determined that the damages should be as high as possible, interrupted Impey, as he was declaring the verdict, by crying out, "*Siccas*, brother Impey—*Siccas*." Accordingly the verdict was fixed at 50,000 *Sicca* Rupees.

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\* Chambers' opinion runs as follows:—We take it from *Hickey's Gazette* for February 1781—shortly after Francis left Bengal. The damages are here stated at 60,000; but Mr. Grand in his "Narrative" says 50,000 Rs., and his testimony must be deemed conclusive.

*Sir Robert Chambers' Opinion, or Protest in the Cause of Grand versus Francis, for Crim. Con. and for which the Gentleman was fined the Moderate Sum of Sixty Thousand Rupees.*

*I am fully of Opinion, that the charge in the Plaint, is not proved—*

1st. Because it appears to me that there is no proof either positive, or circumstantial, that Mrs. Grand knew of, or previously consented to his Mr. Francis coming for any purpose, much less for the purpose of *Adultery*.

2d. Because there is no *proof* either *direct*, or founded on violent *presumption*, that they were actually together: much less was there any proof that they committed any crime together.

3d. Because the evidence appears to me to fall *short* of what is ordinarily considered as proof of *any Fact*, and especially of *any Crime*.

4th. Because it falls exceedingly short of what our *Common Law* considers as *proof of Adultery*.

And lastly, because *I've never read or heard* of any action for *Crim. Con.* in which a verdict has been given for the *plaintiff*, on such *Presumptions of Guilt*.

*N. B.*—Sir Robert Chambers held the distinguished post of Vinerian Professor at Oxford when he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, and Sir Elijah Impey was Counsel on the side of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland and Lady Grosvenor in that memorable *Crim. Con.* affair.—(*Hickey*.)



Mr. McFarlane in his History of "Our Indian Empire," has published what follows in the form of a note—

If the stories told by the Parisians of Madame Talleyrand, Princess of Benevento—whom by the way they call Madame Grant, and not Madame le Grand—be true, the lady's accomplishments were not of a literary kind. Madame le Grand was a native of Pondicherry; Monsieur, her husband, was a Swiss. He lost his fortune, including Francis's sicca rupees; and, at the peace of Amiens, went over to Paris to seek a new one, or to solicit a place under Napoleon's Government, through the patronage of his ex-wife and M. de Talleyrand! What followed was a *tour d'adresse* worthy of the great master Talleyrand. He was sent out as governor to Batavia, but *without proper credentials*, and was disclaimed at the seat of government! He resented this treatment by writing a libel on Madame la Princesse, who bought up and destroyed the few copies that were printed. The end of M. le Grand we know not; but for the humanity of Talleyrand it might be very well fancied he ended his days in Finistrelle, or some other fortress, as a state prisoner. It appears that, during his stay in India, Francis lost his own wife by death; and Lord Byron somewhere mentions a letter written by the unloving husband, while her dead body was yet in the house, that struck him with horror.

It would be difficult to find a passage of equal length, in any history, more full of errors than this. M. Grand visited Paris in 1802, but saw, during his visit, neither M. Talleyrand nor the "Princesse." He obtained an appointment, it is true—not, however, to Batavia, but to the Cape of Good Hope. His appointment was that of "Privy Councillor to the Government of the Cape of Good Hope." He was not appointed by Talleyrand, but by an "Assembly of the States." He was not "disclaimed at the seat of Government," but acted in the situation, to which he had been appointed, until the colony became a British one, and the occupation of the States was gone. There having been no ill treatment to resent, the libel on Madame la Princesse was not written; but in 1814, M. Grand, who had by this time taken another and better wife, in whose society he enjoyed many years of happiness, published at the Cape of Good Hope, a work, which Mr. McFarlane has obviously not seen, entitled "a Narrative of the life of a gentleman long resident in India"—the work, which we have above quoted—wherein the frailty of Francis' victim is alluded to with much delicacy and forbearance. As regards the story concerning Francis and his wife, we have only to observe that Mrs. Francis neither lived nor died in India. The date of his marriage we have not ascertained; but that his wife was living in 1787 we have the best possible evidence. He did, however, outlive her, and in extreme old age married a young woman.

In the month of August 1777 General Clavering died.\* Col.

\* Captain Price says "Disappointment had soured his mind and torn to pieces his constitution. He broke out in boils all over his body, and in the searching

Monson had some time earlier fallen a victim to the climate. Mr. Wheler, who had been appointed to succeed Clavering on the expected accession of that officer to the Governor-Generalship, when the conditional resignation of Hastings had been sent into the India House, had now arrived at Calcutta and arrayed himself on the side of Francis.\* But the Governor-General was now in reality Governor-General. His casting vote rendered him supreme; and when soon afterwards, Sir Eyre Coote, who had been appointed to succeed General Clavering as Commander-in-Chief, with a seat in Council, joined the Government, the power of the Governor-General was but little affected, for Coote though he was not a partisan of either party, was rarely to be found in opposition to Hastings. Taking advantage of the lull in the storm of faction, Barwell, who had amassed a princely fortune, and who had long been anxious to return to England, resigned his seat and embarked. To render this movement less inconvenient than otherwise it might have been, Hastings and Francis entered into an arrangement, by which it was thought possible that all subsequent collision might be avoided. Indeed, but for this arrangement, Barwell would have foregone his cherished wish to return to Europe, and continued, at any sacrifice of private feeling, to support the Governor-General. The treaty, hollow as it proved to be, removed the only obstacle, and Barwell turned his back upon the scene of strife.

The compact between the two antagonists was this—Francis had long complained that the Governor-General grasped at the whole of the immense patronage of the country. In these days, a Member of Council does not conceive that he has any title to share in the distribution of the loaves and fishes at the disposal of Government. Francis, however, thought otherwise. He complained bitterly that he had no power to serve his friends—nay more, that his countenance was injurious to those whom he most desired to assist. We do not believe the complaint to have been founded in justice†; but Francis, who always entertained an

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and trying month of August fell a sacrifice to violence, obstinacy and misinformation, leaving in legacy to his friend Mr. Hastings his enmity to Governor-General Hastings, whom he could not forgive because he had been most cruelly injured."

\* Macaulay says somewhat loosely, that Wheler "came out expecting to be Governor-General;" the truth is he came out to succeed Clavering in Council, but before he sailed, intelligence of Monson's death was received, and he succeeded to that vacancy. Capt. Price says, he hastened back from Portsmouth to get the business settled somewhat more securely, as he thought the other vacancy might not arise.

† Hastings, it is certain, made on his side a similar complaint. "Your colleagues (in the Court)," he writes to Sullivan, "have been so much habituated to pass their

immoderate sense of his own claims, and who never knew what it was to be contented, often on these grounds expressed his dissatisfaction. In a more advanced stage of our article, we shall notice this point with greater fulness. Be the matter as it may in its general bearings, Hastings, on the occasion to which we now refer, consented so far to do a violence to his own feelings as to restore to the situations, which they had formerly held, Messrs. Fowke\* and Bristow, whom he had previously removed. Against these gentlemen all his personal feelings were strongly arrayed. So resolute was he, indeed, in his animosity, or so firm was his conviction of the justice of his measures, that he had disregarded the recommendations of the Court of Directors in behalf of the removed officials. In either case, the sacrifice of personal feeling must have been great. But more than this, Hastings agreed to rescind the measures taken against Mahomed Reza Khan and to carry out the wishes of the Court, in his case, as in that of the European gentlemen. Accordingly, Messrs. Fowke and Bristow† were restored to their old appointments and Mahomed Reza Khan again exalted to his old eminence at the Court of the Oude Nabob. These concessions must have cost Hastings many a pang. It was a sacrifice and not the first, which he had made at the altar of expediency; but the blood was poured out in vain. Hastings was engaged in a great and important work; the times were critical, and the factious opposition of Francis at such a juncture

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sentence on my actions, and to discountenance those to whom I have shown any degree of confidence, &c., &c. Such is the treatment which I have experienced with respect to Elliot, Bogle, Belli, R. Sumner, and Sir J. D'Oyly—men of eminent merit and universally respected, but unfortunately known to have attached themselves to me." It is curious to observe how these and many other names have been perpetuated in the Indian services.

\* We do not precisely know the nature of the connexion between Francis and the Fowkes; but the intimacy appears to have been close. It would be interesting to trace the link of alliance and to ascertain, at the same time, what relationship, if any, existed between the two Fowkes, in the Indian Service and General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, and was, it is alleged, sacrificed by Lord Barrington, when Secretary-at-War. Fowke followed instructions from the War-office, which nearly induced a serious disaster, and was persuaded, by certain promises of protection from the Secretary, to father the error committed. There are several allusions to this matter, in letters written by Francis, couched in such a strain as to lead us to believe that the writer had something more than a public interest in the transaction. The connexion of the name of Fowke both with Junius and Francis seems to furnish a link in the great chain of evidence which establishes the identity of the two.

† Hastings cordially hated and despised Bristowe. In one of his letters, he writes, "The wretch Bristowe is gone to Lucknow. If he attempts to do mischief there, I will recall him. For God's sake help to rid me of so unworthy an antagonist." In the same letter, written in 1780, he says "I hope to effect the removal of Fowke from Benares, with his own acquiescence."

might have precipitated an alarming failure. He deemed it, therefore, a prudent step to purchase the quiescence of his enemy. Francis stipulated that, on his part, he would cease from opposing the measures which the Governor-General had designed for the prosecution of the war with the Mahrattas. But the truce was the hollowest of the hollow. Hastings relied upon the good faith of his enemy and was cruelly disappointed. Francis did not remain neutral—it was not in his nature to do so; the opposition to the war was renewed; and Hastings, exasperated by the perfidy of his opponent, publicly taxed him with dishonesty. "I do not," he wrote in a reply to Francis' minute on the 14th of July 1780, "trust to Mr. Francis' promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private which I have found to be void of truth and honor." The minute containing this remark, which it is impossible to justify, for in a public document all allusion to private conduct was unwarrantable and indecent, Hastings enclosed in a note to his opponent. On the following day, after Council, Francis requested the Governor-General to withdraw with him into a private room, where he took from his pocket a challenge and read it aloud to Hastings. The challenge was accepted. The time and place of meeting were duly settled; and soon after day-break on the morning of the 17th, in one of the wooded fields of umbrageous Alipore, Hastings and Francis met to bring to an issue, with weapons of death, the fierce contest, which for many years had raged between them with unmitigated rancour. Hastings was attended by the Commandant of Artillery; Francis by the Chief Engineer. At the first fire, the contents of Hastings' pistol passed through the body of his antagonist. A minute account of this famous duel drawn up by Colonel Pearse, is on record, and we cannot do better than embody it in this paper:—

TO LAWRENCE SULLIVAN, ESQ.

*Fort William, 4th October, 1780.*

SIR,

On the present occasion I shall less apologize for troubling you than I should on any other, because it seems to me necessary that you should be informed of the particulars of a transaction that has passed here, and which will make some noise at home. I mean a duel between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, on which occasion I was one of the seconds, and therefore am fully acquainted with the particulars which I shall relate as concisely as the nature of the subject will allow me.

Late in the evening of the 15th August, I received a note from Mr. Hastings, desiring me to be with him next morning at breakfast; in consequence of which I waited upon him. He introduced the subject of business by desiring me to give him my word of honor not to mention it till he should

give me permission. Of course, I gave it, and he then informed me that in consequence of a minute he had given in, Mr. Francis had challenged him on the preceding day; that they had then agreed to meet on Thursday morning about half past five near Belvidere, and he asked me to be his second.

The next morning, Thursday, the 17th August, I waited on Mr. Hastings in my chariot to carry him to the place of appointment. When we arrived there we found Mr. Francis and Col. Watson walking together, and therefore soon after we alighted, I looked at my watch and mentioned aloud that it was half-past five, and Mr. Francis looked at his and said it was near six; this induced me to tell him that my watch was set by my astronomical clock to solar time.

The place they were at was very improper for the business; it was the road leading to Allipore, at the crossing of it through a double row of trees that formerly had been a walk of Belvidere garden, on the western side of the house. Whilst Col. Watson went by the desire of Mr. Francis to fetch his pistols, that gentleman proposed to go aside from the road into the walk; but Mr. Hastings disapproved of the place because it was full of weeds and dark: the road itself was next mentioned, but was thought by every body too public, as it was near riding time and people might want to pass that way; it was therefore agreed to walk towards Mr. Barwell's house on an old road that separated his ground from Belvidere, and before he had gone far, a retired dry spot was chosen as a proper place.

As soon as this was settled I proceeded to load Mr. Hastings' pistols; those of Mr. Francis were already loaded; when I had delivered one to Mr. Hastings, and Col. Watson had done the same to Mr. Francis, finding the gentlemen were both unacquainted with the modes usually observed on those occasions, I took the liberty to tell them that if they would fix their distance it was the business of the seconds to measure it. Lieut.-Col. Watson immediately mentioned that Fox and Adam had taken fourteen paces, and he recommended that distance. Mr. Hastings observed it was a great distance for pistols; but as no actual objection was made to it, Watson measured and I counted. When the gentlemen had got to their ground, Mr. Hastings asked Mr. Francis if he stood before the line or behind it, and being told behind the mark, he said he would do the same, and immediately took his stand. I then told them it was a rule that neither of them were to quit their ground until they had discharged their pistols, and Col. Watson proposed that both should fire together without taking any advantage. Mr. Hastings asked, if he meant they ought to fire by word of command, and was told he only meant they should fire together, as nearly as could be. These preliminaries were all agreed to, and both parties presented; but Mr. Francis raised his hand and again came down to his present; he did so a second time; when he came to his present, which was the third time of doing so, he drew his trigger; but his powder being damp, the pistol did not fire. Mr. Hastings came down from his present to give Mr. Francis time to rectify his priming, and this was done out of a cartridge with which I supplied him upon finding they had no spare powder.

Again the gentlemen took their stands, both presented together, and Mr. Francis fired; Mr. Hastings did the same at the distance of time equal to the counting of one, two, three distinctly, but not greater. His shot took place; Mr. Francis staggered; and in attempting to sit down he fell, and said he was a dead man. Mr. Hastings hearing this cried out, "Good God! I hope not," and immediately went up to him, as did Col. Watson; but I ran to call the servants, and to order a sheet to be brought to bind up the wound; I was absent about two minutes; on my return I found Mr. Hastings standing

by Mr. Francis, but Col. Watson was gone to fetch a cot or palanquin from Belvidere to carry him to town.

When the sheet was brought, Mr. Hastings and myself bound it round his body; and we had the satisfaction to find it was not in a vital part, and Mr. Francis agreed with me in opinion as soon as it was mentioned. I offered to attend him to town in my carriage, and Mr. Hastings urged him to go, as my carriage was remarkably easy. Mr. Francis agreed to go and therefore, when the cot came, we proceeded towards the chariot, but were stopped by a deep broad ditch over which we could not carry the cot; for this reason Mr. Francis was conveyed to Belvidere, attended by Col. Watson, and we went to town to send assistance to meet him; but he had been prevailed on to accept a room at Belvidere and there the surgeons, Dr. Campbell, the principal, and Dr. Francis the Governor's own surgeon, found him. When Dr. Francis returned he informed the Governor that the wound was not mortal, that the ball had struck just behind the bend of the right ribs and passed between the flesh and the bone to the opposite side from whence it had been extracted.

Whilst Mr. Francis was lying on the ground, he told Mr. Hastings, in consequence of something which he said, that he best knew how it affected his affairs, and that he had better take care of himself; to which Mr. Hastings answered, that he hoped and believed the wound was not mortal, but that if any unfortunate accident should happen, it was his intention immediately to surrender himself to the Sheriff.

Concerning the subject of the quarrel, not a word passed. Had the seconds been ignorant of the cause of the duel before they went into the field, they must have remained so. No other conversation passed between the principals or the seconds besides what I have related, unless the usual compliments of good morrow at meeting, or Mr. Francis' admiring the beauty of Mr. Hastings' pistols when I took them out, deserve to be noticed. When the pistols were delivered by the seconds, Mr. Francis said he was quite unacquainted with these matters, and had never fired a pistol in his life, and Mr. Hastings told him he believed he had no advantage in that respect, as he could not recollect that he had ever fired a pistol above once or twice; this it was that induced me to say what I have before mentioned about the rules to be observed.

Though what I have written may appear rather prolix, yet I had rather bear the imputation of dwelling too long upon the less important parts of the narrative, than leave the world room to put in a word that did not pass. If, therefore, any reports different from what I have related should circulate, and you should think them worth contradiction, I hope you will not scruple to use this letter for that purpose.

Both parties behaved as became gentlemen of their high rank and station. Mr. Hastings seemed to be in a state of such perfect tranquillity, that a spectator would not have supposed that he was about an action out of the common course of things; and Mr. Francis' deportment was such as did honor to his firmness and resolution.

As I could not take the liberty of writing so fully on this subject, without acquainting Mr. Hastings of my intention so to do, he knows of my letter; but the letter itself he has not seen, nor any copy of it.

Wishing you every health and prosperity,

I remain, &c., &c., &c.

We have stated, we believe with fairness, the causes of this memorable conflict. That Hastings believed himself duped is certain; that, on the strength of what he believed to be concessions made by Francis, he had consented to arrangements extremely painful to himself, is equally certain. It is certain that Barwell regarded the character of the compact in the same light as that in which it was viewed by Hastings, for he left the country fully assured that Francis had been drawn off from his prey; and but for such assurance would have remained in India. These are admitted facts. In our own opinion, it is equally certain that Francis could not have so misunderstood the character of the compact, which Hastings desired and intended to enter into, as to believe that the Governor-General had made a painful sacrifice without purposing to ensure any corresponding advantages from the covenant. Hastings, whatever other qualities he may have wanted, did not lack consummate policy; he was gifted with an Ulyssean sagacity and fertility of resource—and no one knew this better than Francis. The Governor-General was not a man to stake much with the prospect of gaining little. He was not one to make unprofitable bargains—to purchase a thing at a price a hundred-fold greater than its worth. Francis must have known this. Hastings positively declared that Francis had consented “not to oppose any measures which the Governor-General shall recommend for the prosecution of the war, in which we are supposed to be engaged with the Mahrattas, or the general support of the present political system of his government”. He had bid high for the quiescence of his enemy—but unfortunately he had omitted to obtain the signature of Francis to the agreement. The covenant was in effect a verbal one; and Francis denied that he had ever consented to the terms, which the Governor-General charged him with violating. He said that he had only pledged himself not to oppose certain specific phases of the Mahratta war; but it is impossible to give him credit for the belief that such a man as Hastings would have paid so dearly for what was scarcely worth the possession. The Governor-General would not have fanged the tiger and omitted to extract his claws. Nay, the folly, with which if we are to believe Francis, Hastings was chargeable, was worse than that of extracting the claws from one foot of the tiger, leaving them untouched on the other three, and all his cruel fangs still firmly fixed in his jaws. In the absence of proof, we can but betake ourselves to presumption; and what reasonable man will doubt that the presumption against Francis is strong almost to conviction?

That Hastings, on discovering the perfidy of his opponent, adopted a course, which however natural in the man was wholly unjustifiable in the Governor, his greatest admirers must be forced to concede. Such a charge as he flung in the face of Francis—such a charge of private baseness contained in a public document—can meet with no defenders among right-minded and reasonable men. The consequences of so glaring an impropriety were what might have been anticipated. One departure from rectitude seldom fails to induce another. Looking at the matter, with mere conventional eyes, it is plain that Hastings having sunk the Governor in the man, by grossly insulting a Member of his Council in his private capacity, was bound, when called upon to offer reparation, to sink the Governor a second time, and to meet his opponent as a man.\* The duel was but a necessary sequence of the insult. By insulting Francis, the Governor-General had placed himself in such a position, that he could not refuse to give his opponent the satisfaction which the conventional code of honor demanded ; for to have sheltered himself behind his official rank would have been to have claimed the dastardly privilege of insulting his enemies with impunity—of descending from his eminence to outrage and to wound, and to ascend it again to escape from retaliation. Hastings felt that he had placed himself on a level with his antagonist, and that he was bound, therefore, to admit the equality, until he had earned the right of re-assuming the dignity of the Governor.

The wound which Francis received was not mortal, nor does it appear to have permanently affected his health ; but a few months after the duel—in December 1780, he withdrew from the scene of strife to meet his enemy ere long upon another arena. With what delight Hastings contemplated the departure of his antagonist it would be easy to conjecture, if he had not himself recorded his feelings—" Mr. Francis," he wrote in November 1780, " has announced his intention to leave us and had engaged his passage in a Dutch ship, which I since hear he has left for " one in the Fox. His departure may be considered as the " close of one complete period of my political life, and the

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\* We must be distinctly understood to have put the matter, designedly, merely in its conventional light—treating the one act of misconduct with reference to its connexion with the other ; and judging it by the same standard whereby it was judged by those whom it affected—irrespective of the general question (if question there can be) of the absurd and abominable practice of duelling. If our readers would desire to see a strong contrast between the character and conduct of two men, placed in similar circumstances, we would recommend them to look for it in the Lives of Lord Macartney and Lord Teignmouth.



"beginning of a new one. After a conflict of six years I may enjoy the triumph of a decided victory!" And again....." Yet though I have not the fairest prospect before me, Mr. Francis "re-treat will certainly remove the worst appearances of it; I shall have no competitor to oppose my designs; to encourage disobedience to my authority; to write circular letters, with copies of instruments from the Court of Directors, proclaiming their distrust of me and denouncing my removal; to excite and foment popular odium against me; to urge me to acts of severity and then abandon and oppose me; to keep alive the expectation of impending changes; to teach foreign states to counteract me and deter them from forming connexions with me. I have neither his emissaries in office to thwart me from system, nor my own dependents to presume on the rights of attachment. In a word, I have power".....And in a postscript to this letter, dated the 2nd of December, Hastings adds "Mr. Francis departs tomorrow. He has replied to my minute of 3rd of July: I have answered him. He has written a third, and I have rejoined to that. He has made a surrejoinder, as I am told, which I suppose he will present at parting, and I suppose that will be the last, for he can say nothing new." The last it was on that stage; but *calum non animum mutat*. The malignity of Francis was as bitter, and his energy as untiring in the fogs of London, as beneath the bright sun of Bengal.

The vessel in which Francis sailed having been detained for some time at St. Helena, he did not reach England before November 1781. He was received by the King and the Queen with "that gracious condescension natural to them both," and Francis mistaking their habitual kindness and condescension for a mark of peculiar favor towards himself, drew from this gracious reception at Court a pleasing picture of the prospects before him. It was not long before he appeared before the Court of Directors eager to make his report of the condition in which he left affairs in the East. His reception here was not all that he desired, but he was permitted to deliver in a memorial, in which, as may readily be conceived, he drew a terrible picture of disorder and misrule. By society in general he was received with marked discourtesy. It has been said of him that on returning to England, the only personages, who did not turn their backs upon him, were the king and Mr. Burke.

But the resolution of Francis was unshaken. He renewed his work with unimpaired energy. Rejecting no weapons of attack, discarding no sort of co-adjuvancy, he allied himself with men of all classes—with the highest intellects of the age or with base

grovelling creatures, the scum of the earth—no one too low for the countenance, if not the friendship of the ex-councillor, so long as he was prepared to cast a stone, or to spit his venom at the Governor-General. Among these creeping things was one Mackintosh, son of a Scotch planter by a French Creole,\* who is said to have been a friend and fellow laborer of the notorious Colonel Maclean. Francis appears to have patronised this man in India, and to have helped him to write a book entitled "Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, &c.," which abounds in the most virulent abuse of Hastings, the most preposterous commendation of Francis, and the most ingenious perversion of facts. This book made its appearance in London about the time of Francis' return to England; and was, no doubt, concocted in Calcutta before his departure. The book was evidently a gross imposition; and its true character was exposed, shortly after its publication, by Captain Price, who did not hesitate to accuse Francis of having written a considerable part of it. Nor was this the only literary emanation from the same impure source. Works of less bulk and importance, and frequent letters in the public journals, under the signatures of *Junius Asiaticus*, *Philo-Junius-Asiaticus*, &c. bore witness to the zeal and activity of the tools of the ex-councillor. Mackintosh appears to have been a miniature Francis—quite as reckless, quite as malignant, and almost as self-sufficient. Francis had not been a week in India before he thought, and acted, as though he knew more about the affairs of India, than any man in the country. Mackintosh seems to have been of the same opinion, though perhaps he made a reservation in favor of his patron. Price tells us that he brought the fellow round from Madras, and that when they were coming up the river, he "*would be meddling with and directing the Pilot.*" This was thoroughly *Franciscan*. Francis began to meddle with and direct the Pilot before he had well got his foot on board.†

\* Mr. MacFarlane, in his history of "our Indian Empire" expresses a belief that no such person as Mackintosh ever existed. "The name of Mackintosh," he says, "which does not appear on the title page, is clearly a *nome-de-guerre*. No such Mackintosh was ever heard of after the publication of the work." This is a mistake. Captain Price, whose pamphlets attained to a second edition in a tract entitled "Some observations and remarks on a late publication entitled Travels in Europe, Asia, and America in which the real author of that new and curious Atalantis, his character and abilities are fully made known to the public," gives a fully and particular account of Mackintosh. He describes him as "a swarthy and ill-looking man, as is to be seen on the Portuguese walk on the Royal Exchange."

† Price tell us an amusing anecdote illustrative of Mackintosh's character, which on other accounts, is worth quoting.—"I remember that on my going in the Christmas week, in the year 1779, to the house of Mr. Shore, to read and

But Francis would have achieved little, if he had formed no other alliances than those, into which he entered with such base creatures as Mackintosh. If among his collaborateurs were the lowest of the low, it must be conceded that he was fortunate enough to be united with some of the most eminent men of the age. Among his fellow-workmen were to be found the very antitheses of human society—a Mackintosh on one side ; a Burke on the other. That Burke, who had been acquainted with Francis before the departure of the latter for India, had no very clear insight into his character, and that he allowed himself somewhat too readily to be deceived by the specious representations of his friends, are facts which the admirers of that great man have no inclination to dispute. But that like his associate, he was influenced by personal animosity, in his vigorous proceedings against Hastings, few, if any of his enemies, are at this time willing to believe. It was Burke's misfortune to be associated with a man, whose evil motives were written on the face of his every action, and to share, in some degree, the odium which necessarily attaches to the conduct of a public character, who makes his private hatred an engine of political persecution. Moreover, the indiscretion of some of Burke's nearest relatives and friends, lent some weight to the supposition that the great statesman had a personal slight to revenge. It was alleged that Hastings had slighted Mr. William Burke. This gentleman, it appears, left England in 1777 to see what he could pick up on the Pactolian shores of India. He carried with him some despatches or letters for Lord Pigot ; and with these he hoped to make his fortune. But before Mr. Burke reached Madras, the unfortunate Governor had been worried to death ; and the despatch-bearer found himself at the Presidency with no employment and very few letters of recommendation. Among these few, however, were two for Mr. Philip Francis, and the luckless *Omedwar* sent them on to Bengal, enclosed in an epistle not written in the most cheerful strain. "Whether your opportunities," he says, "answer what I had almost assumed to be your

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sign the Calcutta Petition to Government against the Judges, that gentleman said 'Capt Price, why you have imported the wandering Jew ; the man knows every holy and every th ;' 'I believe, Mr. Shore, said I, 'that Mr. Mackintosh may have swallowed the universal history and that he can spew up any part of it, when and how he pleases.' 'But I do assure you, Price' replied Mr. Shore, 'that he is a man of great consequence ! I have seen letters from him to Lord North and almost every one of the Ministry.' 'That may be, Mr. Shore, but have you seen any letters from them to him?' 'No, I have not, but I see ' Captain Price, that you do not like the man.' 'I own the fact Mr. Shore, I have found him ungrateful, and I believe him to be an imposter.' And so the conversation ended."

"kind intention towards me I can in no sort pretend to say, but  
"the immediate occasion of Mr. Elliott's departure for Bengal  
"was too favorable for me to omit the opportunity of letting you  
"know that I am at Madras. It looks almost ridiculous, in the  
"serious state of my affairs, to tell you simply where I am, and  
"yet it is all that I can do." Francis' answer was characteristic. "You need not tell me," he replies, "that your  
"situation is a serious one"—and adds that he can do nothing  
for the young man. The entire letter is curious; and worthy of  
quotation.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter dated the 1st of September, was sent to me on  
Monday night by Mr. Elliott. I cannot express my surprise at hearing that  
you were at Madras. The reports of the express from England, which  
reached us ten days ago, by the land post, mentioned the arrival of Richard  
Buik with an appointment on this establishment, but I had no idea of the  
possibility of *your* venturing into this country without one. You need not  
tell me that your situation is serious. The fact proves it too sensibly, and  
on *my* mind, at least, makes every impression you could wish.

I do not like stating the difficulties or disabilities of my own situation, in  
answer to so just a call of honour and friendship as that which you bring  
with you from two men whom in this world I most love and esteem. Yet  
it cannot be unknown to you, therefore I mention it with the less scruple,  
that since Colonel Monson's death I have not only had no share or interest  
in any thing but the tails of this Government, but that my friendship, in  
effect, has been a loss or disadvantage to every man who was supposed to  
possess it. Slight and injustice, if not direct persecution, have been the lot  
of many whose attachment to me has been their only demerit. In short, I  
have the character of a factious opponent to an immaculate administration.  
Your own experience will have told you, that this is not the road to prefer-  
ment. I have nothing to oppose to a decided majority, but a minority  
equally decided, and likely enough to continue so.

I should deceive you grossly, if I suggested the most distant idea of my  
being able to do you any essential service; but I should be no less unjust  
to myself, if I suffered you to entertain a moment's doubt, that whatever *is* in  
my power is at your command. It is possible that Mr. Rumbold may be  
disposed to oblige me. Shall I try how far that idea may be well founded?  
A time *may* come, and perhaps he may think so, when I may have an oppor-  
tunity of acknowledging his kindness to you. Yet it is really difficult  
to know what to ask for any person not in the Company's service. Mr.  
Whitehill, if he does nothing else, may at least give you good advice; that  
is, he may point out to you what you ought to ask for, and then I would  
fairly try my utmost strength with Rumbold. If all fails, and you find at  
last, for I would not easily give it up, that nothing will answer on the coast,  
I can offer you, in this house, a quiet, if not a happy retreat from any  
circumstance, or situation there, which you cannot, or ought not, to submit  
to. Your reception will be a hearty one at least, if it promises nothing more.  
I do not say that the prospect will not be a gloomy one in this country; but  
I flatter myself there may still be some scattered rays of hope to enliven it.  
This is all I can venture to say at present. Whenever I can say more,  
with any tolerable confidence of being able to make it good, I shall do it  
without reserve.

Mr. Edmund Burke's letter cannot be answered these two months ; from the sentiments I have endeavoured to express in this letter, you may judge whether I am capable of slighting a request of his.

I do not wish you to meddle with our damned politics. Indeed, I wish my enemy no worse than to experience what I have done within the last three years. If every relation between guilt and punishment be not absolutely dissolved, a time I think will come when they who now triumph over me will tremble, if they do not repent. Appearances are yet in their favour, but I still hope that I shall rise with lustre out of this fire.

The motions of the Court of Directors are more than commonly mysterious with respect to our affairs. I have some suspicion, however, from the contents of their letter to Sir John Clavering, of which I inclose you a copy, that vigorous measures may yet be taken to support me.

Be so good as to communicate this paper, with my compliments, to Mr. Whitehill, and to any body else you think proper.

I am, &c.,

P. FRANCIS.

TO WILLIAM BURKE, ESQ.

*Calcutta, October 1, 1777.*

The reader will smile at Francis' assumption of the character of an injured innocent ; and they who know the nature of the man will be still more amused at his effort to appear in the guise of a hospitable friend. Francis' warmest admirers do not seek to conceal the fact that he was utterly without generosity. His avarice and meanness were proverbial. It has been alleged, indeed, that he invited men to take up their residence in his house and then sent them in a bill for their board and lodging. Whether it was his design to entertain Mr. William Burke, in this liberal manner, had the adventurer made up his mind to visit Bengal, we do not undertake to determine ; but it is very certain that his letter was admirably calculated to keep Mr. Burke at Madras.\*

To the assertion that Francis' patronage was injurious to those who enjoyed it ; that "slight and injustice, if not direct persecution have been the lot of many whose attachment to me has been their only demerit," we hesitate to yield implicit credence. Hastings was not a spiteful man. Whatever may have been his demerits, meanness and malignity were not among them. Capt. Price gives a very different account of the fate of Francis' favourites. The Captain's testimony must be received with caution : but writ-

\* The result was, that somehow or other the gentleman picked up a job and returned to England as Agent of the Rajah of Tanjore. Mr. William Burke returned to India in 1779, and obtained the situation of Deputy Pay-master to the Queen's troops and continued in the country up to 1793. The Editors of the volumes under review naively observe, "from his agreeable manners and general information, his company was much sought after ; and having rather a turn for expense, he neglected those opportunities of making a fortune, which his long employment in India afforded."

ing, as he did at a time when his assertions, if untrue, were susceptible of immediate refutation, and appending his own name to these detailed statements of facts, the probability is that they did not contain any very striking deviations from truth. His account, as published in 1782, seems to belie the complaint of Francis:—

The great and constant complaint brought home against Governor Hastings, is, that he neglects his friends in his public capacity. How many of Mr. Francis's particular friends are now in office at Bengal? Need I mention the Fowkes, Messrs. Moore, Livius, Collins, with fifty of the Company's other servants, besides some who accompanied him to Europe, that have made fortunes in offices, from which the Governor could have removed them without the least injustice, had he been splenetic? Yet their growlings rumble in the wind, and join in the cry against Mr. Hastings, with no better grace than Mr. Mackintosh himself; the only difference is, they whisper the idle tales which he gleans up, and publishes to the world.

In the course of thirty years residence in India, Mr. Hastings must have formed friendships for men, in and out of the Company's service, who had grown old with him. His private purse was always open to them, and in some instances to a degree almost blameable, but his public situation never of use: Careless to a proverb in money matters himself, it was a subject on which he never talked. I would maintain the man in food and raiment, separate from the Governor, for the pay and batta of a Major in the Company's service, in any part of the world. And as for the fortunes of those he called his private friends, I will mention a few of such as died insolvent, or became bankrupts, whilst Mr. Francis was at Bengal; Mr. Charles Playdell, Dr. Hancock, Mr. John Robinson, Mr. Evans, Mr. Glover, Mr. Belli, Mr. Thomas Motte, Mr. Montaigut, and Mr. Joseph Price: most of them residents in India for as long a time, and some of them longer, than the Governor himself, and the rest absolutely of his domestic friends, and of his household; and their names occur to my mind at once, without lifting the pen from the paper in order to recollect, or I could double the list. I should really be obliged to Mr. Francis, to favour me with a list half so long, of men of any fortune at all, obtained by Mr. Hastings's favour—I even dare him to it—Pledging myself at the same time, to give him a much longer list of names of men now in England, who made their fortunes under the government of him and his friends—This is a fair play—I call him to the contest in civil, though plain English—There goes my glove—Say you, War-office statesman, will you or your swarthy Solon take it up;

Capt. Price who always spoke out plainly, and we believe honestly, though his prejudices and passions often got the better of him, openly attributed the hostile bearing of Edmund Burke towards Hastings, to the refusal of the latter to take any notice of the adventurer. In another pamphlet, the Captain observes—

The same kind of inattention lost him the good opinion of a Right Honourable orator. When Mr. William Burke first found his way into the Carnatic, (though I can consider him in no other point of view than a mushroom Nabob adventurer, such as his great cousin first appeared in this country, when picked up by the Marquis of Rockingham,) had Governor Hastings sent for him to Bengal, and addressed him in manner following, (as he most certainly would have done, had he been educated at St. Stephen's.)—

Welcome to Bengal, Sir.—Very glad to see you, Sir.—Your name, Sir ; ke, if I mistake not.—Cousin to the great statesman, as I have heard.—eat man ! O very great man !—Sublime and beautiful ! Wonderful formance ! Prodigious work !—Your Cousin was well I hope, Sir, when heard from him last.—Busy, no doubt ; earnest to save the state. Great n !—I have read his conciliatory plan. Heavenly thought ! What a pity attended to ! But when will Britain's friends have sway !—I have all speeches, all his political tracts, regularly sent me ; have drawn much ormination from them in my government of Asia.—Prodigious genius !—it that great man stooping to write pamphlets, is, methinks, like Raphael inting apothecaries pots !—Come to make any stay with us, Sir ? I hope u are.—You may command me, Sir. You correspond with your cousin, doubt —Can I be instrumental in forwarding your despatches?—Command a, Sir, in that, or any other thing.—Shall be made quite happy, in having opportunity to commence a correspondence with that wonderful statesan, by covering your remarks on this country to him.—Will a contract suit you, Sir. We have a commissaryship now vacant.—Command me, r.—A cover at my table, Sir, always at my service.—Always expect to see u, Sir.—Great man, your cousin ; very great man !—&c. &c.”—But the nest mind of Mr Hastings is above all such dirty work. He took no ore notice of the adventurer, William Burke, than of Major Hoggs or illiam Mackintosh ; for which neglect, the orator has abused him as much, s either of the others, and with as little effect.

We have made the above extract not because we attach any mportance to the imputation it contains, but because it is the only attempt, with which we are acquainted, to attribute Burke's onduct in the impeachment of Hastings, to mean, personal notives. Whether Mr. William Burke brought out letters to Hastings we have no means of ascertaining. If he did, he was sagacious enough not to allude to the circumstance in his letter to Francis. In that communication he says, “The opportunity “of coming with the despatches to Lord Pigot was so sudden, “that I could avail myself of few recommendations, but I do hope “to receive very earnest ones from very near friends of General “Clavering, as well as others, to you.” But of Hastings there is no mention, and probably would have been none, if Mr. Burke had possessed fifty letters to the Governor-General. Whether the adventurer had any positive neglect, on the part of Hastings, of which to complain—or whether gratitude towards Francis, partaking probably of the “lively hope of future favors” which is said to be its principal ingredient, more than hatred of the Governor-General, was the moving principle—no sooner did Mr. William Burke reach England, than he began to scatter abroad the seeds of calumny, hoping that, at the proper time, they would come up, a goodly crop. “As far as my tether goes,” he writes in a subsequent letter to Francis, “I have not failed to do all in “my power to have a sense felt of your situation ! there is, “however, a certain *vis inertia* which favors possession ; but I

"have sometimes flattered myself that things I have dropped 'accidentally have not been totally lost ; and, if I or mine, can 'contribute our mite or our much, depend upon it we shall not 'omit to serve you if we can." The "mite" or the "much" from "I or mine" was the impeachment of Warren Hastings—and it is not improbable that the indiscretion of Mr. William Burke, who said more on the subject than he was justified in saying, gave a coloring of truth to the aspersions cast upon the character of his great kinsman.

But this is now an exploded calumny. The soul of Burke revolted at oppression. His vivid imagination exaggerated the acts of injustice and cruelty committed in India—acts, which loomed large in the distance, and which his romantic temperament invested with attributes of greater terror than were discernible by the fleshly eye. Excited and indignant against the oppressor, glowing with sympathy for the oppressed, his imagination kindled by the vivid orientalism of the subject before him, and burning to deliver itself in eloquent expositions of the wrongs inflicted upon the princes and people of the shining East, Burke was in a fit frame of mind to listen to the Satanic promptings of the malignant Francis. He mistook the character of the prompter. He believed that Francis was as sincere as himself ; that his associate was equally swayed by an abstract hatred of oppression. The returned councillor gained the ear of the great statesman, and into it, day after day, he poured "the lepcrous distilment" of his malice. The result is well known. In this article to which we have purposely given more of a personal than a historical character, it will be idle to repeat what has already been so ably recorded by others.

On the dissolution of Parliament in 1784, Francis was elected member for the borough of Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. He had not long taken his seat, when by a piece of gaucherie, or by an ebullition of temper, he brought upon himself the undying resentment of Pitt. After alluding to Chatham, in terms of the highest admiration, he added, "But he is dead and left nothing in the world that resembles him. He is dead, and the sense, and honour, and character, and understanding of the nation have died with him." It is said that the minister never forgave Francis. It is certain that he treated him, from this time, with very little respect. It was not until after Pitt's death that the author of JUNIUS succeeded in obtaining any honors from the Crown.

In 1785, Hastings returned to Europe. He was received with marked distinction at Court, and at the India House with all honor. This must have given a new impetus to the malice of his



enemy, which, however, needed no spur. Everything had been arranged for carrying out the great work which Burke looked upon as a heaven-delegated task, and Francis, rendered doubly confident by the co-operation of his new associates, regarded as a safe road to ultimate and perfect triumph. The public mind had been prepared by the dissemination, through the medium of the press, of many half-truths and many scandalous falsehoods, for the charges which were brought against the Governor-General; and nothing that human ability and human energy could accomplish to ensure success was omitted, by that brilliant but incongruous phalanx of gifted men, who swayed by various motives, and bringing to the work various powers, arrayed themselves in disciplined force, to achieve the overthrow of the greatest of Indian Statesmen.

Hastings, with all his fertility of resource, was no match for this serried band. He was on a new arena; the ground was strange to him; the tactics of the enemy unfamiliar. He was, as a gladiator, suddenly called upon to contend with weapons of a new and unintelligible fashion. It was no longer a war of minutes. The battle-ground was not now the floor of an Indian council-chamber. Every thing was new and strange to him; he stood alone and unpractised to contend against a number of expert assailants. When he called in an ally, he made the grand mistake of his life. What he required as an associate was a skilful tactician, of eloquent address, of rapid execution—one admirably “cunning of fence,” versed in all the ways of Parliamentary warfare, and enjoying the reputation of a gifted and high-minded man. Instead of this he called in a lumbering blockhead, whose only weight was the weight of his own stolidity; who blundered and prosed; wrote long letters in the papers, and made dull speeches in the House; who was sometimes abusive without point, and energetic without impressiveness; who occasionally stumbled upon a happy thought by chance, but did not know what to do with it; who wearied the House without serving his master, and did all that human dullness could do, to show how deplorably Hastings had committed himself by selecting so very obtuse a personage for the performance of so delicate a duty. Against the eloquence of Burke, the legal acuteness of Laurence, and the untiring energy of Philip Francis, Hastings set up the profound stupidity of Major Scott.

Everything was in train for the impeachment, before Hastings arrived in England. He had not been long on the shores of his native land, before certain charges against him, supplied by Francis, were formally exhibited. Session after session, the House was occupied with these charges; and in 1787 the pre-

liminary proceedings having been brought to a close, a motion was made for the appointment of a Committee of Management to conduct the impeachment of Hastings in the House of Lords.

Francis had busied himself in this congenial work with a perseverance and energy, which in any other cause, would have been truly admirable. Not content with being the mainspring of the machine—with silently regulating its every movement—he endeavored, with as little judgment as delicacy, to put himself forward as one of its indices. Nothing short of an appointment to a seat in the Committee would satisfy his malignant ambition. But the good sense and the good feeling of the House revolted against such a mockery of justice, and his nomination was rejected by a large majority. The vote was passed on the 3d of April 1787. On the 19th of the same month, Francis, when opening the charge against Hastings relative to the revenues of Bengal, took occasion to vindicate his character against what he called "certain malicious insinuations industriously circulated both within and without the House." He emphatically denied that he had been actuated by any feelings of personal hatred and hostility. He solemnly declared that he did not go out to India, with any preconceived sentiments of animosity against Hastings—an assertion which may have been true, but which assuredly was unimportant; and added, as something still more irrelevant, that General Clavering, previous to the sailing of the vessel which bore the new councillors to India, "had obtained a private audience of his Majesty for the purpose of humbly soliciting him to send out some mark of honor to Mr. Hastings in order to induce him to continue in the Government." He then declared, that the triumviri landed in Calcutta with the highest possible opinion of Mr. Hastings—but that "they soon found their error." He might have said that they found it by a miracle, long before they had time to enquire into any of the Governor-General's acts, or knew anything more about his Government, than that it did not recognise the title of Members of Council to a royal salute. Much more was uttered, in a similar strain; but judging by after results, to very little purpose. Burke, however, was delighted with the display; thought it conclusive; had little doubt that it would lead to a rescision of the vote of the 3d of April, and in the plenitude of his delight sat down next morning with an aching head, having got drunk on the preceding night in honor of Francis, and wrote the following letter to that gentleman's wife:

**MY DEAR MADAM,**—I cannot, with an honest appetite or clear conscience, sit down to my breakfast, unless I first give you an account, which will make

your family breakfast as pleasant to you, as I wish all your family meetings to be. Then I have the satisfaction of telling you, that, not in my judgment only, but in that of all who heard him, no man ever acquitted himself on a day of great expectation, to the full of the demand upon him, so well as Mr. Francis did yesterday ! He was clear, precise, forcible, and eloquent, in a high degree. No intricate business was ever better unravelled ; and no iniquity ever placed so effectually to produce its natural horror and disgust. It is very little for the credit of those who are Mr. Francis's enemies, but it is infinitely to his, that they forced him to give a history of his whole public life. He did it in a most masterly manner, and with an address which the display of such life ought very little to want, but which the prejudices of those whose lives are of a very different character made necessary. He did justice to the feelings of others too ; and I assure you, madam, that the modesty of his defence was not the smallest part of its merit.

All who heard him were delighted, except those whose mortification ought to give pleasure to every good mind. He was two hours and a half, or rather more, on his legs ; and he never lost attention for a moment. Indeed, I believe, very few could have crowded so much matter into so small a space. Permit me most sincerely to congratulate you, and the ladies, and Mr. Philip of Cambridge, if he is yet among you ; he has a great example before him, in a father exerting some of the first talents that ever were given to a man in the cause of mankind.

Again and again I give you joy, and am with most unaffected respect and affection,

My dear Madam,

Your most faithful and obedient humble Servant,

EDM. BURKE.

P. S. I don't know whether I write very intelligibly ; I made a sad debauch last night in some good company, where we drank the man we were so much obliged to in a bumper. Mr. F. ought to lose no time in taking the matter of his charge to be drawn up formally.—(*Correspondence, Vol. III*)

TO MRS. FRANCIS, }  
*Gerard-street, April 20, 1787. }*

But Francis and his backers were not very easily to be cast down ; and a second attempt was made early in December to secure the nomination of the former. The second failure was more signal than the first. In April, Francis had been rejected by a majority of 96 to 44. In December 97 voted against, and only 23 for him.

Burke acutely felt the disappointment, for he had flattered himself with the belief, that the decision of the House would have been reversed ; and he saw in the removal of Francis from the ranks of the Committee, a misfortune as great as it was unanticipated. Francis was looked upon as the winning card of the pack.

"He has perfectly prepared himself," wrote Burke in a letter to Dundas, "and so prepared himself, that I run no risk in asserting, that if he is suffered to come forward, there is hardly a lord who will sit in judgment, that can resist the conviction he will carry to their minds ; and that what he has

prepared would beat down the most determined prejudices, if prejudice could be supposed to exist in the minds of any, who form that tribunal. I am not prepared to take up his part \* \* \* I have no bodily strength, or force of mind and memory, to go through these parts, together with the immense mass of matter, which independently of this unexpected burthen, is thrown upon me.—(*Correspondence, Vol. III.*)

And again, in the same letter—

You will be pleased to recollect that we have lost three old and experienced members of our Committee—Mr. Ellis, Mr. Montagu and Sir Grey Cooper.....In this situation Mr. Francis is forced from us. All the local knowledge of India is in the hands of the person prosecuted by the House of Commons. Those who are sent to support its charge, require and can have but one man so qualified; and that one is now taken from us.—(*Correspondence, Vol. III. Letter, December 7, 1787.*)

The answer of Dundas was candid and sensible. He alleged that there was no personal prejudice against Mr. Francis, who might still assist the impeachment, though not one of the Committee, and urged that Burke had greatly over-valued the extent of his friend's services. To this Burke replied that he "had the misfortune of not being able to concur in opinion as to the facility of supplying" Francis' place, adding somewhat testily—

What he will do I know not; at present I have not courage enough to ask him. I am not partial to Mr. Francis. I have no ground for partiality towards him. As Mr. Hastings never did me any injury, or refused me any request, so I have never asked any favor whatever from Mr. Francis, nor ever received any from him, except what I received in my share of the credit which this country acquired in his honorable, able, and upright administration.—(*Letter, December 9, 1787.*)

A few days afterwards, Fox made a last dying effort to induce the House to reconsider their vote. The abstraction from the Committee of the representative of all the "local knowledge of India" was too serious a matter not to warrant a final struggle. He stood forward boldly in behalf of his friend, determined not to lose any thing by the tameness of his panegyrics. The entire speech is sufficiently amusing to justify a quotation from it—

Whatever objection might be urged to Mr. Francis as the judge of Mr. Hastings, there could be no possible objection to his appearing as his accuser. To the character of an accuser, innocence and integrity were indispensably necessary. It was requisite that he who preferred an accusation against another should himself be blameless, and his reputation unsuspected. That his honorable friend possessed this reputation was well known to all who heard him. All knew that he had been sent out to India, as one of the supreme council on account of this reputation, and returned with the approbation and the confidence of his employers. But in such a case the testimony of his friends would be incomplete, unless corroborated and confirmed by the testimony of his enemies. This testimony his honorable friend had also obtained. By a steady and consistent hostility to the malversations and corruptions of others, he had provoked the most rigid scrutiny into his own conduct while in India, and since his return he had

courted, not shunned, inquiry. *Had any discoveries of misconduct on his part been to be made, they would long since have been before the public, since they have come within the knowledge of those who were well disposed to bring them to light.* It was, therefore, fair to conclude, that his character was unimpeachable, since it had not been impeached, and that *he possessed that innocence and integrity of life and conduct which qualified him to come forward as the accuser of another.* It was fit also that an accuser should possess talents. What the natural abilities of the honourable gentleman were, it was needless to state where they were so well known. What his acquired abilities on the subject of the prosecution were, must be equally evident from the opportunities he had enjoyed. It was much to have been in India; it was much to have been acquainted with the evasions and tergiversations under which Mr. Hastings had been accustomed to screen his conduct. When Cicero came forward as the accuser of Verres, what were the arguments he advanced why the prosecution should be committed to him? "Because," said he, "I am acquainted with the evasions and sophistry of his advocate Hortensius. I am accustomed to combat and to overthrow them." Nor was it less requisite that an accuser should entertain no partiality in favour of the accused; and not only that he should entertain no partiality, but that he should not be indifferent as to the event of the prosecution; but that he should be animated with an honest indignation against the crimes and the criminal whom he attempted to bring to justice. (*Annual Register*, 1787.)

Wyndham followed Fox in much the same strain, discoursing on the "conspicuous integrity" of Francis, and alleging that there was no "personal animosity towards Mr. Hastings." "For unless," he said, "the necessary consequence of a duel was perpetual enmity, it was impossible to take it for granted that it existed in this case."

The real fact is that the duel was both the effect and the cause of Francis' animosity. Francis never forgave Hastings for being Governor-General; and he was not precisely the sort of man to love his enemy any the better for shooting him through the body. When he rose to speak, he again declared that there never had been any personal feeling against Mr. Hastings, and repeated the account of the duel, which he had given to the House in the preceding April. He said —

I deny that I am, or ever was, the enemy of Mr. Hastings, in that personal sense in which it is imputed to me. He then gave the House a short account of the public disputes that had subsisted between him and Mr. Hastings, and of the provocation that brought on the duel. He added, it is but justice in him to say, that he behaved himself perfectly well in the field. It was my lot to be dangerously wounded. As I conceived immediate death inevitable, I thought of nothing but to die in peace with all men, particularly with Mr. Hastings. I called him to me, gave him my hand, and desired him to consider in what situation my death would leave him. By that action, and by those words, undoubtedly I meant to declare that I freely forgave him the insult he had offered me, and the fatal consequence which had attended it. I meant that we should stand in the same relation to each other, as if the duel and the cause of it had never

happened. But did I tell him, that if I survived I would renounce the whole plan and principle of my public life ; that I would cease to oppose his measures ; that I would desert the charges which I had already brought against him, or not prosecute him by public impeachment if I could ? On my return to England, I found that a parliamentary inquiry into the late transactions in India was already begun, and I was almost immediately ordered to attend one of the Committees employed upon that enquiry.— (*Annual Register*, 1787.)

Francis, in claiming credit to himself for his forgiving spirit, at a time when he was supposed to be in *articulo mortis*, reminds us of the couplet, describing a certain personage who, when he was sick a "saint would be ;" for shortly afterwards, having been pronounced to be out of danger, his resentment burnt as fiercely as ever, and he resolutely refused to see the Governor-General, who desired to visit his wounded adversary in the sick chamber. The hypocrisy of the final sentence of the above passage is conspicuous. "On my return to England I found that a Parliamentary enquiry was already begun."—The discovery must have astonished him greatly !

But all those efforts were vain. Francis was again rejected by a majority of 122 to 60. This was final ; and the repository of all the local knowledge was compelled to remain behind the scenes.

A week afterwards, Burke, in conjunction with his brother Managers, plucked up courage sufficient to ask Francis "what he would do." They paid him a high compliment in the shape of a letter signed by the entire Committee, soliciting him to continue, though not one of their number, to extend to them his invaluable assistance. "Permit us," they wrote, "to call for this further service, *in the name of the people of India, for whom your parental care has been so long distinguished*, and in support of whose cause you have encountered so many difficulties, vexations, and dangers." The favor thus solicited was granted and the impeachment proceeded, dragging its slow length along from year's end to year's end, and at last, after exhausting the patience of the country and the fortune of Mr. Hastings, resulting in a notable failure. It is no part of our design to follow its windings, which are familiar to all who care to know them. There is little in the work before us which throws any new light upon the history of the great trial—but there is one curious passage in a letter, addressed by Burke to Francis in 1789, which will be perused with no little interest :—

Now for one word on our own affairs. The acquittal of Stockdale is likely to make a bad impression on them ; coupling it with the verdict in favor of the prosecution, for the libel about Impey ; it has the air of a determination of the public voice against us. Remember what I said to you when you were here, about doing something that may give it a turn, APPARENTLY TA

LEAST in favor of truth and justice; without this we can never go on. I confess that at last, I totally despair and think of nothing but an honorable retreat from this business; which I wish our friends would consider to be essential to our common character, as I am convinced it is." (*Correspondence*, Vol. III.)

"Truth and justice!" the words were Francis' stock-in-trade, as they have been, and will be, for centuries to come, of many a political mountebank. So many traffic upon these words, who are utterly regardless of the attributes which they express, that we have learnt to look with some degree of suspicion upon all who make an uncommon parade of them. We cannot but smile at Burke's eagerness, that a turn should be given to the affair of the impeachment "*apparently at least*, in favor of truth and justice," though it is possible that to many the words convey a meaning, which will arouse stronger feelings than those which are expressed by a smile. We do not receive the passage as an indication, that Burke felt the cause in reality to be unsustained by truth and justice; nor that he believed a "retreat from the business" was essential to the preservation of his character. The truth is that Burke like all eager and impulsive men, was subject to occasional fits of despondency, and that whilst suffering under these, he not only magnified the amount of the dangers and difficulties which lay before him; but mistrusted the goodness of his cause, and the sincerity of his own motives. It would be unjust, therefore, to the memory of this great man to fasten upon these transient misgivings, and to interpret them as to the guilty confessions of a mind, smitten with a painful sense of the unholiness of the work on which he was engaged. Besides, Burke, though a brilliant speaker was a careless writer, and his epistolary style is often sufficiently loose, to raise a doubt as to the exact nature of the sentiments which his words are intended to convey.

There is an amusing episode in the work before us, which shows Francis in the character of a critic—and, as may be supposed, an extremely self-sufficient one. During the passage through the press of Burke's *Reflexions on the French Revolution*, some of the sheets were submitted to Francis. The author of JUNIUS attacked the Essay with a degree of asperity, which was not very pleasing to the writer. Burke replied, and his son, Richard Burke, forwarded the letter, with one from himself, in which there is a very manifest determination to give the critic, what in expressive colloquial language, is called a "set down." After entreating him not to "interrupt" his father's "many and great labors by any further written communications of this kind," he goes on to say :

There is one thing of which I must inform you, and which I know from

never hastily adopted, and that even those ideas which has often appeared to me only the effect of momentary heat or casual impression, I have often found beyond the possibility of doubt to be the result of systematic meditation perhaps of years.....Are you so little conversant with my father, or so enslaved by the cant of those who call themselves his friends, only to ensure themselves through him, as to feel no difference for his judgment, or to mistake the warmth of his manner for the heat of his mind. Do I not know my father at this time of day. I tell you his folly is wiser than the wisdom of the common herd of able men. Reflect upon all this.—(*Letter, Feb. 20, 1790.*)

The letter from Burke contained in this filial epistle is characteristic of the man. Its effect would be impaired by partial quotation, and we cannot afford space to extract it in all its integrity. In one passage the writer, using but a few words, hits off the character of his correspondent to a nicety: "My dear Sir, you think of nothing but controversies." Francis did think of nothing but controversy. He lived in an atmosphere of controversy. Controversy was the very aliment of his existence. When he had not the character of an enemy to attack, he attacked the style of a friend. When weary of exposing the political enormities of Hastings, he exposed the literary offences of Burke. He had attempted, after a day's experience, to teach the former how to govern India, and now we find him aspiring to teach the latter to write English. "Once for all," he wrote in reply to his friend's letter, "I wish you would let me teach you to write English." We believe that if Francis had found himself in the kitchen, he would have taught the cook how to baste the meat and handle the rolling-pin.

The long-protracted trial of Warren Hastings afforded for many years occupation to his active mind and his malicious spirit. But in Parliament and out of Parliament, other subjects of a controversial character engaged his time and attention. He was not one, who could even in his old age, settle down into inactivity. When he could not make a speech, he could write a pamphlet. His pen, indeed, was seldom idle, and though his avowed productions are inferior, in respect of force of language, to those which appeared under a *nom-de-guerre*, he enjoyed the reputation, and not without a just claim to it, of being the ablest pamphleteer of the day. As a speaker, he was not equally successful. He was correct, but he was laborious. His speeches wanted the semblance of spontaneity. The sentences of which they were composed, though models of propriety, came forth slowly and with an effort. Though he might have delighted a reporter, he failed to entrance the House. But though not an effective speaker, it must be conceded that, as a senator, he was



something still better. When not carried away by his own strong personal prejudices, Francis brought a sound judgment and a correct moral sense to bear upon public affairs. He was generally to be found arrayed on the side of justice and humanity. He was eminently a liberal politician. A strenuous advocate for Parliamentary reform, a systematic opponent of all unjust and unnecessary wars, and a vigorous declaimer against the odious traffic in human flesh, which has long since ceased to be a national reproach to us, he stood forward, on many great occasions, as the champion of the rights of his fellowmen. By the side of Wilberforce, he contended, with manly energy, and it has been said at some sacrifice of self, for the abolition of the accursed slave-trade; and he lifted his voice against the proposition, which was put forth in 1804, for a vote of thanks to the Marquis of Wellesley and to "the officers and soldiers concerned in the achievement of our late successes in India," protesting against the vote, in language similar to that which has recently been used by one of the most respectable statesmen of the present age, on the grounds that such a vote involved an expression of approbation not only of the manner in which the war was carried out, but of the measures in which it originated. Of such questions as these he was capable of taking enlarged views, and of vindicating his claim to the possession of that public spirit, which was attributed to his conduct in other matters, wherein he evinced not a single spark.

It may, perhaps, be doubted by some, whether in opposing the vote of thanks to the Marquis of Wellesley, Francis was moved by public spirit alone. It is known and admitted that for many years, he had cherished a hope of returning to India, in the character of Governor-General. His enemies alleged, indeed, that he set this great prize steadily before him from the very hour in which he was appointed a Member of Council; and that, in all his struggles with Hastings, this one object was uppermost in his every thought. We pretend not thus to fathom human motives; but it is certain that at a latter period, he felt confident that the time was not far distant, when he would occupy the chief seat at the Council-table; and on the death of that great and good man Lord Cornwallis, it was believed not only by Francis, but by the public (for Mr. Fox was then in office) that the Governor-Generalship was at his feet. But he was ever doomed to disappointment. His hopes were baffled; his ambition checked; and, long smarting under the mortification of failure, it must be acknowledged that he was, at no time, in a fit state of mind to regard, with an unbiassed judgment, the conduct of a Governor-General of India.

That on all Indian questions Francis was regarded as an authority of the highest note is a fact, which some will attribute to his knowledge, and others to his friends' ignorance of Indian affairs. There was, in all probability, a good deal of both ; but it is certain that his greatest admirers were either totally unacquainted with his character, or, in true spirit of mendacious partisanship, eager to conceal the truth. That Fox, Burke, and Elliott were sensible of the expediency not only of magnifying the knowledge and experience of their ally, but of exalting his character as a man, is a fact not to be doubted, whatever may be thought of the sincerity or insincerity in following a course, which though a politic, might have been an honest one. We do not assume that because it was expedient, it was nothing better ; but the panegyrics pronounced upon Francis were so grossly exaggerated—his virtues were set forth in so preposterous a strain, that it is difficult to believe that the friendly orators, even in the plenitude of their partisan zeal, could have felt that they were uttering the truth. Sir Gilbert Elliott, after pronouncing an extravagant eulogium on the virtues of the ex-councillor, exclaimed : "If I am asked for proof, I say, the *book of his life is open before you* ; it has been read, it has been examined, in every line by the diligent inquisition—the searching eye of malice and envy. *Has a single blot been found? Is there one page that has not been traced by virtue and by wisdom?*" Preposterous as are such passages as these, they are to be more than matched by the speeches of still greater men. Francis' purity and disinterestedness, when in India, was a common topic of discourse at home. It was boldly alleged that he had returned to England in a state of comparative poverty ; that the fortune which he brought home with him, was scanty, when regarded with reference to his opportunities of amassing honorable wealth. That he took home a larger sum of money than the entire amount of his official earnings, is a notorious fact. Major Scott challenged him in Parliament to account for the extent of his wealth ; and he was silent. Captain Price charged him, in print, with possessing more money than he could have honestly acquired, and explained the nature of some of his pecuniary transactions, in a manner not very flattering to the retired Councillor.\* It has been

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\* Captain Price says—"In the same Act of Parliament, the servants of the East India Company abroad, were confined to drawing on the Company at home, for three hundred thousand pounds annually, *and no more*. And of that sum I believe, the portion of the Bengal Presidency was limited by the Court of Directors to one hundred thousand pounds. What is it that our unspotted triumvirate of rigid

fortunate for the reputation of Francis, that whilst those, whose bold, and often unscrupulous assertions declared his character to be, in all respects beyond suspicion, were great men whose words posterity will not willingly let die, his opponents, who knew him far better—who were rich in proofs of all that they ventured to assert—were insignificant individuals, whose words, spoken or written, the world have allowed to slide into oblivion. Scott and Price knew Philip Francis much better than did Fox and Burke. Whilst the former put forth a specific array of facts and made awkward disclosures, so circumstantial in their details as to invite refutation, if they could be refuted, the latter contented themselves with bold, sweeping, general assertions, which posterity have invested with an importance to which they have no claim. The eloquence of Fox and Burke have preserved, as in amber, the praises of Francis; and few pause to consider that these eulogia, after all, were but flights of the oratory of partisanship.

For a quarter of a century after his return from India, these party praises were the only honors showered upon Philip Francis—but, on the recommendation of Lord Grenville, His Majesty at length consented to recognize his services, and in October 1806, he was gazetted as a Knight of the Bath. He was then an old man—fast verging upon the allotted period of three score and ten; his work was done, his associates removed from the scene of action, and his ambition now quieted by despair. The “good old gentlemanly vice” of avarice was strong within him, and, in society, his conduct was marked by an excess of impatience and irritability—the skeletons of the eager impetuosity and fiery energy, which had been among the characteristics of his youth. Seen now in repose these qualities, though less dangerous, were not less repulsive. The selfishness, which had before exhibited itself in intense action, now, in its passive phases, assumed the form of that impatient egotism, which cannot bear to listen, but breaks out in querulousness and discourtesy when another commands the attention of the moment. He became captious

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inquisitors do, but agree amongst themselves, that the very money they had decreed, should be paid to them out of the Treasury, at two shillings the current rupee, should also be received back into the Treasury for bills on the Company, at the enhanced value of two shillings and one penny.

“A man who takes from his Majesty’s exchequer a guinea, and puts down twenty shillings, robs him of five per cent. The fraud in which you were concerned, Mr. Francis, amounted to ten pence in the pound, on a hundred thousand pounds, or, four thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence (£41,661. 13s. 4d.) Now for the application.”

and petulant. From the dissection of vast public measures and the arraignment of great statesmen, he turned to the anatomy of colloquial sentences and the rebuke of insignificant twaddlers. Still even in extreme old age he retained much of the vigor of former years. His mind, it is said, burnt brightly to the last ; but the fuel of past years was wanting ; it had no longer great objects to employ itself upon—the career of JUNIUS was at an end.

On the 22nd of December, 1881, Sir Phillip Francis expired at his house in St. James' Square. He had been, for some time, greatly reduced by a painful disease, against which his advanced age denied him further power to struggle. He left behind him a young wife—the daughter of a clergyman named Watkins, to whom he had been united but a few years—two married daughters and a son ; and was buried, at his own request, with extreme privacy, in Mortlake church.

The character of Francis has already been shadowed forth in these pages. Gifted with abilities of a high—if not of the highest order—with resolution and constancy, which rightly directed, might have achieved for himself an honorable fame and bestowed vast benefits on his fellows—he has earned a niche in history only as a man of a restless nature and factious temperament, who lived in an atmosphere of strife, and whilst diligent in assailing the reputation of another, did nothing to establish his own. Ambition was the source of all his errors. In him the pure stream was polluted and obstructed by the vile offal of hateful envy. He hated all who were above him—all who passed him in the race ; and forgetful of the more honorable aims, with which he started, he turned aside, in bitterness of spirit, to pour upon the heads of more successful competitors the vials of malignant envy and wrath. The energy of his character vented itself in fierce invectives, and rancorous opposition to greater men than himself ; and soon this active malignity, which had been but the effect of the predominant characteristic of his mind, became itself the predominant characteristic. The lesser attribute became the greater. Once he had been envious and malignant because he was ambitious. In time, his chief ambition was to bring his envy and malice to bear most successfully upon their objects. Intense self-appreciation was ever at work within him ; the exaltation of other men he regarded in the light of a personal injury. Success it was ever painful to him to contemplate ; vanity and envy incited him to bitter hatred ; and the desire of his heart was to drag down others from their eminence—to rise if possible on the ruins of the fallen ; if not, still to glory in the fall.

His confidence in his own abilities was unbounded ; his arrogance and self-reliance inexhaustible. He had no kindness of heart ; no generosity of soul. He was as heedless of inflicting pain, as he was undesirous of imparting pleasure. Of the kinder sympathies of humanity his nature was ignorant. It seemed as though strife was as essential to his existence as the very air he breathed. His evil passions required constant occupation ; they never slumbered, but from year to year, still he was to be found eager, energetic, driven forward by the unfailing impetus of strong personal resentment ; never halting in his career ; never flagging or desponding ; but still the same able, active, black-hearted, *bad* man.

Francis might have been a great man if he had been blessed with a better heart ; but he had not the strength to keep down the evil excesses of his personal character, and, therefore, his public actions, whenever private feelings were in any way associated with them, bore the base stamp of his own individuality. When self was not immediately concerned—when there was nothing to call into action the envy, hatred, and uncharitableness of his nature, he often took correct views of public questions, and manifested in their exposition a happy union of great ability and sound principle. But these were but brief episodes—episodes painful but not unprofitable to contemplate, as they show by forcible contrast, how a great man was marred by a bad heart ; how with all the advantages of a vigorous understanding, extraordinary energy of character, and opportunities presented to few, Phillip Francis was baffled and disappointed throughout life, and at his death left behind him not an honorable fame, but an unenviable notoriety—and that because, from the very outset of his career, he cast aside the Christian charities as idle prejudices, or useless lumber.

## BENGAL AS IT IS.

BY J. C. MARSHMAN, ESQ., C. S. I.

1. *Statement submitted by the Court of Nizamut Adawlut, relative to the Administration of Criminal Justice, in the Territories subject to the Government of Bengal, during the year 1843.*
2. *Statement submitted by the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, relative to the Administration of Civil Justice, in the Territories subject to the Government of Bengal, during the year 1843.*

THE ignorance which prevails in England, even among the educated classes of society, of the institutions by which the British administration is conducted in India among a hundred millions of people, has long been a subject both of surprise and regret. It appears scarcely credible, that, while the most accurate and minute information regarding the people and government of the United States is so generally diffused in England, though they have ceased to form an integral part of the Empire, the British Government in the East should be so little understood, while it still forms the brightest jewel of the British Crown. This ignorance, which has latterly been rendered the more palpable, by the numerous allusions made to India by public writers at home, since the Cabul tragedy created an interest in the affairs of this country, it is not difficult to account for. Two generations have passed away since the mechanism of this government was rendered familiar to the public in England through the national interest which the trial of Hastings produced, and the matchless eloquence of those who conducted it. Just as that great event began to fade from general recollection, we were plunged into a war of unexampled magnitude, with the most formidable opponent we had ever encountered, which lasted for a quarter of a century, and so completely engrossed attention, as to leave no room in the public mind for the affairs of a distant possession, which was moreover regarded rather as the estate of a close corporation than as a portion of the national domains. The abolition of the Company's monopoly, and the opening of India to the enterprise of all merchants, has latterly begun to draw a considerable share of public attention to its affairs. The establishment of a regular monthly communication by steam between the two countries, has served to deepen the interest thus excited. But these excitements are too recent to have produced their full effect. It is too early to expect in the readers or editors of newspapers that acquaintance with Indian subjects which must be the growth of time. The editor of an English journal is also obliged to keep himself up to the level of the multiplied transac-

tions of the civilized world ; and he has comparatively little leisure for the study of Indian topics. To add to his difficulty, the information which he requires is scattered through numerous volumes, which he has no time to wade through. The great majority of the works, of which India is the subject, appear to be intended rather for the benefit of those who are familiar with it, than for the instruction of those who have almost every thing to learn.

The Government of India has now resumed the communication of public documents to the Indian public. The Reports of Committees appointed to investigate questions of general interest ; the official returns made by the officers employed in the judicial, the fiscal, and the magisterial departments, together with the statements regarding the finances of the country, are again laid open unreservedly to public view. Government, having given the benefit of a liberal education to the Natives, no longer seeks to withhold from them that statistical information which may enable them to understand the condition and prospects of their own country. Nothing can be more honorable to the public authorities than this free communication of facts relative to the administration, which, in many instances, only serve to point out its defects ; and nothing can be more calculated to give the people confidence in their rulers, or satisfaction in the institutions under which they live. These papers give the most accurate data regarding the general government, in all its branches, and furnish that information, which would, in some measure, meet the wants and wishes of those who are desirous of understanding Indian subjects. In the following pages we have therefore endeavoured to bring into one point of view, and in a condensed form, the details scattered through the various publications placed at the head of this article. We have sought to relieve the weariness inseparable from such dry details, by an occasional reference to the previous history of particular branches of the administration ; and we have ventured to offer some remarks on those prospective improvements which appear both desirable and probable. But our main object has been to present a clear representation of the machinery of the Bengal Government, to explain to those to whom the subject is new, the various institutions which have been created and matured by British statesmen in India, for the security of life and property, the maintenance of individual rights, the preservation of the peace, as well as the sources of the public revenue, and the instrumentality by which it is collected.

At the last renewal of the Charter, the constitution of the Government of India was subjected to various modifications, some

of which were of the deepest importance, and have exercised on little influence on the character and popularity of the administration. The power of legislation was withdrawn from the Governor and Council at the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and lodged in the Legislative Council of India, which was, at the same time, vested with the most extensive authority. It was empowered to legislate for the Crown Courts, which had before this period been always independent of, and occasionally in opposition to, the Company's government. It was also entrusted with the delicate but necessary task of revising Acts of Parliament passed in reference to India, in every case in which they appeared to require modification. The Charter likewise placed the two minor Presidencies in a state of as complete subordination, on all political and financial questions, to the Supreme Council as the Presidency of Fort William had been; and it gave that Council an invidious control over their expenditure, which has been a source of constant irritation. By its provisions the Presidency of Bengal was detached from the Government of India, and broken up into two divisions, those of Calcutta and Agra. The former embraced the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Cuttack; the latter, all the ceded and conquered provinces in the north-west; and these two divisions of the Presidency were to be administered, in the one case by a Lieutenant-Governor, in the other by a Governor,—generally the Governor-General without the aid of a Council, which, however, was continued in the Governments of Madras and Bombay. It is to the Government of Bengal, as defined by this partition, that our subsequent remarks have reference.

It embraces the provinces which were brought under our political control by the battle of Plassey, and the internal administration of which was transferred to us by the Imperial grant of the Dewanny in 1765. These are the provinces which formed the nucleus of that Empire which now stretches from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, and the influence of which may be said to be commensurate with the limits of Asia. Bengal includes the provinces in which the people have been longest accustomed to our administration, and have been most fully able to judge of its merits and disadvantages. To Bengal and Behar was annexed in 1803, the province of Cuttack, which we wrested from the Mahrattas, half a century after they had conquered it from the Mahomedans. The provinces to which this paper refers are by far the most wealthy and productive in the whole empire. It is from the resources of the Gangetic valley alone that Government is furnished with any surplus funds; that it obtains the sinews of war, and is enabled to clear



off the debts it had contracted. Of the upper and lower division of this valley, it is the lower, or that comprised in the Government of Bengal, which has been the mainstay of the public finances. Though it does not comprise more than a tenth of the territory subject to the British crown in India, it yields *two-fifths* of the revenue. The inhabitants are distinguished by their ingenuity, their industry, and their wealth. In no other portion of the empire, is so large a body of men to be found possessed of such extensive property, both landed and personal. Throughout these Provinces, the General Code of Laws and Regulations passed by successive Governments, from the year 1793, is in full operation. Hence they are usually designated the Regulation Provinces, to distinguish them from certain other provinces, more recently acquired, and lying on the confines, which are administered by officers selected generally from the ranks of the army for their acquaintance with the vernacular tongue, and their supposed aptitude for civil business. Into these non-Regulation provinces the Company's Regulations have not been introduced, owing to the rude and backward state of the inhabitants. The administration, however, is conducted in the spirit, and as far as possible, after the model of the Regulations; but a large discretion is left with the presiding officers to dispense with the letter of the law, whenever the claims of equity and justice seem to require it. These Provinces comprise Assam, Arracan, the Tenasserim Provinces, the Tributary Mehals of Cuttack, the little districts of Cachar, the hill station of Darjeeling, and the provinces lying to the south-west of Bengal, and inhabited in part by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, who possessed the land before the introduction of Hindooism, and have never received its yoke.

Besides this division of the Presidency into Regulation and non-Regulation Provinces, the public service is farther divided into two classes, the Covenanted and Uncovenanted. The former includes the Civil Servants appointed by the Court of Directors, who complete their studies at Hayleybury, and enter into *covenants* with the Home Government. They are appointed generally to the Presidency of Fort William, and after passing an examination in the College of Fort William, are allotted by the Government of India to the Agra or the Bengal Division. The number employed in this latter division exceeds, by about eight-one, those on the former establishment. Their number may now be taken at 447; and the entire amount of their allowances, at 78,67,475 Rs.—£786,747—rather less than an

average of £2,000 sterling a year. This sum, however, is unequally distributed among the whole body, as the following calculation will shew. In 1842

47 received below	500 Rs.	
36 " fr	500	to 1,000 Rs.
64 " "	1,000	" 1,500
42 " "	1,500	" 2,000
51 " "	2,090	" 2,500
50 " "	2,500	" 3,000
28 " "	3,000	" 3,500
17 " "	3,500	" 4,000
20 " "	4,000	" 4,500
3 " "	4,500	" 5,000
1 received	8,360	
1 " "	10,450	

The Uncovenanted servants consist of those Europeans, East Indians and Natives who are engaged by the local Government without reference to the Court of Directors ; and their allowances are fixed on a lower standard, as their responsibilities are, generally speaking, of an inferior class. The original appointment to the Civil Service is vested exclusively in the Directors ; but after the arrival of a Civilian in India, and his introduction to the public service, his promotion depends entirely on the local Government ; no instance is known of an interference by the Directors in the distribution of patronage among this body in India.

The executive Government of Bengal is administered by the Governor or Deputy-Governor, aided by one Secretary and two Under-Secretaries. The duties annexed to it embrace the entire control of the Civil, Magisterial, and Police branches of the administration ; of the Land Revenues ; of the Salt and Opium monopolies ; of the Abkaree or Excise on Spirits ; of the Ecclesiastical, Marine, and Steam Departments, as well as that of Public Instruction and the Post Office. It is also charged with the management of the Ultra-Gangetic settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. With the Legislative, the Military and Political Departments it has no connection ; they belong exclusively to the province of the general government. The duties which are thus thrown on the Government of Bengal have been supposed to exceed those which devolve on the united Governments of Madras and Bombay, in which the responsibility of deliberation is shared by two distinct Councils, and the labor of action is distributed among several bureaus.

In reference to the finances, however, the functions of the Bengal Government are strictly administrative. The funds collected through its instrumentality, are at the entire disposal of the Government of India, and are expended according to the arrangements laid down by it ; and which can be modified only by its authority. The Governor of Bengal can make no alteration in the allowances of the public servants ; he cannot establish a new school, or augment the pay of a Darogah to the extent of a rupee, without a vote of the Council of India. But in the internal management of the whole of the administration, the Governor of Bengal is unfettered by the necessity of any reference to the Government of India. The vast patronage of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted Service is at his absolute disposal ; and in the exercise of discipline, any appeal from his decision lies to the Court of Directors and not to the Governor-General in Council. He is constrained, however, by the most stringent injunctions to forward every petition of appeal against his own proceedings to the home authorities.

Although the Military department is altogether distinct from the Government of Bengal, this sketch of the administration would be incomplete if we were to abstain from all reference to it. It reflects the highest credit on our administration, that during the last forty years it has not been found necessary to call out the Military in aid of the Police in Bengal or Behar except in a single case, and this solitary instance of military interference arose out of the outrages of a body of fanatic Mahomedans under Teetoo Meer, and not from any resistance of fiscal exaction or official oppression. The number of troops at this time cantoned in the populous provinces of Bengal among twenty-eight millions of people does not exceed 11,000 native troops and about 1,500 Europeans. The tranquillity of the whole province of Cuttack is maintained by a single Regiment, and the removal of it would give the Commissioner little disquietude. The troops in Behar, English and Native, amount to about 9,000 ; but this large number, so disproportionate to its size and population, is rendered necessary, not by the prevalence of any spirit of disaffection in that province, but by the large army of the Nepaul Government on its Northern frontier, and by the menacing attitude which that Court has occasionally assumed when the British empire in the East was supposed to be in danger. If no larger military force was maintained than was necessary to preserve internal peace and to overawe opposition, in the two provinces of Bengal and Behar, they would be found to yield a larger surplus revenue than any other country in the world. After paying for the costly machinery of a European

Government, they would yield a nett income of four million sterling a year.

These provinces are divided into *twenty-nine* Zillahs ; of which *nineteen* are in Bengal proper, in which Bengalee is the language of the cradle and the Court ; *seven* in Behar, in which the Oordoo language prevails ; and *three* in Cuttack, in which the Ooriya language is spoken. The usual Covenanted officers in a district are the Civil and Session Judge with a salary of 30,000 Rs. a-year ; a Collector with 23,000 Rs. *per annum*, except in one or two districts in which the salary does not exceed 18,000 Rs. ; the Magistrate, whose pay has recently been reduced, under specific orders from home, to 10,800 Rs. a-year : and a Civil Surgeon on a salary of 3,600 annually. There are also in the various Zillahs *eleven* Joint-Magistrates and Deputy-Collectors on a salary of 8,400 Rs. each ; and the Covenanted Assistants, as soon as they are emancipated from College and begin their apprenticeship in the public service, receive 4,800 Rs. In the districts of Dacca, Sylhet, and Chittagong, as well as in the three divisions of Cuttack, the office of Magistrate is united with that of Collector, and the officer receives a salary of from 24,000 to 28,000 Rs. These two offices are still united in Burdwan and West Beerbhoom, but the allowances are more limited. It should also be mentioned that, with the view of promoting the efficiency of the Police, and the convenience of the people, in *seven* instances smaller districts have been detached from those which were found to be unwieldy. The officer who presides in these minor districts is styled a Joint-Magistrate and Deputy-Collector, and his salary varies from 12,000 to 18,000 Rs. annually ; but the administration of Civil Justice in them is subordinate to the districts from which they have been separated for the object of Criminal Jurisdiction. These solitary stations, which are among those least coveted by the service, contain but two Covenanted officers, the Magistrate and the Doctor.

Before we proceed to detail the nature of those establishments through which the civil and criminal laws are administered, and the public revenue is collected, it appears advisable to glance at their origin and progression. For them we are originally indebted to the genius of Warren Hastings, to whose extraordinary merits as a statesman, adequate justice has never yet been rendered. Clive created the British Empire in the East ; and Hastings created its institutions. In 1765, Clive obtained the grant of the Dewanny ; which transferred to us all the powers of civil government through the three Soobahs. But, owing in some measure to his dread of the effects of a sudden and violent change, and in some measure also to his entire ignorance of

the state of the country, and of the mode in which the internal administration had been conducted, he left the management of the civil, criminal, and fiscal departments as he found them, in the hands of the Nabob's Ministers, and limited the duties of our Government to the receipt of revenue, and maintenance of order and quiet through its military power. This was that scheme of a double Government, forced on him by the exigency of the times, which has been repeated by his successors in other parts of India, without the same excuse, and given rise to such unexampled misery. By it, the power of oppression in its most terrific form, is entrusted to men, pre-eminent above all other Asiatics, for the abuse of power, while the remotest chance of resistance is effectually taken from the people by the presence of our forces. The consequence of this double Government as established by Clive was, that civil justice was openly bought and sold ; the roads were rendered impassable by highwaymen ; the Company's exchequer was kept empty, and the most extensive alienations of the land revenue were unblushingly made by the natives entrusted with the collection of it, to the permanent injury of the public interests. After this flagitious and wasteful plan had been tried for four or five years, it was found impossible to carry on the Government any longer under it, and the Directors resolved to "stand forth as Duan ;" that is, to take the management of the country into their own hands, and administer its affairs through their own servants. The accomplishment of this plan was entrusted to Warren Hastings, who was expected to reduce the chaos to order and efficiency. There was nothing in the history of other conquests which might serve him as a guide in this difficult and untrodden path. Never before had thirty millions of people been suddenly transferred to the dominion of any of the civilized nations of Europe, and he was called for the first time to create establishments for the collection of the revenue, and the administration of civil and criminal justice, without any pattern. His own letters shew the difficulties which he experienced in the performance of this herculean task, from the want of local experience, from the inefficiency and opposition of a most refractory civil service, and the venality and villainy of his native agents. After seventy years of improvement, however, we still look back on the original model of our institutions, as it was formed by his creative genius, with surprise and admiration. Though all his arrangements have been modified by subsequent experience, to him belongs the glory of having given form and consistency to our civil polity in this country ; nor should the gratitude due to Lord Cornwallis for the consolidation, nor to

Lord William Bentinck for the improvement, of our establishments, induce us to forget the praise we owe to Hastings for having originated them.

In 1793, Lord Cornwallis gave a fixed character to these establishments, and defined with the nicest accuracy the functions of the different offices, their mutual connection, and their mode of operation ; and his system was perpetuated, without any material alteration, for nearly forty years. The leading principle of his scheme was to work the administration almost exclusively by European agency. It contained no adequate provision for the employment of native talent in the government of the country. No scope was allowed for the aspirations or ambition of the native community. The duties committed to them were trifling in their nature ; and the allowances granted to the highest native official were contemptible and unjust when viewed side by side with the colossal salaries of the Covenanted European service. In process of time, this unnatural system of government was found to be as inefficient as it was exasperating ; it was felt that to exclude the natives systematically from all the higher departments of the public service, must be a source of constant dissatisfaction. It was perceived that our efforts to impart superior instruction to the upper classes of natives, must be accompanied with provision for their official employment, or the movements of Government would be embarrassed by growing discontents. The truth was at length admitted, that our administration must be nationalized and strengthened, by the admission into the public service of those whom we had elevated in knowledge. The leading object of Lord William Bentinck's government, therefore, was the development of native talent, and its adoption into the service of the state ; and it is on this ground that the natives so justly regard his memory with affectionate veneration : and that his administration will be considered by the future and impartial historian as forming a most important era in our Indian history ; the era of conquest—not indeed the conquest of the country, but of that which was perhaps more difficult, the conquest of our own prejudices.

By the arrangements of Lord Cornwallis's government, the cognizance of the suits of the poor and the helpless, was entrusted—rather we should say abandoned—to a class of inefficient and ill-paid judges, though dignified with the high sounding title of 'Native Commissioners,' generally called Moonsiffs. The system was subsequently expanded, and their jurisdiction and allowances were somewhat increased. A superior grade of officers styled Sudder Ameens was also instituted ; but the

whole establishment, down to Lord William Bentinck's time, was a disgrace to our national character. These Native Judges were in the great majority of instances low-born, low-bred, ignorant and corrupt men, by whose venality the stream of justice was polluted. No adequate system of control was established over them, no prospects worth naming were held out for superior diligence and probity, and the whole institution was evidently one in which the public authorities took no manner of interest : the offspring of neglect, not the child of our affections.

In 1831, Lord William Bentinck introduced his improved system of judicial administration, which brought into requisition three grades of uncovenanted native, East Indian, or European Judges. The system was at first found to work but indifferently. No men were available for these more important offices, but the old Moonsiffs and Sudder Amecns, who had obtained their appointments at the time when the service was treated with indifference, and whom increase of pay and responsibility was not likely to endow suddenly with increased ability and honesty. The new service, therefore, became unpopular with the natives. But his Lordship's successors in the government have cordially embraced his enlightened views, and used the most strenuous efforts to carry out and mature his plans. Great efforts have been made to improve the character and qualifications of the native Judges. The service has been made one of gradation, but not of seniority. The superior ranks are filled up successively from the most able and efficient men of the inferior grades. Every uncovenanted Judge must enter the service as a Moonsiff, and the prospect of promotion thus held out to those at the bottom of the ladder acts as a powerful stimulant to industry and exertion. The candidates for the office of Moonsiff are subjected to the test of a rigid examination, but no subsequent examination is required ; promotion is determined by the relative estimation to which each officer has been enabled to raise himself. The consequence of these reforms has been to elevate the character, and we believe also to improve the honesty of the whole body. These appointments, which were for some time spurned by the higher classes of society, are now become an object of solicitation among some of the most distinguished families in the country ; and the feeling of ambition which, under other circumstances, might have served to weaken our government, is now become one of the elements of its strength. With this improvement in the character of the uncovenanted bench, the enlargement of its jurisdiction has kept pace. Fifteen years ago, no suit above the value of 1,000 Rupees was entrusted to the cognizance of a Native Judge ; at present

the original jurisdiction in all suits, whatever their amount, and whoever may be the parties, is confided to them, almost without exception. The duty of the Covenanted servant, the Civilian, is limited for the most part to the general control of the whole system of judicial administration, and the hearing of appeals.

Under this improved system each district is divided into a certain number of Moonsiffships. The Moonsiff's station is generally placed in the centre of a circle so as to meet the convenience of the people, and to bring justice as much as possible to every man's door. He is empowered to receive and try all suits of the value of 300 rupees. He is also employed by the Judge in making local enquiries, and occasionally, though rarely, in the attachment and sale of property; this duty has latterly been entrusted to an officer especially appointed to it. There are two grades of Moonsiffs, the lowest of which receives 100 rupees, the higher 150 rupees monthly. This gradation is intended as a spur to zeal and industry, and also as the reward of long and faithful services; but the extent of the Moonsiff's power and jurisdiction are the same in both cases. These allowances, however, are manifestly too small for the position which the Moonsiff occupies in general society, and in our public institutions. They are not sufficient to secure honesty, or even to allow Government honestly to expect it. In India, a well-paid functionary cannot always be depended upon for honesty; but an underpaid servant is sure, in the great majority of cases, to fall into the sin of venality. The Moonsiff is the poor man's judge; redress in ninety-nine cases of civil injustice out of a hundred, is given exclusively through the Moonsiff. Every Moonsiff ought, therefore, to be so well rewarded for his labours as to satisfy the poor suitor, that it is not necessary for him to pay for justice, that his judge may be enabled to live.

The grade above the Moonsiff is the Sudder Ameen; and he receives a salary of 250 rupees a month. He usually holds his Court at the station of the Civil Judge, who refers to him all suits to the value of 1,000 rupees. He is also an Assistant to the Magistrate. The propriety of perpetuating this office has been much questioned of late. Suits of large amount go before the grade of Judges immediately above the Sudder Ameen, while the greatest number of suits is instituted in the Courts below him. The tendency of public opinion is to the abolition of this office, and the transfer of its jurisdiction and allowances to the Moonsiffs.

Immediately above the Sudder Ameen is the Principal Sud-



der Ameen, whose allowances are 400 rupees and, in a certain number of cases, 600 rupees a month. His jurisdiction originally extended only to suits of the value of from 1,000 to 5,000 Rs., and the regular appeal in such cases lay to the Civil Judge. Subsequently, however, the sphere of this officer's duties has been indefinitely extended, and he is empowered to receive suits of the very highest amount which the Civil Judge may make over to him. But in all suits above the value of 5,000 Rs. the appeal lies to the Sudder Court, with whom the Principal Sudder Ameen corresponds direct. Latterly, these officers have been appointed Deputy-Magistrates in their respective districts, and entrusted with the full powers of a Magistrate. In the unavoidable absence of the Civil Judge, the Principal Sudder Ameen takes charge of the current duties of the office. He is thus entrusted with the most important legal functions, and enjoys the highest official distinction in the district. The magnitude of the change which has been effected in the judicial service at this Presidency, during the last fifteen years, may be judged of from the fact, that the suits now entrusted to the cognizance of this Native Judge, were, before that time, confided to no officer under the rank of a Provincial Judge of Appeal, with an allowance in no instance of less than 3,000 Rs. a month.

The Civil and Session Judge is at the head of the whole establishment of Civil Justice in each district. He superintends and controls all the subordinate Courts, and is the channel of communications to and from the Sudder Court. He investigates a certain proportion of original suits of large amount, and, that he may become acquainted with the character and capabilities of the judicial officers of his district, is expected himself to hear and determine a sufficient number of appeals from them. It is, therefore, of the last importance that he should be master of the general principles of jurisprudence, of the laws of evidence, of the Regulations of Government, and the practice of the Courts. It is indispensable that he should be familiar with the language used in the district. He ought in no respect to be inferior to the officers whom he controls, but in every respect their superior. In exact proportion as he is found deficient in these qualifications, the administration of justice throughout the district will be deteriorated, and the venal and withering influence of his Amlas, or Native officials, become predominant. It is to be lamented that so much is still wanting to perfect this branch of our judicial institutions; and that the present structure of the Service affords so faint a prospect of improvement. Of those who are now becoming eligible to the office of Civil Judge, nearly the whole body had completed their studies before the

use of the vernacular tongue was introduced into the Courts of Bengal ; their knowledge of it is therefore deplorably inefficient. Neither is there any immediate hope that the younger members of the service, with solitary exceptions, will at any time acquire a greater familiarity with the vernacular tongue, than was deemed sufficient to liberate them from the College of Fort William ; and the College standard of philological qualification is many degrees below that which ought to constitute the official and working standard. The absence of any training for the administration of Civil Justice in the Civil Service is another subject of regret. The young Civilian, from the day of his entering on public duties to the day of his elevation to the Civil bench of a district, is employed exclusively in the discharge of fiscal or magisterial duties. He is not required to open a single volume on the subject of civil law ; indeed, he has no leisure for a pursuit so unconnected with the duties of his office which require the appropriation of his whole time ; and he will eventually be called to superintend the civil establishments of a whole district, filled with Uncovenanted Judges of great ability and long experience, with less knowledge of the laws and the practice of the Courts, than the Moonsiff whose decisions he is to revise.

From the decisions of the Civil Judge in original suits, and from those of the Principal Sudder Ameens in suits above 5,000 rupees, an appeal lies to the Sudder Court. This arrangement grew out of the abolition of the old, heavy, lumbering institution of Judges of Appeal and Circuit, whose appointments were considered rather in the light of a reward for past services than as the commencement of new responsibilities. The Sudder Court has now ceased to enjoy any original jurisdiction, and its duties are confined to the hearing of appeals from the subordinate Courts. This is the Court of final appeal in this Presidency. A seat on its bench crowns the ambition of the judicial officer. Five or six Judges, according to the exigency of circumstances, preside in it. It is seldom reached till after twenty-four years of service. The allowances of the Judges are on the highest scale below a member of Council, and amount to 52,200 rupees a year. When an appeal comes from the lower Court before the Sudder, it is heard by a single Judge in the presence of the parties, or their Vakeels, or Counsel. If the decision of the Court below appears to be just and equitable, the Judge confirms it without more elaborate investigation. Till very recently, if he differed with the lower Court, he was required to send the case, with his opinion on it, to a second Judge. If the two Judges failed to agree in every point, the case went to a third, and any discrepancy of opinion, however slight, was sufficient to send it

on to a fourth ; and it sometimes became necessary to make the whole circuit of the bench before two of the Judges could be found of one mind in every respect. It is needless to point out the inconvenience, if not injustice, of this arrangement. Happily, it has now been abolished by law, and if the Judge who takes up the appeal perceives a probability of his not concurring with the decree of the lower tribunal, he calls a full bench of three Judges, before whom the case is once and for all heard, and decided by a majority of votes.

It is one of the greatest improvements of our modern system of judicial administration in Bengal, that only a single appeal is allowed on the merits of a case. Thus, from the decision of the Moonsiff and the Sudder Ameen, there is a single appeal to the Principal Sudder Ameen or the Civil Judge ; from the original decision of these latter Courts, one appeal is allowed to the Sudder Court. Those who are led to think that they have not met with substantive justice, thus enjoy the liberty of appeal to a higher and more impartial Court. In all these cases the decision of the appellate court is final, except in suits above the value of 10,000 rupees. But a second or special appeal is allowed to the Sudder Court, on points of law or usage or practice, having the force of law, upon which there may be reasonable doubts. It was formerly usual to allow such special appeals to the Court immediately above that in which the decision appealed from was passed ; but as the object of this second appeal is to preserve uniformity and consistency throughout the judicial system, it has been very properly decided that it shall lie only to the highest Court in the country. A party who objects to the application of a law or usage in a case which has gone against him, prefers his appeal on that specific ground to the Sudder Court ; and the Judge is at liberty to reject the appeal at once if he supposes it untenable. If he deems it worthy of consideration, he records the specific points to be decided, and they are argued before a full bench of three Judges, and disposed of by a plurality of voices.

Of the various modifications which have been introduced into our judicial institutions during the last fifteen years, one main object has been to prevent the lingering of suits in the various Courts, and to give the suitors the blessing of an expeditious decision, even when it was found difficult to give them a cheap or perhaps an equitable decision. So far as the rapid disposal of cases is a national benefit, it has been in a great measure attained in the Company's Courts at this Presidency. The average duration of a suit in the Sudder Court in 1829 was *forty* months ; in 1843, it was only *fifteen* months. In the

Zillah Courts, it has been reduced during this period from *thirty-six months to six months and a half*; in those of the Sudder Ameen, from *ten months to five months and a half*; and in those of the Moonsiff from *six months and a half to four and a half*.

From the decision of the Sudder Court, an appeal lies to Her Majesty's Privy Council, in all suits of which the value is £1,000 and upwards. When these appeals were originally established half a century ago, the lowest limit of an appealable case was fixed at £5,000. But within the last seven years, it has pleased our gracious Queen, with the advice of her Privy Council, to reduce the amount, so as to enable any suitor with a case of £1,000, to enjoy the benefit of an appeal to England. Whether this reduction was recommended to her Majesty with a view to the interests of the legal profession in England, or out of regard to the welfare of the subjects of the Crown in India, it is not for us to determine. In all such cases of appeal, the appellant is required to furnish security for the eventual payment of the English costs, before his case is made up for transmission to the cock-pit. From a delicate regard to the supposed interests of Indian suitors, of which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any other age or country, the Home authorities have constrained the Court of Directors to carry forward these suits at the public expense, whenever the parties themselves were unwilling or unable to proceed with them. During the last ten years the revenues of India have thus been saddled with an expense of nearly £130,000 for the management of suits which would otherwise have fallen through. The sum expended by the Company at home in bringing seventy cases to a hearing, has amounted to £152,826; of this £24,191 only have been recovered. The Government of India has therefore been obliged latterly to augment the demand for security of costs to £2,300 in each case, as this sum is found to be the average charge on each suit heard and determined by the Privy Council;—and thus the benevolent design of the Queen's Ministers, to bring all suits of the value of £1,000 within reach of the advocates and judges of England, has been in a great measure frustrated by the augmentation of the demand for security.

During sixty-five years after the establishment of Civil Courts in Bengal, all their proceedings were conducted and recorded in Persian, a language endeared to the Mahomedans by historical recollections, and which had become familiar to the Hindoos connected with the Courts by long habit. The absurdity of conducting the business of the Courts established for the convenience and benefit of the people in a language to which they were

total strangers, was for many years a topic of remonstrance and reproach. After a long, and, as usual, an arduous struggle, common sense gained the ascendant, and during the administration of Lord Auckland, the vernacular languages of the country were again introduced into the Courts, after six centuries of abeyance. In the Behar districts, therefore, trials are conducted and recorded in the Oordoo language ; in the districts of Bengal proper, in the Bengalee language ; in Orissa, in the Ooriya ; and in Arracan and the Tenasserim provinces, in the Burmese. The population among which these languages are respectively current may be thus estimated ; the Oordoo, among eight millions ; the Bengalee, among twenty-eight ; the Ooriya, among two millions ; and the Burmese, among less than a million. From these various provinces, in which so great a diversity of language prevails, the Sudder Court is called to hear appeals ; and when the proposal of restoring the use of the vernacular tongues was finally under consideration, it became a matter of anxious enquiry, what should be adopted as the language of the Sudder or general Court of Appeal. Some proposed the use of English ; others recommended the continuance of Persian ; and there were some who went so far as to suggest, that the appeal in each case should be conducted in the language of the original suit, but as no Judges were to be found who were equally versed in Oordoo, Bengalee, Ooriya and Burmese, it was resolved to adopt the Oordoo, as being a kind of *lingua franca* in India.

This measure has now had a fair trial for eight years, and the time appears to have arrived for a calm and dispassionate examination of the propriety of perpetuating it. Many substantial arguments have been brought against the continued use of Oordoo in a Court so peculiarly constituted as the Sudder. As we have already stated above, it is the indigenous language of scarcely a fifth of the population subject to the jurisdiction of this Court of Appeal ; and its continued use in it cannot be supported on the same ground, which renders it a question of national justice, to employ the vernacular tongue in the courts of original jurisdiction, to which the great body of the people resort for the establishment of their civil rights and the redress of civil wrongs. But the native officers employed in the Sudder Court, moreover, had been accustomed during the whole period of their official life to the use of Persian, to which the Oordoo bears even a greater resemblance than the Italian does to the Latin ; and hence the Oordoo which they use is little else than Persian in an odd and unnatural dress ; and is not written or spoken, and scarcely understood beyond this legal circle. It is

strictly the Court language, ill spoken on the bench, and ill understood by the audience. It seems to be devoid of the advantages connected both with the old Persian, and with the more modern and vernacular system.

In these circumstances it appears to be the dictate of reason to relinquish the use of this hybrid tongue, and to make the language of the Judges the language of the Court. The first duty of a Government is to employ the language which is familiar to the people in the Courts of Justice. When that is not practicable, the use of the mother tongue of the Judges ought to prevail. It is on no occasion the duty of Government to patronize a language, familiar neither to the bench nor to the community. It is certain that the best orientalist on the Sudder bench could express his sentiments with greater freedom and ease in English than in any eastern language. It would in no small degree serve to raise the dignity of the Court, which occupies so eminent a place in our institutions, if the opinions of the Judges were delivered in a tongue they could wield with perfect facility. To this it may possibly be objected that the admission of a foreign language into the highest Court of judicature, is, in fact, putting back the clock of national improvement; but the reply is obvious, that we have only a choice of difficulties. It is impossible to use any language in this Court which shall not be foreign to a large body of the suitors. The conventional language now used is as foreign to nine-tenths of the people, as English can be. Nor should it be forgotten that, of the hundred and eighty-three thousand suits, which are annually instituted in these provinces, only four hundred and fifty are carried up in appeal to the Sudder Court; and that these cases are managed by legal agents, while the parties themselves continue for the most part to reside at their homes. To the suitors, therefore, it must be a matter of comparative indifference in what language their appeal cases are conducted. The introduction of English, moreover, would carry with it the advantage of affording suitable employment for many of those who have devoted their time to the acquisition of it, and whose knowledge of English is their chief stock in trade, that is, provided the introduction of English did not increase the expense of suits. It would also raise the character and efficiency of the bar, which again would, as usual, produce an auspicious effect on the dignity of the bench, and the way would thus be paved for the amalgamation of the Supreme and Sudder Courts.

To complete the Statistics of the Civil Courts, it is necessary farther to remark, that the total number of suits instituted during the year 1843 amounted to 180,303. Of these the number

which came under the cognizance of the Civil Judges was 7,169 ; of the Principal Sudder Ameens 26,060 ; and of the Sudder Ameens 10,500 ; and of the Moonsiffs, 136,574. Thus it appears that *three-fourths* in number of all the suits instituted throughout these provinces, are preferred to the Moonsiff. The amount or value of all the original suits and appeals instituted in 1843, was Rs. 4,66,71,106 ; or a little more than four millions and a half sterling.

We now turn to the POLICE, which in large districts is entrusted to the charge of a Magistrate, and in smaller districts, to a Joint-Magistrate. The whole country included in the Regulation Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Cuttack, is divided into *four hundred and sixty-nine* divisions, called Thannahs, at the head of each of which is a Darogah or Thannadar. These divisions are very unequal in size, some of them extending to a hundred, and others including as many as eight hundred square miles. The average population placed under the jurisdiction of each Darogah is about 80,000. The pay of this important officer was, till recently, limited to 25 rupees a month, though it was well known that this sum barely covered his travelling charges. The subject was often brought under the notice of Government ; but, though it was never denied that his official salary was insufficient for his decent maintenance, and that he was driven by necessity to extortion and oppression for the improvement of his allowances, nothing could move Government to authorise an increase. Though thirteen millions sterling could be spared for the Burmese war, and eight or ten for that in Affghanistan, it was found impossible to obtain any increase of the meagre sum of £16,600 which constituted the entire pay of the native police officers among thirty-seven millions of people. It is only within two years that the fact was officially recognized, that to expect honesty or efficiency among these officers, while they continued to be so miserably remunerated, was utterly preposterous. Two superior grades were, therefore, established among the Darogahs to which superior pay was attached. Within the present year the Court of Directors have ordered a farther increase of their allowances. The pay of every Darogah has been doubled. Fifty have been raised to the first grade on 100 Rs. a month, and a hundred to the second, on 75 Rs. To each Thannah, there is also attached a Mohurrir on 7 rupees a month, and a Jemadar on the same pay. The Mohurrir is the recorder of the Darogah's establishment, and the Jemadar, the Head Assistant ; but they are both often deputed to make local enquiries, and enjoy nearly as much power and distinction as the Darogah himself. The establishment also includes from 10 to 25

Burkundazes or constables on a salary of 4 Rs. monthly. The whole number of the native constables throughout the Regulation Provinces amount to about 6,700.

The Darogah is responsible for the Police of his jurisdiction and makes constant reports of every transaction of importance to the Magistrate to whom he is subordinate. By an enactment of Lord William Bentinck, the Darogah is forbidden to investigate cases of theft and burglary unattended with personal violence, except on the application of the injured party, or on the express injunction of the Magistrate. The object of this singular but necessary prohibition, was to diminish the extortions of this officer, whenever he could obtain scent of offences. The only defence for so anomalous a regulation was, that it prevented more evil than it occasioned. Under its operation, however, the great majority of crimes against property remain unreported and uninvestigated ; and our Police returns afford no criterion of the actual amount of crime in the Lower Provinces. When the Darogah receives information from the people, or through the village watchman, of the occurrence of a crime, he either proceeds to the spot himself, or deposes one of his subordinates, to make enquiries. He collects the evidence of guilt, takes the depositions of the inhabitants, apprehends the guilty who are pointed out to him, and, if the case appears to be of sufficient importance, sends the offenders and the witnesses on to the Magistrate, whose station is often sixty miles distant. But, whether he adopts this course or not, he makes a full report of his own proceedings to his superior, who issues such orders as the case appears to call for. No small portion of the Magistrate's time is occupied in hearing and dictating replies to the Darogah's reports ; but as he has no means of ascertaining the quantum of truth which they contain, his orders are quite as likely to be unjust as not. The Darogahs are expected to be active, intelligent and honest. For activity and intelligence, they can scarcely be matched by any similar body of men in the world ; it is in the quality of honesty that they entirely fail. With very few exceptions they are notoriously venal, and utterly indifferent to the means by which their avarice is gratified. They are always understood to be at the command of the highest bidder. They would allow the most notorious offender to escape for a sufficient douceur. In the local investigations they make, their object is to discover, not the real offenders, but the most substantial men of the village or town, whom they fleece without mercy, by the threat of sending them up as witnesses to the Magistrate's Court, where they are likely to be detained, without indemnification, for a long and inconvenient period. The Darogahs are the great terror of the



native community, who regard a visit from them with far more dread than a visit from the robber. But we have little right to complain of their venality. Where that vice originally existed in their minds, it has been matured rather than discouraged; and where it was wanting, it may be said to have been implanted, by the defect of our institutions. We have entrusted them with extensive power, and rewarded them with the most shameful parsimoniousness. We have established no adequate check on their misconduct; and we have given them no motives to honesty. At the same time, by the long—in some districts we could name, almost incredible—detention of witnesses at the Magistrate's Court, we have furnished the Darogah with the most effectual means of working upon the fears of the people, and turning them to his own sordid purposes.

The Magistrate of the District is the worst-paid European functionary in it. Though it is evident that the welfare and the security of the great body of the people depend far more on his exertions than on that of any other Covenanted Civilian, his salary, which was never too large, has recently been cut down to 900 rupees a month. For nearly forty years, the offices of Civil Judge and Magistrate were unhappily united in the same person. Lord William Bentinck separated them, but fell into the equally fatal error of uniting the offices of Collector and Magistrate, for which he assigned many plausible reasons in his minutes, which experience has shewn to be fallacious. There must always be the strongest objection to any system which encumbers the Magistrate with duties which serve to impede the regularity and the rapidity of his movements as an officer of Police. But of the two junctions, that of the Collector and Magistrate appears to be more open to censure than that of the Civil Judge and Magistrate; for it not only weakens his Magisterial usefulness, but imparts an odium to his office of Collector. The Collector of the Government revenue ought not to be the same individual who commands the awe of the people as the chief officer of Police. The two offices have now been separated in most districts; and the separation will be complete on the occurrence of two or three vacancies. The great business of the Magistrate is to watch, to control, to check, to baffle his Darogahs; to discover, if possible, the self-interest or dishonesty which lurks beneath their plausible reports; and to prevent the abuse of their power without weakening their authority; and for this purpose he has need of all the shrewdness, the vigilance, and the mistrust of Fouché. It is generally an unequal conflict, in which the Magistrate labours under every disadvantage, and is oftener foiled than victorious. If he is

gentle and confiding, the Darogahs have it all their own way in their respective circles; if he is particularly strict and severe, the Darogah imagines that his own tenure of office is insecure, and endeavours to make hay while the sun shines. It is the great defect of our system that there is no intermediate agency between the Magistrate and the Darogah.

The Magistrate or Joint-Magistrate investigates the cases sent up to him by the Darogah, or preferred to him direct by the parties. His power extends to the infliction of three years' imprisonment with irons. If the case, however, should appear to require a heavier punishment, he commits the prisoner for trial to the Session Judge. Here we must pause for a moment to notice the great improvement in the administration of criminal law, which has been introduced within the last fifteen years. In 1793, it was provided that the Judges of Circuit should make a tour through their respective districts, and hold a general jail delivery twice every year. At the end of forty years it was discovered that these far-between visits of the Criminal Judge gave no little impunity to crime, by rendering every man averse to commit the folly of preferring information which might lead to his long detention as a witness. Then came the office of Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, one of Lord William Bentinck's own inventions; and the Sessions were directed to be held four times a year by this officer. But improvement once begun, repudiates finality; the Commissioner was soon relieved from his Magisterial functions and confined to revenue duties, and the Civil Judge was made the Session Judge, and ordered to hold a monthly jail delivery, though in fact he may be said to be constantly sitting. The Assistants and Deputies of the Magistrate have also progressive powers conferred on them in proportion to their standing in the service and their official experience, from imprisonment for one month to the infliction of the same extent of punishment as the Magistrate himself. The Principal Sudder Ameens, the Sudder Ameens, and the Law Officers of the Courts, are also invested with Magisterial functions in cases of minor guilt. The control of the Jail is entrusted to the Magistrate, under the superintendence of the executive Government.

One of the peculiarities of our judicial system in India is the right of appeal in all cases, civil, criminal and fiscal; and though it is founded on the most laudable feelings, and is designed to correct harsh or hasty judgments, and to give the community the most ample and perfect justice, it is felt to have been carried to a degree of excess in the case of criminal offences, which increases rather than discourages crime. An appeal is allowed in every

instance to the superior Magisterial authorities. The most trivial cases are not exempt from the operation of this rule. According to law, no officer can pass a sentence for petty offences, such as abusive language, calumny, inconsiderable assaults or affrays ; no Magistrate or Assistant-Magistrate can sentence a culprit for petty thefts, unattended with aggravating circumstances, but the offender has his right of appeal to a higher authority. The appeal from the orders of those who are subordinate to the Magistrate lies to that officer ; and from the sentence of the Magistrate himself to the Sessions Judge. When such an appeal is likely to issue in a reversal, or even in a postponement of punishment or a simple annoyance to the Magistrate, it is not to be supposed that a culprit, especially if wealthy or a creature of the wealthy, will resist the temptation of preferring one. In every instance in which the Sessions Judge and the Magistrate are known to be on unfriendly terms—and the interference of the one with the other through the appeal system makes it almost impossible for them long to maintain friendly feelings towards each other—these appeals are multiplied to a degree which seriously affects the authority of the Magistrate, and makes him heartily sick of his post. Generally speaking, the frequency of appeals in trivial cases, by the uncertainty which it creates, tends to diminish the terror of the law and to give encouragement to vice, while at the same time it loads the files of the Courts with useless documents, and distracts the attention of the officers charged with the preservation of the peace. A revision of this part of our system is imperatively demanded by the interests of society. A large number of those cases which are now open to appeal ought to be finally disposed of by the subordinate authorities ; and the whole system of the criminal Courts ought to be simplified and rendered more energetic.

The Sessions Judge receives appeals from the sentences passed by the Magistrate and by his Assistants, and tries those important cases which are committed to the Sessions. He is assisted by a Mahomedan Law Officer, who is almost the last remnant of the system originally adopted, when we took the administration into our own hands seventy years ago. The Sessions Judge may also try cases with the assistance of Assessors, or of a Jury ; but the great majority of cases are investigated by him with the assistance of the Mahomedan Law Officer, as the following statement will shew:—

The cases decided in 1843, with the aid of the				
Law Officer, were	...	...	...	930
" " of a Jury	...	...	...	215
" " of Assessors	...	...	...	86

It should be remarked that the number of cases in which sentence was passed contrary to the opinion of the Assessors was 4 ; of the Jury, 23 ; of the Law officer, 106. When the Law officer and the Judge concur in opinion as to the guilt of the prisoner, sentence is at once passed, except it be for imprisonment exceeding fourteen years. When they differ, the whole record is transmitted to the Sudder Nizamut Court, with an English abstract of the case. If the case be not a capital one, it is decided by the judgment of a single Judge. The records of capital cases are perused by two Judges, and also by the Cazy-ool-coozat, or the chief Mahomedan law officer of the Sudder Nizamut Court. Sentence of death always requires the concurrent opinion of two Judges. The Sudder Court or Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and the Sudder Nizamut Court, are the same Court, in which the same Judges preside. When employed on Civil suits, it is styled the Sudder Dewanny ; when investigating Criminal suits, the Sudder Nizamut Court.

To complete the Criminal statistics of the Lower Provinces, we have farther to remark that the total number of persons in confinement at the beginning of 1843, or arrested during that year, was 85,319 ; that of these, 36,310 were acquitted ; viz. 20,020 by the Magisterial authorities, and no fewer than 16,290 by the Police Darogahs without any investigation by the Magistrate. These Native officers, so ill paid and so venal, are actually found to have arrested and liberated this almost incredible number of people of their own accord, and without even the knowledge of their superiors. Here is a vast field for official oppression and illegal gain. No one acquainted with the native character can believe that the liberation of these individuals was not, in most cases, obtained by bribery, or that the confinement of the remainder was not the result in a great measure of unsuccessful attempts to extort money. This power is so extremely liable to be abused, that it requires to be watched with the utmost vigilance, and controlled by other machinery than we now possess. To forbid the exercise of it would paralyze the authority of the Darogahs, the only officers on whom we are obliged to depend for the maintenance of order, and the repression of crime. We require a number of Assistant or Deputy Magistrates, not idly congregated at the chief station of the district, but distributed over the country as an intermediate agency for the supervision of the Darogahs, and the protection of the people. Such an arrangement has at length received the sanction of the public authorities. While these pages are passing through the press, the determination of Government to remodel the Magisterial establishments has been announced. It is resolved that a large number

of Uncovenanted Deputy-Magistrates shall be gradually appointed, each of whom is to be placed in the centre of three or four thannahs, the immediate control of which will be entrusted to him. Bungalows are to be built for his *catchery*, or court, and for his own residence; and he will thus become the permanent local superintendent of the circle allotted to him. Of all the recent improvements in the public administration, perhaps there is not one which will more effectually conduce to the comfort and security of the people, or so effectually reform our Police institutions.

The entire number of cases brought before the Magistrates and their subordinate officers in the year alluded to amounted to..... 40,654

Of these there were decided by the Magistrates,.....	21,362
"                    "          the Joint-Magistrates,.....	6,182
"                    "          the Assistant-Magistrates,.....	4,218
"                    "          the Principal Sudder Ameens,.....	2,346
"                    "          the Sudder Ameens,.....	2,476
"                    "          the Law officers,.....	4,070

And, on the average, there were two offenders involved in each case. The number of persons under trial, in the beginning of 1843, and committed during the year for trial to the Sessions Judge, was 4,270. Thus, the proportion of offenders tried and sentenced by the Magistrate and his Assistants, as compared with those whose cases were referred to the Judge was as 20 to 1. The number of prisoners who received their sentence from the highest Criminal Court, the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut, was 371: of these 41 were sentenced to death; 61 to transportation; and 11 to imprisonment for life, and the remainder for shorter periods. The whole number of prisoners in confinement, among a population of thirty-eight millions—including 1,760 who had been transported beyond seas—was 24,810.

The general control of the Police in the Lower Provinces is vested in an officer styled the Superintendent of Police, with a salary of 42,000 rupees a year, besides large travelling allowances. He corresponds on the one hand with the executive Government, and on the other with the Magistrates, whom he furnishes with instructions for the suppression of crime, the apprehension of offenders, and the general execution of the duties entrusted to them. He is required to visit the districts included in his jurisdiction periodically, and to examine the mode in which police duties has been discharged. He interferes not with the judicial branch of the Magistrate's duties. He makes an annual report of his proceedings, which includes his observations on the state of the country, the increase or decrease

of crime, and the success or failure of the Magistrates. His jurisdiction does not embrace the non-Regulation provinces, such as Assam, Arracan, &c. ; and the district of Cuttack, with its three magistracies, is left, in all matters of Police, under control of the Commissioner; an arrangement recommended as much by the geographical position of that province, as by the peculiarity of its language.

Besides the Regular Police establishment of Government, the strength of which, including Darogahs and their subordinates and the Constables, may be estimated at 8,200 men, there is a large body of village chowkeedars, whose numbers have been estimated at *one hundred and seventy thousand*; and we cannot better describe their functions, their character, and their utility than by quoting the strong, but perfectly sober and correct language of the Minute written by Mr. Halliday in 1838, and printed among the Police documents. "Theoretically, these chowkeedars are appointed, paid, removed and controlled by the village communities, subject at the same time to an incompatible control, by the Government Police, and through them by the Magistrates. Practically, they are sometimes controlled by the Thannah officers, oftener by the villages, frequently by neither. For all practical purposes of police, properly so called, they are absolutely useless. Here we have a force of about a hundred and seventy thousand men taken, by a custom which so long as the name of village chowkeedar exists, will be immutable, from the lowest and vilest and most despised classes; drawing annually from the people in legitimate wages, not to mention irregular modes of taxation, upwards of 60 lakhs of Rupees; under no practical control but that of irresponsible and ignorant communities, of whom they are by turns, the petty tyrants and the slaves, thieves by caste and habit and connections; totally disconnected from the general system of Police; unorganized, depraved, "worse than useless."

THE REVENUES of the Presidency of Bengal are derived from six sources,—the Land Revenue; the Monopoly of Opium; the Monopoly of Salt; the Stamps; the Excise on Spirits and intoxicating drugs; and the Customs. The Land Revenue is by far the most considerable as well as the most stable branch of income. The reader scarcely requires to be reminded of the perpetual settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, by which Government pledged itself not to increase the public demand on the land at any future period. This measure was hailed at the time, and for some years after continued to be lauded as, one of the noblest instances of financial wisdom and disinterestedness on record. Subsequent experience has brought the innumerable

defects and anomalies of that hasty arrangement to light, and induced the Court of Directors to resolve that they will never again allow their own hands or those of their successors to be tied up in this manner. No one will deny that the uncertainty of land tenures at that period, and the fluctuating nature of the rent demanded of the landholders, was fatal to every hope of improvement, and that without some radical change of system, the comfort of the agricultural community, and the revenues of the state would have been equally injured. It was necessary to establish a fixed rent, and to give long leases, but it was not necessary to give perpetual leases on an unalterable rent. There is on the contrary every reason to believe that this was one of the most injudicious measures ever adopted by our Government. The land revenue was fixed for ever, at a time when the capabilities of the land were unknown, and the extent of estates unascertained, and two-thirds of Bengal was a jungle. The most tempting opportunities were afforded for the exercise of fraud and collusion between the Zemindars and native officers of the Collectors: and colossal fortunes were made at the expense of the state. There have been large fortunes amassed in solitary instances since that time. Sir David Ochterlony's moonshee is reputed to have made eighty lakhs of Rupees out of his influence with his master; but no such general opportunity of fortune-making as that which occurred in the days of the perpetual settlement, has turned up since. One Collector's Dewan is known to have received a bonus of a lakh of Rs. for striking out a cypher, and reducing the annual rent of an estate from tens of thousands to thousands. The burden of taxation was unequally distributed on the land. When the Collector's officers were well bribed, estates were assessed at a low rent; in other cases, the annual demand was screwed up too tightly to stand. The settlement was of course binding only on one party; that is, on the Government. It established the maximum which Government was at liberty to demand, but not the maximum which the landlord was obliged to pay. In every case of over-assessment, the landlord threw back his estate on the hands of Government; and there was no power in the state to compel him or any one else to pay the high rate fixed on it, for a continuance. The rent in all such cases was lowered, and thus the permanent settlement, so far as the interests of Government were concerned, was very speedily broken up. It was imprudent to limit the income of the state to the revenue of only one-third of the land. As the Government, in its haste to promulgate this measure, dispensed with all definition of boundaries, it is now too late to ascertain what extent of land was

included in the original engagement, with the view of drawing a revenue from the rest. It was a final measure, by which immediate relief was purchased at the price of much prospective evil, and any attempt to alter or modify or recast it would be deemed a breach of national faith.

The revenue being thus unalterably fixed, the Zemindars who hold their lands directly of Government, and pay their revenue immediately into the public treasury, are required to make four quarterly payments. The days of payment are fixed by the Board—hereafter described—and are announced in so great a variety of ways that it is impossible for any Zemindar to plead ignorance of them. He knows to a farthing the sum he is required to pay ; and to a minute, the time within which it must be paid. Should he fail to make good his payments by sunset of the last day of grace, his estate reverts to the State. It is advertised for sale during the next month, and eventually sold to the highest bidder. That a fair price may be obtained for the estate, it is now directed to be advertised in the official gazettes before the day of sale during a sufficient time to attract purchasers. This sale law, is confessedly a very stringent, and by some, is considered even an unjust, enactment. It is deemed unnecessarily severe to confiscate a man's whole estate because he fails to pay up a single instalment of revenue that may not exceed a twentieth of its value. But it must be remembered that it is the least stringent, and the very mildest of all the provisions by which the punctual payment of the land revenue has been enforced in this country. By the Mahommedan rulers, the defaulting landlord was subject to personal chastisement and torture, and often dragged through a pond filled with intolerable ordure, which was termed 'paradise' by way of derision. In the far-famed code of 1803, when the present land tenures were created, and the conditions of payment were first imposed, it was ordained, that if the monthly instalment remained unpaid after it had been demanded, the Collector should positively cause the defaulter to be immured in jail. Those rigorous laws which made default a criminal act, and punished it like any other felony, have been repealed, and the punctual payment is enforced on the principle that the land is for ever hypothecated to Government for the public rent, and that if the landlord fails to pay it within a stipulated period, the mortgagee forecloses the mortgage, and enters on possession of the estate.

The Collector presides over the fiscal administration of each district. He is usually aided by a Covenanted Assistant, who is also Assistant to the Magistrate ; and he has one or more Deputies under him, of the Uncovenanted branch of the service,



who are generally Natives. His primary business is to receive the public revenue, to keep the public accounts, and to advertise and sell the estates which may have fallen into arrears. As the sums to be paid into his treasury are defined, it would appear at first as though his duty was a very easy one; but although men are not wanting who contrive to limit their official labours to two hours a day without incurring even a reprimand, the duties of a Collector are by no means light. If an estate is exposed to sale and there are no bidders, it is bought in for Government, and the whole management of it devolves upon the Collector. Estates which escheat to the State, and estates held under attachment by order of the Courts, are placed under his control, as well as those which belong to minor, female, or insane Zemindars. This officer is thus brought into contact with a great variety of interests, and a large body of native tenants, and his engagements are frequently both arduous and perplexing. Even when the estates are farmed out, or entrusted to a native agent, the Collector is responsible for the sufficiency of the security and the integrity of the management. In many of these estates, it becomes necessary to measure the lands, and resettle the rent with the ryots, and this increases, in no small degree, the demand on the Collector's activity and circumspection.

It should also be noticed, that at the time of the perpetual settlement, all those lands which were held rent free, upon fictitious or invalid tenures, were reserved for future inquiry. This laborious and invidious duty, had been bequeathed in succession by one Governor-General to another; but ten years ago Government determined to enter upon these enquiries in good earnest, and to remove the disquietude which the uncertainty of tenures created, and bring the matter to an early and final decision. An establishment of officers was therefore appointed to this especial duty, consisting of Special Deputy-Collectors to resume and assess free lands, and Special Commissioners to revise their decisions. The enquiry has been vigorously prosecuted at an expense of about 80 lakhs of rupees, and it has terminated in adding a permanent revenue of 30 lakhs of rupees, or 300,000*l.* to the public rent-roll. The special establishment has now been withdrawn, and the examination of the remaining claims of Government has been transferred to the Collector. This forms an addition to his usual duties. To him is also entrusted the duty of securing the right of Government to the revenue of the alluvial lands which are so constantly thrown up in our muddy rivers; and of deciding the numerous and conflicting claims connected with these lands.

The division of estates is also an additional weight on the Collector's shoulders. The rent of all estates was fixed in the lump at the period of the perpetual settlement. A Zemindaree, for instance, of indefinite extent, and containing an unascertained number of villages, was assessed at a given sum. But it is manifest that the estate cannot always remain in all its entirety. The family of the original proprietor has of course multiplied through two or three generations, and its members become at length too numerous to live together in harmony. They demand a division of the property; and this duty of partition falls within the province of the Collector, and he is required to superintend the allotment of the gross revenue upon each individual portion of the land, according to its extent, its situation, and its advantages. The same task is also imposed on him when a portion of an estate is ordered to be sold by a decree of any Court; and in either case his task is one of no easy performance. The natives employed in making the division, and distributing the revenue, are always open to the bribes of the parties; and there is too often reason to fear lest good land should be under-assessed, and inferior land over-assessed in this distribution, in which case the less valuable land would soon be thrown back on the hands of Government, and eventually admitted to pay a lower rent. Thus the permanent revenues of the estate are always exposed to jeopardy on every division of an estate. These difficulties ought, if possible, to be anticipated and met in a bold and decisive spirit. Every estate ought to be surveyed and measured by a body of scientific officers; the lands attached to each village should be separately assessed, so as to bear an equitable proportion to the rent originally fixed on the whole estate; and permanent boundary marks ought to be established, which shall facilitate the identification of the lands. This would be an incomparable boon to the country. It would enable the landholder to dispose of a part of his lands on the pressure of circumstances, in order to save the remainder. It would admit of overgrown families breaking up without discord or litigation; and it would enable Government, instead of selling the whole of a man's estates for the arrears of a single quarter, to mark off and sell a quantity proportionate to the arrears, and leave the defaulter in possession of the rest. But for this great and expensive, though incomparably useful measure, the Government is not as yet prepared. Neither would the Zemindars fail to throw every obstacle in its way, from a dread lest it should be intended as a preliminary step to the resumption of those extensive tracts which they enjoy beyond the boundaries of their original estates.

The Collector is also entrusted with the exercise of judicial

powers. The cases submitted to his adjudication involve to an immense extent the interests and comfort of the most numerous and the poorest class, in this agricultural country. "To afford remedy in all cases of dispute, which may arise regarding attachment of crops, undue exaction, distraint, replevin, and other matters connected with the realization of rent, is the province of the Collector." He is the judge of all matters in dispute between landlord and tenant, and the investigation of them is conducted in the form prescribed for summary suits, that is, by the simplest and least expensive process. From his summary decisions, an appeal lies to the regular Civil Courts; so that a native Moonsiff is competent to alter, or reverse the decision pronounced in such cases by a Covenanted Collector. The Collector is also vendor of stamps in his district,—a duty which involves more pecuniary responsibility than labor, and for the negligent discharge of which Collectors have sometimes been called on to refund large sums, which has been lost to the estate through the villany of their native subordinates.

The Collector is controlled in every movement by the Revenue Commissioner of the division in which his district is included. This office was created by Lord William Bentinck, but doubts have begun to be entertained whether it might not be dispensed with. In the Regulation Provinces, which embrace thirty-two districts, there are seven Commissioners; of whom one has the duties of only two, and another those of six districts entrusted to him. The salary of a Commissioner is 35,000 Rs. a-year, with an allowance of 3,000 Rs. for travelling expenses. He receives periodical returns of all the business transacted by the Collectors; he hears all appeals from their decisions, and exercises a constant and minute control over all their proceedings. He also visits his districts periodically. The Commissioners are in their turn subject to the orders of the Sudder Board of Revenue permanently stationed in Calcutta, and consisting of two of the ablest, wisest, and most experienced revenue officers in the service. All the reports of the Commissioners are made to the Board, through whom they receive their instructions. The separate functions of the Board and the Commissioner are so clearly defined in a code of bye-laws, that they seldom overstep their respective provinces. In the most numerous class of cases the Commissioner has the liberty of independent action. In cases of importance and intricacy he consults the Board. But it is the principle of this institution that the Board should enjoy a general controlling superintendence over all the Commissioner's acts and deeds. They may, therefore, send for any of his orders, and deal with them as they please.

The powers which the Sudder Board may exercise without reference to the Executive Government of Bengal are also very clearly defined. In the largest class of cases, no such reference is at all necessary; and the revenue administration of the country moves on smoothly and regularly under the superintendence of the Board through the local agency of the Commissioners. The Board are required to furnish periodical statements of the financial results of their operations, and in any new emergency, or any case of peculiar importance, are expected to consult the Governor of Bengal before orders are issued. All cases, in which the members happen to disagree are also referred to the decision of the Government of Bengal; and as the Board consists of only two members, and they are not always free from the infirmities of our common nature, this office of arbitration is sometimes any thing but a sinecure. The salary of each member of the Sudder Board is 52,000 Rs. a year, and that of their Secretary 30,000 Rs.

Next in importance to the Land Revenue of Bengal is that derived from the Monopoly of OPIUM. This branch of revenue is under the management of Two Opium Agents, the one stationed at Patna, and the other at Ghazee pore; both of whom, however, are subordinate to the Government of Bengal, though this latter station lies in the North-West Provinces. Their salaries are 42,000 rupees a year. The Ghazee pore Agency includes the operations in seven; that of Patna, in nine districts, in which the poppy is grown, and the drug manufactured. They are aided by the local agency of Sub-Deputy-Agents, who belong to the Uncovenanted branch of the service, and receive in salary and commission, sums varying from 300 to 900 rupees a month. The Collectors of land revenue are styled Deputy-Agents in their respective districts; but their office is nominal, and is limited to the transmission of communications between the Assistants and the Agents. Generally speaking, therefore, the whole business of the department is transacted by the Agents themselves, through the instrumentality of their Sub-Deputies. It consists in making advances to the agriculturists for the cultivation of the Opium, in guarding against surreptitious production and smuggling, and in the careful preparation of the Opium till it is lodged in the central godowns at Patna and Ghazee pore. There it is purified and fitted for the market under the direction of the Agent, and despatched to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium in Calcutta, to whom, under the immediate direction of the Executive Government, the general superintendence of the Opium Revenue is entrusted. By the Board it is sold at certain fixed periods by auction, through one of the auction establishments of the city of Calcutta, to the

merchants and speculators, upon condition of their transporting it beyond seas.

A chest of Opium, containing two maunds, costs the Government 350 rupees. The average selling price last year was between 13 and 1,400 rupees the chest. The net revenue derived from this department in Bengal in 1843-44 was 1,87,00,000 rupees, not far short of two millions sterling. This is the largest amount of revenue which the Government of India has ever obtained from this article. Owing to the troubles which arose in China on the confiscation of 20,000 chests by the Commissioner Lin, the price of the drug fell in Calcutta to such an extent, that in 1839-40, the Government profit on the monopoly was reduced to Rs. 32,37,000—£323,000. During the war which the confiscation brought on, it was generally supposed that the Opium revenue would never recover the blow it had received, and that the eventual result of hostilities must be fatal to the profits both of Government and of the merchants. But since the re-establishment of pacific relations with China, the Opium trade has become more extensive and flourishing than ever, and the arrangements which at present exist for the disposal of the drug in the vicinity of the Consular ports, but far from the eye of the Consul, are more complete and efficient and less liable to interruption than they have been at any previous period, since the trade originally began. But the continuance of this golden traffic is entirely dependent on the Chinese Government. No effort of its preventive service, can, it is true, exclude the introduction of an article which is profitable to the merchants and agreeable to the people, along a coast of a thousand miles, with a hundred inlets. But the day the Chinese Cabinet alters its tactics, and, submitting to inevitable necessity, legalizes the introduction and the consumption of the drug, the sun of Opium revenue and profit sets for ever. As soon as the Chinese Government can make up its mind to permit the use of the article, it will soon appear more advantageous to allow of its cultivation than to import it at a heavy cost from abroad; and the spirited and indefatigable Chinese agriculturists will not be long in producing as good an article as that which is imported, and at a much cheaper rate.

The other monopoly of Government is the article of SALT. It is managed by Salt Agents, of whom there are four in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and three in the district of Cuttack, where they are also the Collectors of the land revenue. At the commencement of each Salt season the Agent makes advances to the contractors, called Molungees, who engage to deliver a specific quantity of the article. It is the business of the Agent

to see that the Salt is of good quality, and that no quantity is manufactured in excess of the contract, for the purpose of smuggling. He has a large establishment of natives employed under him in preventing illicit manufacture, but they too often encourage it for their own gains. These inferior agents are miserably underpaid, and are constantly in collusion with the contractors. Situations in the Salt Department are prized beyond all other appointments by the natives, because the opportunities of unlawful gain are numerous, while the chance of detection is small. The efforts of the Agent to secure for Government all the Salt manufactured in the districts of Lower Bengal are therefore but very partially successful, and there is every reason to believe that a quantity equal to a fourth of that which Government disposes of, finds its way into the country through a variety of channels which it is impossible to dam up. The Salt thus manufactured for the State is stored at certain established depôts, on which the merchant receives an order, after he has paid the price of it into the public treasury. The Salt of the Cuttack districts is conveyed to Calcutta by sea at the public expense, and stored for sale at the great Salt Golah at Sulkea, which is always under the charge of a Covenanted servant. The Madras Salt brought up from the Coromandel Coast at the public expense is also deposited at that place. The salary of the highest Salt Agent is 42,000 rupees a year; one continues to enjoy 36,000 rupees, but the two remaining agencies have been reduced to 30,000 rupees annually. The principle of selection for these Agencies under the old system, was that a Civilian good for nothing else would still do for a Salt Agent; and the idea was believed and unfortunately acted on, that a monopoly which yielded a million and a half sterling, would bear a good deal of wasteful negligence. Latterly, however, it has been the determination of Government to select men of intelligence and vigor for this department; and the saving of three or four lakhs of rupees in the Salt Revenue by judicious care and economy, is now considered as important an object as the saving of an equal amount in the Abkaree or Stamp Department.

The maund of Salt stands Government in a rupee, and it sells on an average from the public depôts at 4 rupees. The net revenue derived from Salt under the Government of Bengal, including the duty on imported salt, may be taken on an average at 1,50,00,000 rupees, or a million and-a-half sterling. The importation of the article from other ports in India, but chiefly from Bombay, is a new event in the history of the salt revenue.

maunds; in the past official year it rose to 9,67,000 maunds, and this without any diminution of the production or sale of our domestic salt. It is manifest, therefore, that an additional quantity of salt to the extent of a fifth of the old supply has been introduced into the country, and, notwithstanding the supposed prejudice of caste against sea imported salt, has been consumed by the people. The assertion so frequently reiterated by some of the most intelligent Salt officers, that the supply furnished in 1830 of 52,00,000 was fully adequate to the necessities of the country, has thus been disproved; and it is indisputably shewn that the native community requires a larger provision of this article than the Salt works of the Company have been in the habit of furnishing. There can be little doubt, moreover, that the price at which the Salt is at present sold is unreasonably and inconveniently high for a poor population. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the experience acquired in England of the effect of taxation on consumption, will prove inapplicable to this country, or that a reduction of the price of salt will not lead to an increase in the sale of the article. The present Government of Bengal has resolved to try the experiment of a reduction of prices. Within the last four months, the salt in store has been advertised for sale at much less than the old prices, with the avowed intention of reducing the price still lower, if it should be found that the increase of the consumption keeps pace with the process of reduction. It is devoutly to be wished that the trial may succeed, and that in a few years the same revenue which is now realized, may be obtained from the consumption of double the quantity of salt.

The revenue of the CUSTOMS has been derived during the last ten years, from the duty on sea-borne commerce alone. Before this period, our Government had continued to adopt the barbarous policy of eastern rulers, and draw a revenue from duties imposed on the transit of goods and merchandize through the interior of the country. Under that system, every individual was obliged to pay duty on his merchandize at the nearest Custom House, and to obtain a *rowanah*, or pass, in which the quantity and value of the goods were inserted. This pass he was obliged to produce at the various guard-houses planted along the line of traffic, and which were under the superintendence of native officials called Darogahs, who were directed to compare the goods with the Pass, and to countersign it, if no discrepancy was discovered. This duty could not be conscientiously performed without landing the goods at each station, and thus subjecting them to repeated detention. As usual, the merchant purchased the forbearance of the Darogah, and the liberation

of his goods at a high price; and the post of the Custom Darogahs thus became a sure passport to fortune. The interruption which this system inflicted on the commerce of the country produced indignant remonstrances, and Government was at length convinced that the revenue produced by the Transit duties was a poor compensation for the injury they inflicted on the public interests. While the subject was under deliberation in the Council of India, Mr. Ross, the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, suddenly—and as it was said without sufficient authority—abolished them throughout the North-West Provinces, and this rendered their abolition throughout the entire Presidency indispensably necessary. To compensate for this sacrifice of revenue, the export and import tariff were revised, and additional duties were established on some of the most important articles of commerce. Since this period, the receipts of the Calcutta Custom House from sea-borne commerce have been steadily on the increase; and the revenue derived from import and export duties—exclusive of the duty on the importation of Salt—is greater than the sum formerly obtained from these duties and the Transit duties, put together. In the last year of the Transit duties, the united income was, 27,54,000 rupees. In the year 1843-44, the collections at the Port of Calcutta from sea customs alone were 32,50,000 rupees.

At the head of the Department is the Collector, with a salary of 36,000 rupees a year, who is aided by one Covenanted and a numerous staff of Uncovenanted Assistants. There is also a large body of Preventive officers, who are divided into five classes, and receive allowances varying from 200 rupees to 100 rupees a month. An officer of this class is placed on every vessel, soon after she has entered the river, and remains on board till she takes her departure, to guard against all smuggling. Altogether, the expenses of the Customs establishment at the Port of Calcutta is 6,76,631 rupees, or about thirteen per cent. of the gross collections on Merchandize and Salt. There are also Custom Houses at Chittagong and Balasore, under the control of the Collectors of land Revenue, but the traffic of those ports, once so important, has dwindled down to a trifle, and the revenue is very insignificant.

The ABKAREE, or excise on Spirituous Liquors, has recently been established as a separate department. The collection of this branch of the Revenue was formerly left with the Collectors of the land Revenue, and yielded an income, after deducting expenses, of 18,31,000 rupees in 1829-30. But the Collectors became increasingly indifferent to the prosperity of a branch of the revenue which was never very popular,



or their time was latterly too much occupied with additional duties ; and thus the management of the liquor department was abandoned to their native officers. These soon established a good understanding with the licensed vendors, and for a sufficient consideration connived at illicit distillation. The public revenue fell off, and drunkenness was increased by the cheaper rate at which spirits, which paid little or no duty, were sold. The revenue reached the lowest point of depression in 1837-38, when it did not exceed 14,00,000 rupees. Soon after, Government resolved to reform the whole department. A commissioner of Abkaree was appointed over a certain number of districts, in each of which an Uncovenanted Assistant was placed upon a salary of 300 rupees a month. Very stringent rules were passed to prevent the manufacture or sale of illicit spirits. A system of supervision was established, which effectually interrupted the trade of the smuggler, and gradually revived the drooping revenue. The progress of recovery, however, has been slow. The latest published accounts of this department, do not extend farther than to the official year 1841-42. The gross collections had then been increased three lacs above the minimum year ; but the expense of the new establishment exceeded that of the former staff by two lacs of rupees ; the nett gain, therefore, under the new arrangement, was little above one lac of rupees. This improvement, however, appeared so gratifying to the Court of Directors, that they directed a second Commissionership to be established, and ten districts, lying in the eastern division of Bengal, to be placed under his control. With their usual regard to economy, however, they fixed the pay of the new Commissioner at 30,000 Rs. instead of 36,000 Rs. which the first Commissioner enjoys. An allowance to the extent of 3,000 Rs. a year is also made for his travelling expenses.

The Revenue obtained from the STAMPS forms an important item in the public accounts. It is under the immediate management of a Superintendent of the Covenanted branch of the service, who receives an allowance of 24,000 Rs. a year. Although every individual is at liberty to send a document to the Stamp office to receive the legal stamp on paying the amount of duty, by far the greater portion of the revenue is raised by the sale of slips of paper, manufactured in England with a distinctive watermark, and which, after having received the impression of the Stamp, are sold to the community in town and country. The Collector of each district is, as we have already stated, the great stamp vendor within his jurisdiction. He is periodically supplied with paper from the central office in Calcutta, and disposes of it either through the treasurer of his establishment, or an

officer appointed to this especial duty, called the Stamp Darogah, for whose integrity he is responsible, and through whose dishonesty he has often been obliged to make good heavy deficiencies. The Stamps are of two kinds ; those on which the various transactions of the community are required to be written ; and judicial stamps. In the year 1841-42, the value of the stamps sold in the country amounted to 21,92,375 Rs.; of these, only 10,29,738 Rs. were judicial stamps. The sum of 1,58,736 was also raised from the sale of stamps in Calcutta, and these may be considered as belonging to the class of documentary stamps. The expense of the Stamp establishments and of the paper furnished by Government, may be taken at 1,40,000 Rs. a year, leaving a clear surplus revenue of about 22 lakhs of Rs. or 220,000*l*, annually. These judicial stamps were justly reprobated by Mr. Macaulay, in one of the most powerful of the minutes which he left on the records of the Supreme Council. It is scarcely an excuse for this stamp tax—though it is, in fact, the only defence of which it is susceptible—that it is milder than that which was imposed by the Mahomedans. Under their administration, *one-fourth* the amount of every sum decreed by the Courts, was paid as a tax to the coffers of the state. One of the first acts of our Government, when it began to legislate for Bengal in 1772, was to abolish this tax. At the same time, however, “to curb and restrain trivial, groundless complaints,” the Court was authorised to inflict corporal punishment to the extent of twenty strokes of the ratan, or a fine of five rupees on the litigious delinquent. This device against idle litigation appears to have gradually fallen into abeyance. In 1795, however, it became necessary to take some steps to deter individuals from “instituting vexatious claims, or from refusing to satisfy just demands,” and it was resolved to levy a fee on the institution of suits. Two years after, it occurred to Government that this institution fee might also be made “eventually to add to the public resources,” and the fees were accordingly increased ; and at length, in 1814, the present system of judicial taxation by means of a stamp on law papers, was brought to maturity. It is a source of constant vexation to the suitor, who is obliged at every stage of his cause to have recourse to the stamp-vendor ; at the same time, the charge for stamps forms no small portion of the expense of a cause. The rules which have been established to regulate the value of the stamp paper to be used on each occasion, and to provide for the general protection of this branch of the revenue, are numerous and complicated, and if the exchequer could dispense with the money, it would certainly conduce to the public interests if the time now idly wasted by the public officers in mastering the

intricacies of the stamp system, was devoted to the study of more important subjects.

These various Departments of the Salt, Opium, Customs, Excise, and Stamps, are under the general control of a Board in Calcutta, which consists of two members with a salary of 52,200 Rs. each, and a Secretary at 30,000 Rs. a year, but in all cases of doubt and intricacy, reference is made to the executive Government of Bengal.

THE MARINE which was one of the most important departments of Government, when Calcutta was a great factory, and the Civilians Junior and Senior Merchants, has been gradually dwindling away in importance. It has no longer the magnificent commercial navy of the East India Company to look after. The Accountant-General or a Member of the Board of Revenue or of Trade is no longer deputed to Sagor or Diamond Harbour to despatch the Indiamen; and the Naval Store-keeper is no longer as important a personage as a Secretary to Government. Its duties are now confined to the management of sea-going steamers—the majority of them having been transferred to Bombay—and of the river steamers which ply between Calcutta and Allahabad; and the superintendence of the Harbour and Pilot establishment of Calcutta. The river steamers were established by Lord William Bentinck, about ten years ago, and have been useful in the transportation of public stores and munitions of war; and advantageous to the public finances in the conveyance of passengers and freight. From these last duties Government is likely to be relieved at an early period by the two public Companies established last year for Inland Steam Navigation, who may shortly be expected to take over these duties; after which the vessels of the state will probably be devoted exclusively to the conveyance of troops and public stores.

The most important duties of the Marine department refer to the Pilotage of the Port, which, unlike the system which prevails in England, is exclusively a Government establishment. The appointments to this service are exclusively vested in the Court of Directors. They send out a certain number of well-educated youths every year, who are appointed, on their arrival, to the grade of Volunteers, and rise in succession to the rank of Second and First Mates, Masters and Branches. It is highly to the credit of the Court that a large proportion of the youths thus appointed from home consists of the sons of the Pilots who have honourably worn out their lives, or have met with a premature death, in the public service. The whole strength of the establishment consists of about a hundred and fifty individuals, who would be found utterly inadequate to the wants of the port, but

for the assistance afforded to the progress of vessels by the various Steam Tugs in the river. With the exception of individual cases of delinquency and incapacity, not very frequent, this service may be said to possess the first body of Pilots in the world ; men who combine, in no small degree, the feelings of the gentleman with the hardihood of the sailor and the skill of scientific seamen. During the greater part of the year they are exposed in their Pilot vessels anchored on the edge of Sagor Sands to as boisterous and perilous a sea as ever tries the nerves of seamen—to the swell of the Bay of Bengal urged on by the monsoon. From this unpleasant post they are relieved only to undertake the more anxious task of conveying vessels through the ever-shifting channels of an uncertain and treacherous river. Although the number of accidents is great, the only wonder is that they are not greater. The whole establishment is under the control of a Superintendent of Marine, with a salary of 36,000 Rs. a year, a Secretary at 1,000 Rs., a Master Attendant at 24,000 Rs., and a succession of assistants. Six pilot vessels, built after the most approved model, and capable of buffeting any weather, are attached to the service, two or three of which are constantly cruising about the Pilot station at the Sand Heads, either taking pilots out of the outward bound vessels, or putting them on board vessels as they make the port. Every ship pays the Marine Department for its pilotage up and down the river, and for the use of the moorings ; but the receipts of this department do not cover its expenditure. In the last year which the Report of the Finance Committee embraces, the expenditure of the Marine Department is put down at Rs. 23,86,882, and the receipts at 8,13,828 Rs., leaving a clear charge on the public revenues of nearly *Sixteen* lacs of rupees annually.

The department of the COINAGE is under the Superintendent of the Mint in Calcutta. All the provincial mints which formerly existed have been gradually abolished, and the coinage for the whole country is concentrated in one vast establishment in Calcutta. The Metropolitan Mint machinery is the most efficient, and perhaps the most magnificent in the world. Including the erection of the buildings, it has cost Government 30 lakhs of rupees, £300,000, and can with ease mint all the coin required for the whole of British India. The Report of the Finance Committee, to which we have had frequent occasion to allude, gives us the information that, including interest at five per cent. on the block of the mint, the whole of the charge during the last thirteen years, has amounted to rupees 58,67,235 ; and that the current receipts from a seignorage of one per cent. on Gold coin, and two per cent. on Silver coin, and sixteen per cent. on Copper coin, and from some other minor sources of income

have amounted to rupees 54,82,614. According to this calculation the current receipts have exceeded the expenditure by rupees 3,84,621. But in addition to this sum, the clear net profit to the state from the Copper coinage, arising from the difference between the invoice price of copper and its value of coin, has been fifteen lakhs and a-half of rupees.

The POST OFFICE Department is under the superintendence of a Covenanted servant, the Post-Master-General, who receives a salary of from 18,000 to 24,000 Rs. annually. He is assisted by one Deputy, on whom the greater part of the work devolves, and who receives 8,400 Rs. a year. The other assistants in the office are mere clerks. The Post offices in the interior are placed under the charge of Deputy Post-Masters. At some stations, the Collector performs this duty *ex-officio*; at others, it is entrusted to the Civil Surgeon, as a Military officer, with an additional salary of 50 rupees a month. This allowance is of course inadequate to the duty and responsibility of the post, and the Post-Master-General experiences no little difficulty in securing the efficiency of the department in the interior of the country. The low remuneration and consequent inefficiency of the subordinate Post Offices, is a source of constant vexation to the public, and a standing reproach to Government. It has been affirmed that the Post Office department does not cover its expenses, but as it was not subjected to the revision of the Committee of Finance, there is no data for this assertion. Some years back the Post-Offices in the North-West Provinces were entirely separated from the General Post Office in Calcutta, to the no small advantage of those provinces. A recent notification from the Agra Post Master informs us that the expenses of his department have been 5,27,000 Rs. a year, and the receipts only 5,31,000 Rs. It is just possible that the same proportion between receipts and disbursements may prevail in the Calcutta Post Office.

Having thus endeavoured to give a sketch of the various departments in the Regulation Provinces of Bengal and Behar, and the mode in which public business is conducted in them, we shall briefly revert to the management of the Non-Regulation Provinces. Over each of these provinces there is placed a commissioner, generally a Military officer, on a salary of 30,000 rupees a year, who exercises all the functions of a Commissioner of Revenue, and a Judge of Civil appeals, who acts as Superintendent of Police, and presides at the Criminal Sessions. Each district in the provinces is entrusted to a Principal-Assistant, likewise a Military officer on a salary of 12,000 rupees a year, who is Judge, Magistrate and Collector within his circle. There are also Junior Assistants on 500, and occasionally on 750 rupees a month, who act as deputies to the Principal

**Assistant.** There are also Uncovenanted functionaries in these provinces, who correspond in point of office and salary with the Moonsiffs, the Sudder Amceens, Principal Sudder Amceens, and Deputy-Collectors of the Regulation provinces.

The whole country of ASSAM forms one of the four non-Regulation provinces. It was conquered from the Burmese about twenty years ago. It extends from Gowhatty, on the eastern limit of Bengal, to Suddiya, in the west, through the whole length of the vale of the Berhampooter, and is supposed to contain a population of one million, on an area of 24,000 square miles. The country has been improved in no small degree since it came under British rule; and if the efforts now in progress for the cultivation of the Tea plant should be eventually successful, a great impulse will be given to its prosperity. The Commissioner, with an allowance of 30,000 Rs. a year, has his head-quarters at Gowhatty, and is assisted by a Deputy Commissioner on 18,000 Rs., who relieves his superior of the great bulk of his judicial duties, and assists him generally in the performance of his other functions. There are four Principal Assistants in Lower Assam, stationed respectively at Nowgong, Gowhatty, Goalpara, and Durrung; and two officers of the same class in Upper Assam, at Deebroogur and Seesagur. There are only three Junior Assistants in the province.

The Agency on the SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER was established in 1833, by the separation of parts of the districts of Ramgur, the Jungle Mehals, and Midnapore, from the Regulation provinces. It comprises a vast extent of territory, and is generally calculated to embrace more than 100,000 square miles. The number of inhabitants has been estimated at three millions, of whom a considerable number are pure Hindoos, who have been little contaminated by Mahomedan associations, and use a language supposed to be pure Hindee, with little mixture of Persian or Arabic. The rest of the population consists of the aboriginal tribes who live in a state of primitive simplicity, and who, amidst all the political changes to which India has been subject, have maintained their original creed. It is from these districts that the supplies of hill coolies for the Mauritius have been chiefly furnished. The Commissioner has his head-quarters at Kissenpore, a modern town which grew up chiefly during the incumbency of Major Wilkinson,—as indeed the name would indicate; the first syllable of his name have been thrown out by a barbarous abbreviation. There is a Deputy-Commissioner at 18,000 Rs. a year; there are two Principal Assistants at 12,000 Rs. annually; and two first-class Assistants at 9,600 Rs.; and a second-class Assistant at 6,000 Rs. a-year. Some years ago this country was the seat of an

insurrection, which was put down by a military force. Since that period, perfect tranquillity has reigned in the province; there has been no outbreak; and there is no improvement. It is the least flourishing and the least promising of all the non-Regulation provinces, though its climate is highly salubrious, and its natural resources are abundant.

ARRACAN is also governed by a Commissioner, under whom are four Senior Assistants on 12,000 Rs. a year, stationed at Akyab, Sandoway, Kyook Phoo, and Ramree, and three Junior Assistants on half that salary. Although this province abuts on the kingdom of Burmah, from which it was wrested during the late war, and a Burmese army might at any time pour down upon it through the Aeng Pass, so little apprehension is entertained of any such invasion, that the military force stationed in the province is adapted only for the support of the police. Of all the possessions acquired from the Burmese, this province exhibits the greatest degree of improvement and prosperity. Under a judicious system of administration, it has become the granary of the Bay of Bengal, and exports between 60 and 70,000 tons of its own grain. The entire area of the country does not exceed 16,000 square miles, and the inhabitants are estimated at 250,000; but this number is daily on the increase, and there can be little doubt, that if there should be no check on the prosperity of this province, it will in a few years become one of the most productive and populous under this Government.

The TENASSERIM Provinces enjoy the services of a Commissioner, two Principal Assistants, stationed at Moulmein and Tavoy, and a Junior Assistant at Mergui. The disproportion between the superficial area and population of this province is very remarkable. The area is about 30,000 square miles, while the number of inhabitants does not exceed 125,000. Of all the non-Regulation provinces, it contains the smallest amount of population, and the smallest body of Civil functionaries. The great staple of the province is the Teak with which its forests abound. The facility which this timber affords for ship-building has been improved by several enterprising Europeans; and many vessels have been constructed since the province came into our possession at the close of the last Burmese war. Moulmein, which is the chief district of the Tenasserim Provinces, contains a considerable number of European mercantile establishments; yet, as compared with Assam and Arracan, the province appears backward, both its population and its prosperity is stationary.

On our North East frontier, lying to the south of Assam, are the COCHIN HILLS and the little district of CACHAR. In the former our sovereignty is in a great measure nominal. At the

chief station, that of Cherra-Poonjee, there is a small detachment of the Sylhet Light Infantry to maintain the peace ; though since the mountaineers have been accustomed to our administration they have felt no wish to subvert it, and would now regard our removal from among them a great calamity. Cherra-Poonjee is a sanatorium, which would have been much more resorted to than it has been, but for the excessive rain with which it is deluged, and the difficulty of access to it. The civil and criminal administration is entrusted to the Political Agent, but we have no civil stations within the range of hills. The coal of Cherra is the finest yet discovered in India. In fact, it is the only coal with which a steamer can venture to sea, and there is every prospect that the mines will be worked with spirit at no very distant period. This will give a new importance, and a fresh impulse of improvement to these hills. The small district of Cachar, lying on the north-east frontier of the Sylhet district, is under the management of a Military officer on a salary of 12,000 rupees a year, who, as in other cases, combines the functions of Judge, Magistrate and Collector. In revenue matters, he is subordinate to the Commissioner of Revenue at Dacca, and in Judicial matters, to the Civil and Sessions Judge of Sylhet.

The TRIBUTARY MEHALS of Cuttack comprise a large extent of territory, stretching to the west of that district, governed by its own rude chiefs, and placed under the immediate control of the Commissioner of the Province and his Assistants.

The city of CALCUTTA is comprised within the limits of the ditch which was dug a century ago, on the first Mahratta irruption into Bengal, and hence its inhabitants are often styled Ditchers, as the citizens of London are called Cockneys. It is Governed entirely by English law, administered in the Supreme Court of Judicature, to which three Judges are appointed by the Crown, of whom the Chief receives £8,000 a year, and the two Puisne Judges £6,000 annually. The statute laws by which its decisions are guided are those which were passed by Parliament before the year 1727 ; those which Parliament has subsequently extended by special provisions to this country, and the laws which the Legislative Council of India has enacted for its guidance, since the power of legislating for all courts throughout India was entrusted to that body. It has its establishment of judicial officers, its Master, Prothonotary, Clerk, &c., to whom the executive Government of Bengal gives fixed salaries, in lieu of the fees, which are collected and carried to its credit. The Court enjoys a Common law, an Equity, an Ecclesiastical, an Admiralty, and a Bankrupt jurisdiction. Those functions which in English are divided among different Courts are here exercised in one Court and by the same Judges. The course of justice is



dilatory and expensive, and even the Natives, with all their national fondness for litigation, have endeavoured rather to avoid the Supreme Court. There is also a Court of Requests in Calcutta for the adjudication of suits to the extent of 400 Rs. Till within the last few years this Court entertained and decided suits for debt of all sorts, within this pecuniary limit ; and as its procedure was rapid and inexpensive, it occupied a very useful position in our institutions, and was enabled to dispense justice in a great variety of cases, in which it would have been impossible for the parties to resort to the Supreme Court. But, four or five years ago, it was unfortunately discovered by an acute lawyer that the jurisdiction of this Court did not legally extend beyond the cognizance of simple debts, which formed but a very small and unimportant portion of its business. The question was brought before the Supreme Court judicially, when it was decided that the Court of Requests had exceeded its jurisdiction. Since that period it has rejected all suits except those for simple debts, and thus a large body of suitors have been cut off from all access to justice ; for the costliness of the Supreme Court forbids their appealing to it. The Court of Requests formerly enjoyed the services of three Commissioners ; but in consequence of the contraction of its functions, and the discussions which arose thereupon, one vacancy has not been filled up. The Senior Commissioner receives a salary of 1,400 Rs., the Junior Commissioner of 1,200 Rs. a month. The latter is a Native gentleman, Baboo Russomoy Dutt, whose decisions afford general satisfaction.

The Police of Calcutta is under the control of a Chief Magistrate, with a salary of 36,000 Rs. and a Superintendent of Police on an allowance of 18,000 Rs. a year, with a regular establishment of assistants and constables, European and Native. There are also three Magistrates, the one on a salary of 2,072 rupees per mensem, the second on 1,200 ; and the third on 1,000 Rs. a month. The Senior Magistrate is the venerable Mr. Blacquiere, the contemporary and literary associate of Sir W. Jones, who, at an octogenarian age, still attends to his duties with a degree of assiduity and success which, in an exhausting climate like that of India, appears a miracle.

The ECCLESIASTICAL Establishment attached to the Presidency of Bengal, includes those chaplains which the Supreme Government of India may place at its disposal. The Bishop, with a salary of 45,977 rupees a year, presides over the diocese, assisted by an Archdeacon, who, in addition to his pay of Senior Chaplain, receives an extra allowance of 3,200 rupees a year. Of the entire number of Chaplains, the first sixteen rank as Seniors, and receive, 9,600 rupees a year and the rest as

Junior Chaplains on 6,000 Rs. The period for passing through the inferior grade is about eight years. The two Senior Chaplains are moreover attached to the Cathedral, and divide 25,214 rupees between them. The number of Chaplains attached to the division of the Bengal Presidency is twenty-five. In all matters connected with doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, they are under the direction of their Diocesan, but their position in our local institutions is that of military Chaplains. A senior Chaplain ranks as a Major, a junior takes rank with a Captain, and their retiring allowances are regulated by this military distinction. The Court of Directors have invariably refused to recognize them as standing in the relation of an incumbent to a parish at home. The allotment of their stations, therefore, rests exclusively with the political authorities of the country, who have the same power to transfer a Chaplain from one station to another, as they have to send a Colonel from one Regiment to another.

There are also two Presbyterian Clergymen on the public establishment, of whom the senior receives 13,513 rupees, and the junior 9,600 rupees a year.

It only remains to bring into one point of view the receipts and disbursements of the various departments into which the Government of Bengal is divided; and thus to present the reader with a comprehensive survey of its finances. For these items, we are indebted to the labors of the Financial Committee appointed by Lord Ellenborough, consisting of Mr. Millett, Mr. Davidson, and Mr. Dorin. Their report is equally remarkable for its elaborate details, its just discrimination, and its minute accuracy, and is unquestionably the most useful and important financial document ever presented to Government. It furnishes the model for all future reports on this subject, and thus abridges the labors of all future Committees. From their report we extract the following particulars of the income and expenditure of the year 1841-42, the last year embraced by their researches :

	Receipts.	Charges.
Judicial Department.....	4,78,046	52,85,300
The Land Revenue.....	4,10,56,039	51,81,813
The Stamps.....	23,51,112	1,38,285
The Salt Department.....	1,93,29,224	54,23,376
The Opium Department.....	1,38,26,480	57,87,689
The Mint.....	6,04,021	5,48,662
The Customs.....	51,89,324	6,76,631
The Marine.....	8,13,828	23,86,882
<b>Total Co.'s Rs.</b>	<b>8,36,48,074</b>	<b>2,54,28,638</b>

This statement does not include the establishments in Assam, Arracan, Tenasserim, and Cachar; but these provinces afford no surplus revenue; the income is barely sufficient, for the

maintenance of internal peace, and external security. Neither does it include the Ecclesiastical and Post Office departments, the pensions and charitable allowances, the expense of the various schools of learning, or the miscellaneous general civil expenditure at home or in India; nor the receipts and charges connected with the Supreme Court, the Court of Requests, or the Police of Calcutta. Unfortunately, these minor departments of expense were not included within the circle of research prescribed for the Finance Committee; and as that body has been dissolved, there is no hope of obtaining for them the same patient and careful investigation which has been so happily bestowed on the larger branches of the public expenditure. We are left therefore to conjecture their amount, and we think we fall within the mark, by stating that fifty lacs of rupees will cover the charges incurred in all these departments. Adding this sum to the expenditure acknowledged by the Committee, we have 3,04,28,638 rupees, or a little more than three millions sterling, to deduct from the rent-roll of the state, amounting to Rs. 8,36,48,074, and we have therefore a surplus revenue of five millions sterling to meet the political and military charges of Government.

This is a highly satisfactory result of our administration. In the most palmy days of the Moosulman government, at the beginning of the last century, under the enlightened rule of the great Moorshed Kooly Khan, when the largest amount of revenue was obtained with the least oppression of the people, the income of Bengal and Behar did not exceed two millions and a quarter sterling. The same provinces now yield the British Government more than eight millions sterling. If this augmentation of the public revenue had been accompanied with the increased depression of the country; if the upper classes had become more impoverished and the lower classes more wretched in proportion as the public exchequer had been replenished, the survey we have now taken of the finances would supply matter for humiliation and regret, instead of matter of exultation. But there is nothing in the apparent condition of native society in our day as compared with any history—or tradition of its state under the ablest Mahomedan rulers—which could lead us to conclude that the country has been injured by our taxation. The salt tax presses more heavily on the comfort of the poor than under the previous dynasty; and that which is a necessary of life has, in too many instances, become a costly, and almost unattainable luxury; but, with this exception, there is every reason to believe that the increased revenue now obtained from the country is raised with less of general or individual inconvenience than the smaller revenue of Moorshed Kooly Khan, even though the burden of taxation has been increased to the rate of *three shillings and six pence* a head.

## MISSIONARY LABOURS OF CHAPLAINS IN NORTHERN INDIA.

BY WALE BYRNE, ESQ.

1. *Sketches of Christianity in North India.* By the Rev. M. Wilkinson, Missionary. Seeley, Burnside & Seeley. London, 1844.
2. *Protestant Missions in Bengal.* By J. J. Weitbrecht, Church Missionary. John F. Shaw. London, 1844.

THE first work prefixed to this article is on many accounts entitled to attention. It does not contain the misty speculations of a philosophic mind prone to startle either by the amplitude of its views, or by the glare of paradox ; on the contrary, it brings before us the suggestions of an experienced observer,—one who is a tried servant of the Society, of whose proceedings in Northern India he professes to furnish an epitome, and who, for nearly a quarter of a century, has labored with unabated ardour in the extensive field of Missionary exertion.

It is truly refreshing to read a book like that of Mr. Wilkinson, speaking as a Christian, not as a mere Churchman, of the Missionary efforts of the Church of England, and sustaining a kindly bearing towards all other denominations of Christians. This is as it should be ; for no canons of the Church, we may be well assured, will plead more effectively for the cause of Christianity, and in this sense too for the Church of England, than the observance of that new commandment of love which the common Lord and Master of all left as a parting legacy to the world. It is refreshing too to read such a work, coming, so to speak, as a genial shower upon parched ground, amidst the strife and contention which have recently been so rife at home and abroad, and which we, in all sincerity hope, may not in our times at least be long permitted to disturb the harmony of the Christian Church.

Mr. Weitbrecht's book is also on many accounts entitled to attention. It gives shortly but very clearly an account of the social and moral character of the people of the country, and of the rites, ceremonies, and practices enjoined by the religion of the Hindus, with the debasing effects which follow. A general account is also given of the progress of Missionary work and of Christian education ; and much interesting information of a miscellaneous nature is afforded in its pages. Mr. Weitbrecht, like Mr. Wilkinson, is to be commended for the kind feeling evinced by him towards all sections of the Christian Church engaged in the Missionary work ; and it is indeed a happy circumstance, that the Church Missionary Society, to whose service Mr. Weitbrecht is attached, have agents like those whose books are under notice,

The Church Missionary Society is one of the most efficient in the body of the Church of England, in the promotion of Christian truth; and is without doubt actuated by the most catholic principles of any in carrying on the Missionary work; for, by one of the rules of the Society it is prescribed, that "a friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other Protestant Societies engaged in the same benevolent design of propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Such a course of conduct is so decidedly in accordance with the spirit of that religion which it is professedly the object of all Missionary Societies to promulgate, that it needs, we are persuaded, no commendation in its favor; and we feel that much harm must, and that no good can, result to our common Christianity by any line of conduct which may not have in view such a spirit,—the tendency of which must be to exalt human politics over the supremacy of Christian truth and Christian principles.

The Church Missionary Society was established in the year 1800, upon the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the Reformation; and it has ever since maintained its stand upon those principles,—commanding at the present moment "a wider field of action, and a more princely revenue, than any Protestant Association of the same character."\* Its operations have been extended to every quarter of the globe, and at this period it maintains no less a number than 1,263 Missionaries and teachers, who are busily engaged in the advancement of the cause of true religion in the dark corners of the earth. To India, too, have the labors of the Church Missionary Society been extended. In Southern India, her missions have extensively flourished, and in Northern India, a blessing has attended her labors. At the present moment the Society has the following stations; viz.

Calcutta,	Buxar,
Augurpara,	Benares,
Burdwan,	Jaunpoor,
Kishnaghur,	Goruckpoor,
Chupra,	Chunar,
Kabardanga,	Agra, and
Rotonpoor,	Meerut;
Solo,	

and maintains 66 Agents, including Missionaries, Catechists, and School-masters. It would be superfluous to enter into any details in regard to its operations in this part of India,—since the periodical Reports of the Society, steadily bring to public notice every needful information on the subject. Nor, for

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\* See Edinburgh Review, No. 161, p. 281.

this very reason, does it appear necessary to enter into any detailed examination of either of these works in regard to the interesting accounts of the Missionary stations, and of the progress of Missionary work. The truth, too, is that we have in view, two or three subjects suggested by the works under notice, which we consider to be of sufficient importance to warrant some special observations.

The agents, who, under divine providence, are made the instruments of good to their fellow-creatures, ought not to be forgotten. It is long, we trust, ere the deeds of such men as a Wilberforce, a Sharpe, or a Clarkson in achieving, after years of toil, labor and anxiety, the manumission of the slave; or of a Swartz, a Carey, or a Marshman, as Missionaries to the heathen; or of a Bentinck in accomplishing the abolition of the Sati, will cease to be remembered. To the benefactors of their race, the acknowledgment for services rendered should be most heartily made; and their memories, when they are numbered amongst the departed dead, should awaken a constant recollection of the good they in their life-time achieved for suffering humanity. Into this train of thought, we have been naturally led by having brought before us, in Mr. Wilkinson's work, the services rendered to Christianity by those honored servants of God, who were among the first laborers in the cause of true religion in India,—John Frederic Kiernander, David Brown, Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie and Thomas Thomason.

Kiernander was the first Protestant Missionary who erected the standard of the Cross in Calcutta,—having come hither under the patronage of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in 1758, from Cudalore, where, during eight years previous, he had preached the Gospel to the gentiles. From the accounts of his early labors, we learn that Kiernander was received with marked favor by Lord Clive. A house, rent-free, was assigned to him, and a subscription was raised to enable him to open a School, where, in the year 1759, 175 children of Heathen, Muhammadan and Portuguese parents were instructed in the English language, writing, reading, arithmetic, and the principles of Christianity. Almost at his own cost (having contributed upwards of sixty thousand rupees to the object), a Church was erected, which was opened on the 23rd December, 1770, under the name of Beth Tephillah, or the House of Prayer, which is now known by the name of the Old or Mission Church, and in which now for the last 74 years, the truths of the everlasting Gospel have been preached. Here it was, that, for nearly thirty years, Kiernander continued to labor for the

good of the heathen and Christian population of Calcutta with considerable success, as the records of his Christian labors abundantly testify. Circumstances of an untoward character, however, occurred to check this first effort in the cause of missions, which had been so well begun and so prosperously continued; and it was left for the Christian men of another denomination (the Baptist) some years after to begin the work, as it were, anew, in accordance with the advice of their noble leader Dr. Carey, "Attempt great things; expect great things."

The others, whose names we have associated with Kiernander, were Chaplains of the East India Company. Brown did not leave England in the service of the Company: he came out originally as Chaplain to the Military Orphan Institution; but on engaging in ministerial labors in the Old or Mission Church, the managers of that institution considered such an engagement to be incompatible with the office held by him at their establishment, and his connection with it ceased. The relinquishment of his connection with the Orphan Institution was attended with pecuniary loss. Let him speak of his own feelings in reference to a point, which to many we fear even amongst the sacerdotal ranks, would have led to a determination different from that to which Mr. Brown came. Writing to a friend, he says,—"I trust this event will turn to the furtherance of the Gospel, which will be a sufficient recompense for the temporal loss I suffer by the change." To such a spirit as Brown's, that only was accounted loss, which tended to retard his exertions in the divine cause: all else was gain, whatever might be the cost as it respected his temporal interests. The Revd. David Brown may well be regarded as the parent of Missions in the Established Church in this part of India. During the period of his ministerial labors, a Missionary feeling was first raised in the bosom of the English Church. The monthly Missionary Prayer Meeting was commenced by him; and the Evangelical Fund, for keeping up primarily an Evangelical ministry in the Mission Church, and secondarily for making it subservient in extending the blessings of the Gospel, was projected. It was thus that an interest was being excited for the cause of missions; and the present generation are witnesses of the fruit of such labors. In the Old or Mission Church, in which for five and twenty years Brown labored, every project in connection with the Church of England for the advancement of Evangelical religion was commenced and matured. A cause closely connected with that of missions, the cause of the Bible Society, was commenced there under the auspices of David Brown, whose whole heart, so to speak, was given to this great

and blessed work. In this cause, his exertions were unremitted, and he may truly have been said to have fallen a sacrifice in the cause which he thought worthy of his attachment. To quote from his life: "He made it," says his biographer, "the dream of his night, and the thought of his day, to devise every kind of plan for prosecuting this important, and, as it proved, this closing purpose of his life."

These efforts of David Brown were ably seconded by the worthies whose names we have associated with his. There was Claudius Buchanan, to some of whose services we have already in a previous article referred. With learning and piety, he combined a fearlessness in the cause of Christianity, which would admit of no compromise. In him was the spirit to do his master's work, irrespective of man's pleasure. Comprehensive schemes were afloat in his mind for the propagation of the Christian truth; and though they did not take effect at the precise moment he desired, they have since been developed and are going on developing, though not in the manner or the spirit in which, it is much to be feared, Buchanan would have wished. Dr. Buchanan was attached as Vice-Provost to the College of Fort William, and he at one time entertained the hope of making the College instrumental in the translation of the Sacred Scriptures into the oriental languages. The important work had indeed been commenced, as the subjoined extract will shew:—"Our hope of success in this glorious undertaking depends chiefly on the patronage of the College of Fort William. To that institution we are much indebted for the progress we have already made. Oriental translation has been comparatively easy in consequence of our having the aid of those learned men from distant provinces in Asia, who have assembled during the period of the last six years at that great emporium of eastern letters. These intelligent strangers voluntarily engaged with us in translating the Scriptures into their respective languages, and they do not conceal their admiration of the sublime doctrine, pure precept, and divine eloquence of the word of God. The plan of these translations was sanctioned at an early period by the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, the great pattern of useful learning. To give the Christian Scriptures to the inhabitants of Asia is indeed a work which every man who believes these Scriptures to be from God will approve. In Hindustan alone there is a great variety of religions, and there are some tribes which have no certain cast or religion at all. To render the revealed religion accessible to men who desire it; to open its eternal



"sanctions, and display its pure morals to those who seek a religion, is to fulfil the sacred duty of a Christian people and accords well with the humane and generous spirit of the English nation."

But it was shortly discontinued. To quote the words of Dr. Buchanan—"Our hope of evangelizing Asia was once founded on the College of Fort William. But a rude hand hath already touched it, and unless the Imperial Parliament interpose, it will soon be said of this great and useful institution, 'which enlightened a hemisphere of the globe, *Fuit Ithum et ingens gloria.*' Its name, however, will remain, for its record is in many languages, and the good it hath done will never die, for it hath taught many the way to heaven. Had the College of Fort William been cherished at home with the same ardour with which it was opposed, it might in the period of ten years have produced translations of the Scriptures into all the languages, from the borders of the Caspian to the sea of Japan." Dr. Buchanan's views in respect to an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India were of a comprehensive nature; but in making that proposition he had one great end in view—the good of souls. Nothing—not even the exaltation of the Church of England—was to be made paramount to that object. Well would it have been for the cause of Christian truth—yea, even for the interests of the Church—that the object which Buchanan had in proposing an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India, and which, humanly speaking, his exertions mainly brought about, were more closely and prominently persevered in by the Ministers of the Church. One important service which he rendered to the cause of Christianity when in England ought not to be forgotten;—we allude to his exertions, in common with Wilberforce and others, in obtaining in 1813, on the renewal of the Charter, the removal of the prohibition to the sojourn of Missionaries in India. The opinion entertained by him was that Christianity, or nothing, must prove our safety in these possessions, and he acted up to that opinion with sincerity and truthfulness under all circumstances. With all his spiritual views and Christian enterprises—with all his noble aspirations and high-souled disinterestedness, Buchanan is gone. The grave has closed over him. His deeds and works live after him. But from his tomb comes forth the question more easily put than answered—Who is his successor?

Who is this that comes next, youthful in years but ripe in scholarship, combining with the vivacity of youth the wisdom of age; who relinquishes academic honors, with all the fair

prospects of advantage which an established reputation at the University opened before him, to labor under an Indian sun as a Chaplain of the East India Company! It is Henry Martyn.

Brief was thy journey Martyn! scarce had men  
Marked with bright hope thine ardent race begun,  
Ere angel bands were summoned, on thy brow  
To place the Victor's Crown!

He came to India as a chaplain, it is true; but he forgot not the far higher duty which, as a Minister of the everlasting Gospel, he was bound to discharge, in reference to the spiritual interests of his India fellow-men,—that of a Missionary. That great object he ever kept in view. From the moment he landed in India, he commenced preparation for the work, by a diligent study of the Oriental languages,—doing all this amidst much bodily weakness. But love to his master dispelled all difficulties. As a preacher to the heathen he engaged, whenever his duties as a chaplain allowed; and his translation of the New Testament into Persian and Urdu, and of a part of the Old Testament into Urdu, besides his superintendence of the translation of the New Testament into Arabic, will be lasting monuments of what Martyn achieved in this department of Missionary labor. To quote from his memoir—"He doubtless forsook all for Christ; he loved not his life unto the death. He followed the steps of Ziegenbalg in the old world, and of Brainard in the new; and whilst he walks with them in white, for he is worthy,—he speaks by his example to us who are still on our warfare and pilgrimage upon earth."

Corrie and Thomason were eminent for their labors in the Missionary cause. They had onerous duties to perform as Chaplains; but they had time to be Missionaries—to be translators of the Scriptures—to establish Native Schools. Their position—their influence—their talents;—all were devoted to this great and good work. The former, after attaining to the office of Senior Presidency Chaplain, and subsequently to that of Arch-deacon, notwithstanding the increasing cares and labors incident to these appointments, still continued his Hindustani labors as opportunity offered. He translated Sellon's abridgment of the Scriptures, the Prayer Book, Homilies; and he also wrote a sketch of Ancient History for the benefit of Hindustani youth. He was mainly instrumental in giving permanency and stability to the operations of the Church Missionary Society; and was in his day the life of mission work in the establishment. To the Missionaries he was a father and friend. The author of the sketches of Christianity in Northern India, speaks thus of him—"It was the privilege of the writer of this sketch to know

him intimately, and to have the advantage of his fatherly counsel throughout the course of his own ministry." Not one who knew this sainted man would hesitate to bear the same testimony to his worth. We too like the author were privileged to know him, and can speak from personal experience of the unceasing interest evinced by him in all plans and undertakings, having for their object the spiritual good of India. In a thousand ways of this kind was Corrie busied in regard to missions : his whole heart was given to the work ; and his desire was that the hearts of all should be given to it. The want of missionary information, and the absence of publications in the country to supply that want, were once brought to his notice ; and we have before us the communication which he made on the subject, from which we quote—"As to the *Missionary Record*, only two copies were sent me. You know how difficult it is to keep up an interest in these things ; but if you can dispose of copies they might easily be ordered. The *Intelligencer* does not come up to my idea of a good periodical, though it has much useful matter. But after eleven years of exertion, to a great extent without aid, I was glad to give the lead to one willing to take it. I long to see more life among us, steady, lively apprehensions of the nature of things divine above all created good. When shall it be ! I have certainly seen a great extension of good in this place. May those who are following behold a hundred fold increase."—8th June, 1833.

As Chaplain at Chunar, Cawnpore, Agra, Benares, and Calcutta, at which last-mentioned place he also fulfilled for a period of nine years the duties of the office of Archdeacon, he abounded in works of usefulness, erecting Churches, founding Missions, and establishing Schools ; and thus, in an eminent degree, combining the Missionary and the Chaplain.

Such was Corrie the Chaplain—such was Corrie the Archdeacon—such was Corrie the Bishop. Ecclesiastical perfunctory did not abate his zeal for the cause of Christianity in a country covered with the "thick darkness" of ignorance and superstition : in a word, his life was one continued Evangelistic effort ; for he lived and died a Missionary.\*

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\* We have a memoir of Brown (a very imperfect one however), of Buchanan, of Martyn and of Thomason ; but no memoir of Bishop Corrie has yet appeared. No one could, in our honest opinion, perform such a task better than the present Bishop of Calcutta. He has been amidst the scene of Bishop Corrie's labors. He has seen for himself his works of usefulness and piety. He has been among the friends of the departed Bishop, from whom much useful information might be gleaned. If it might be too much to expect such a work from Bishop Wilson in his present state of health, perhaps it might under his superintendence, while in England, be undertaken by his worthy and excellent chaplain, the Rev. J. H. Pratt. Under any circumstances we do hope that it will not be long before a life of so good a man shall be given to the world.

The Rev. Mr. Thomason was in many respects like him. There was in him the same simplicity of character that belonged to the Bishop; and there was in him the same singleness of mind—the same purpose of heart—to promote the glorious ends of the gospel of peace. Mr Thomason did not, so far as we know, labor in preaching the word to the heathen; but he labored abundantly as a translator; having translated the Old Testament into Urdu, which was printed as far as 2nd Kings, as well as the Psalms, the Proverbs and Isaiah, and having revised the Arabic New Testament. He was indefatigable in promoting the objects both of the Church Missionary Society and of the Bible Society,—finding time for all this work, notwithstanding the various duties which devolved upon him as Chaplain to the Old Church, to which he was attached for 16 years, and during which time his ministrations were eminently useful, both as a preacher and as a parochial minister. Mr. Thomason was perhaps one of the most effective preachers that ever came to India; and as a parochial minister, he did great good, as we know, in the promotion of personal religion amidst families, affording by his conduct towards his flock an example worthy of all imitation. Between the minister and his people, without reference to rank or condition, there was a constant intercourse; and it would be well, we think, for the interests of religion, if the practice were kept more in view and followed in the present days.

In enumerating the labors, either as missionaries or translators, of Brown, Buchanan, Martyn, Corrie, and Thomason, we should be wanting in justice if we omitted bringing to notice the missionary labors at Meerut of the Rev. Henry Fisher, who, as he had time and opportunity, set himself to the task of communicating to the heathen a knowledge of Christian truth; and through whose instrumentality a Native Church was formed at Meerut, which has ever since been a station of the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Fisher, as is not perhaps generally known, incurred the displeasure of the authorities on account of his missionary labors: his actions were misconceived, and his conduct misrepresented. But a time came when his conduct was duly appreciated, and now, thirty years after the event, if there is one thing more than another which reflects lustre on his ministerial career in India, it is his associating with the duties of Chaplain the labors of the missionary.\* In this place, we desire to make mention of others, who, though they may not

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\* Since the above remarks were penned, this good old man—this approved servant of God—has passed to his rest—full of years and ‘strong in hope.’ We feel truly a melancholy pleasure in having thus borne this feeble testimony to his worth,

have engaged in missionary labors, or in translations, have still rendered eminent services to the cause of Christianity; and in connection with this topic, we may especially notice the hearty and cordial co-operation which both Archdeacon Dealtry and the Rev. Mr. Boswell (now in England) have afforded to the cause of Missions and of the Bible Society, during the whole period of their ministry in India. We are the more anxious to allude to exertions put forth in an enlarged and a catholic spirit, as it is our desire to see others of the Established Church acting in a similar spirit,—under a firm persuasion that such a course of conduct would be well calculated not only to advance the cause of Christianity, but also to promote the interests of the Establishment. And every section of the Church labouring in India, ought to keep in view the great extent of evil which is to be encountered;—the great difficulties with which all have to contend in the work of moral renovation;—and the greater prospect of success which may be anticipated, if all work in harmony and with good feeling.

By an Act of the Legislature in the reign of William the 3rd, it was enjoined, that “such ministers as should be sent to “reside in India, should apply themselves to learn the native “languages of the country, the better to enable them to “instruct the Gentoos, who should be servants of the Company, “or of their agents, in the Protestant religion.” At a cursory glance, it might be thought that the wisdom of the British Parliament was in this instance at least at fault, and that to prescribe a course of conduct, which the spirit of Christianity would naturally suggest to every man who took upon himself the vows of the Christian Ministry, was a work of supererogation. Singular, indeed, that William and his Councillors, who had achieved a great triumph for the cause of Protestantism in England, and who were then the great props and bulwarks of the Reformation in Europe, should suppose it necessary to prescribe by statute, to the clergy of a nation that had been delivered from the dominion of superstition and error, a duty which is clearly enjoined in the Scriptures of truth! The men of 1701 legislated with a prophetic eye! Singular as it may seem, it is notwithstanding too true, that the Chaplains of the East India Company have done little or nothing compared with what they might have done towards the fulfilment of the provision of the statute of King William. Either as Missionaries to the heathen, or as translators of the Sacred Scriptures in the oriental tongues, they have comparatively few labors to shew; and among the hundreds that have come to India as Chaplains, *six* have alone been found, in a Missionary sense, to have uplifted

the standard of the cross in the wilderness of a heathen land, and to have made known to the millions by whom they are surrounded in their 'own tongues the wonderful works of God?' The hearts of such men as those whose labors in India we have but transiently, and we are fully sensible, but very imperfectly described, were touched "as with a live coal from the altar," in viewing the danger of their Indian fellow men; and they were deeply anxious, while themselves safe in the ark of mercy, to hold forth the hand of succour to those who were struggling amidst the perilous waters. But has the danger ceased? Has idolatry ceased? Has superstition ceased? Has error ceased? Are the claims of dying—perishing humanity less urgent now than they were before? The elements of evil inherent in false systems of belief, like rank weeds, have taken deep root in the soil of India, and are daily sending forth new shoots, bearing the same bitter fruit; or, like noxious plants, are emitting forth a pestilential vapour, which taints every living thing with corruption and disease. The duty of the Christian—much more assuredly of the Christian Minister, whether in the service of the Propagation, or of the Church Missionary Society, or of the East India Company,—is to use the remedy which, for the special purpose of being disseminated for the spiritual health of others, has been put into his power; hoping that the blessing of the Lord may rest upon their labors, and that millions yet unblest with the word of life may be carried on, through toils and sufferings and death, to stand on Mount Zion, as trophies of the Christian Minister's achievements in the divine cause upon earth.

But, without dwelling farther upon the obvious duty which devolves upon every Christian minister, in the commission he has received from God to preach the gospel to every creature, we proceed to point out the fitness of our Chaplains by prior association, and by superior education, to devote themselves in the first instance to the diligent study of the oriental tongues. They are an order of men who have generally been well grounded in classical learning, and who, by graduating at the Universities, have had the means of perfecting their acquirements in literature and science. To men who have thus been practised in the niceties of philology, and who have breathed, as it were, in the atmosphere of lexicons and dictionaries and critical authorities, the acquisition of a new language, when they come to India, cannot, we should think, be a matter of great difficulty. They come in a great measure prepared for work of this kind; and they would be found more quickly to master the difficulties of a new language than the Civil and Military officers of the Company, who always

come out young, with comparatively a slender stock of classical learning,—and without those grave habits and pursuits which may reasonably be supposed to belong to men of advanced years, and who have dedicated themselves to the work of the ministry. The advantages thus possessed ought surely to be turned to good account in respect to an acquirement of the languages of the country. Even as far as the scholar and the gentleman are concerned, there are inducements surely to follow the course we are recommending. A knowledge of the people,—of their social and domestic habits,—and of their manners and their customs, is in all respects desirable; but it is next to impossible that we should have an accurate knowledge on these points, without a knowledge of the languages of the country. In the West, the clergy have been foremost in making known to the world the treasures of ancient literature; and it appears equally suitable that the clergy, as being the most fitted, should undertake the pleasurable and honorable task of enlightening mankind in respect to the literature, history, and antiquities of the East. It is a debt of gratitude which they owe to the country which so liberally contributes to their comfort and happiness; and it is, above all, a proper return to Him who entrusts to his servants talents intended for use. We are not sure but that, after all, an excellent plan would be, to require the Chaplains, on their first arrival to commence the study of one or other of the oriental languages. Even as Chaplains—setting aside the character of the Missionary,—they must often come in contact with the natives, with the Native soldiery, with the Native servants of the Government; and viewing the subject in this aspect, a knowledge of the languages would be highly useful. In every view of the case,—whether we look at the interests of the Government;—or the personal reputation of the individual;—or the moral power that would be given to the establishment;—or the advantages, humanly speaking, that must result in reference to the cause of Christianity in India:—in each, and all of these views, the desirableness of an acquisition of the oriental tongues, is clearly obvious.

The notice taken by Mr. Wilkinson in his work of Bishop's College, leads us to offer some considerations in reference to that collegiate establishment. The college was established by the piety and wisdom of Bishop Middleton; and an expectation was entertained, that, at no distant day, the Protestant Episcopal Establishment would not need to look beyond India for the supply of her most pressing wants, in respect to a well-furnished ministry for the diffusion of sacred truth in this heathen land. This expectation does not appear, however, to have been

realized ; and Mr. Wilkinson expresses much disappointment at the results which have accrued from the labors of the College. He writes thus :—

"It is deeply to be lamented, that after a vast expenditure of "money on buildings, principals, and professors, &c., scarcely "any thing of good has been accomplished. I say not this acrimoniously, but with the deepest and most heartfelt regret. I "love the institution ; I watched its progress with more than "common interest, and when it was proposed to have a Church "Missionary Seminary in Calcutta, I gave my opinion against "it, fearing it might look like a rival institution ; I loved "Bishop's College, and I looked forward to the sending of my "own sons to *graduate* there with intense pleasure."

1. "But what has it done in instructing native youth, &c. "in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and school-masters, during a period of more than twenty years ?"

2. "For the teaching of the elements of useful knowledge "and the English language to Mussulmen and Hindus, &c. ?"

3. "For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral "and religious tracts ?"

4. "For the reception of English Missionaries, &c. ?"

"Scarcely *any thing* has been done in either of these departments. Not a portion of the Scriptures, or of the Liturgy, "has been translated by any of the College establishment, and "now, nothing is being done but what had better be left "undone."

We believe that, on an average, there are seldom more, and often less than a *dozen* students at the College. If it were conducted in a way to make the education imparted within its collegiate walls suited to the wants of the Indian community, we are sure that, in place of a dozen, we should be enabled to number fully a hundred students, prosecuting their studies either for ministerial labors, or for the business of life. The College professes to receive lay students, but there are only two of this description at Bishop's College. There are men of learning attached to the College ; there is a sort of guarantee in the superintendence which the Bishop and the Archdeacon exercise over the establishment, that the moral and religious culture of the youthful mind will be duly attended to ;—the College has a valuable and extensive library to which the students may have access ; and the establishment, from its salubrious locality, affords every advantage that could be derived, as it respects the health of those who may be placed there as students. With advantages like these, the College does not appear to grow in the public favor ; and we can only attribute this want of support



to the system pursued there ; which appears to us in great measure defective and inappropriate. From enquiries which we have made, we believe the following to be the course of studies at present pursued at the College :—

## 1ST DIVISION.

Greek Testament.	St. Augustine "De Civitate Dei."
Greek Exercises.	Algebra.
The "Agamemnon" of Eschylus.	

## 2ND DIVISION.

Greek Testament.	Latin Exercises.
Greek Exercises.	Chalmers's Bridgewater Treatise.
The Orestes of Euripides.	Geometry.
Satires of Horace.	Algebra.

## 3RD DIVISION.

Greek Delectus.	English New Testament.
Greek Grammar.	Nicholson on the Church Catechism.
Latin Exercises.	Keightley's History of Rome.
Latin Grammar.	Geometry.

Some of the students attend also to the Vernaculars—but we believe very partially.

## THE KINGDOM OF OUDE.

BY SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.

1. *Asiatic Annual Register*. Oude State Papers.
2. *Minutes of Evidence*. Volume VI. Political Affairs of the East India Company.
3. *Hamilton's Rohilla Affghans*. A. D. 1787. London.
4. *Butter's Topography & Statistics of Southern Oude*, Calcutta : 1839.
5. *Imad-ool-Saadut*, by *Golam Ally Ruzwee*. Persian Manuscript.

THE publications placed at the head of this article, are all familiar, at least by name, to Indian readers ; but we must say a few words respecting the Persian manuscript, the title of which we have given. Golam Ally's work was prepared under the instructions of Colonel Baillie, for several years Resident in Oude. It is a chronicle of the lives of Saadut Khan and his successors, written during the viceroyalty of one of them, Saadut Ali. Two copies having fallen into our hands, we bring the work to public notice, rather as a curiosity than for any intrinsic value it possesses. If history, as written in Europe, contains little to improve the heart or ripen the judgment, what can be said of Oriental annals? They seldom contain more than fulsome panegyrics on those in power, mingled with interminable details of slaughters, of countries lost, or provinces acquired. These records are a catalogue of Kings, Generals and Ministers, and bestow not a thought or a word on the people, whose transfer from one chief to another is mentioned with as much indifference as if the human livestock were so many head of cattle. Golam Ally's book is no remarkable exception to the rule. Doctor Butter's "Outlines" is a very creditable little volume. It is one of a series of Reports prepared under the authority of the Bengal Medical Board, and published by order of the Government of India. It contains much valuable statistical information concerning the southern districts of Oude. Had we such a volume on each district, or even province of India, the country would be better known.

No portion of India has been more discussed in England than Oude. Affghanistan and the Punjab are modern questions, but for half a century, country gentlemen have been possessed of a vague idea of a province of India, nominally independent in its home relations, but periodically used as a wet-nurse to relieve the difficulties of the East India Company's finances.\* The

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\* "The King of Oude's sauce," has found its way into London shops, and even Charles O'Malley's "Man for Galway" tells us that "the King of Oude is mighty proud."

several attacks that were made on Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley, and the Marquis of Hastings, have all served to keep up the interest of the Oude question. Scarcely had the case of the plundered Begums and flagellated eunuchs been decided, and the folios of evidence elicited by Warren Hastings' trial been laid before the public, than proceedings scarcely less voluminous appeared regarding the territorial cessions extorted by Lord Wellesley. These were followed in turn by attacks on Lord Hastings' loan measures, with the several vindications of his Lordship's policy. We are among those unfashionable people who consider that politics and morals can never be safely separated; that an honest private individual must necessarily be an honest official, and *vice-versâ*; but we confess that we have been staggered by a study of Oude transactions. Most assuredly Warren Hastings, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Lord Auckland would never have acted in private life, as they did in the capacity of Governors towards prostrate Oude. Lord W. Bentinck, and Lords Cornwallis, Minto, and Ellenborough, appear to have been the only Governors-General who did not take advantage of the weakness of that country to dismember it or increase its burthens.

The earliest offender against Oude was Warren Hastings. Mr. Gleig undertakes to give a true and correct picture of Mr. Hastings' private character and public administration. With the former we have here nothing to do, beyond remarking that the very lax morality of the clerical biographer, when treating of domestic life, vitiates his testimony, and renders his judgment on questions of public justice valueless. Mr. Gleig's theory, moreover, that the wrong which is done for the public good is a justifiable wrong, tends to upset the whole doctrine of right. When he vindicates his hero by asserting that, "if Mr. Hastings was corrupt, it was to advance the interests of England that he practised his corruption," and proceeds in a similar strain, of what he seems to consider, exculpation, he asperses the illustrious person he would defend, far more than do Mr. Hastings' worst enemies. We have a *higher* opinion of Hastings than his biographer appears to have had, but we have a *very different* opinion from that of Mr. Gleig regarding the duty of a Governor-General. Thorough-going vindication such as Mr. Gleig's, does far more injury to the memory of a sagacious and far-seeing, though unscrupulous ruler like Warren Hastings, than all the vehement denunciations of Mill the historian. Oude affords but a discreditable chapter in our Indian annals, and furnishes a fearful warning of the lengths to which a statesman may be carried, when once he substitutes expediency and his own view

of public advantage, for the simple rule of right and wrong. The facts furnished by every writer on Oude affairs, all testify to the same point, that British interference with that Province has been as prejudicial to its Court and people as it has been disgraceful to the British name. To quote the words of Colonel Sutherland, an able and temperate writer, "there is no State in India with whose Government we have interfered so systematically and so uselessly as with that of Oude." He most justly adds, "this interference has been more in favour of men than of measures;" a remark, by the way, applicable to almost every case in which our Government has intermeddled with Native States. It is through such measures that Moorshedabad, Tanjore, and Arcot, have perished beneath our hands. Nagpore we were obliged to nurse for a time; Hyderabad is again "in articulo mortis," and Mysore is under strict medical treatment. At Sattara, we are obliged to put down the puppet we had put up. Kholapore, another principality of our fostering, has, for nearly a twelvemonth, given employment for more troops than its revenues will pay in twenty years. Already, and almost before the ink of the subsidiary treaty is dry, the regular troops at Gwalior have been employed in police duties. The Minister of our selection has had his life threatened; and we are, again, in the predicament of being pledged to support a Government, whose misdeeds we cannot effectually controul. In short, wherever we turn, we see written in distinct characters the blighting influences of our interference.

The only unmixed advantage of despotism is its energy, arising from its indivisibility. An able and virtuous despot may dispense happiness; the same ruler, saddled not only with a Minister but with a Resident, can only diffuse wretchedness. He has no possible motive for exertion. He gets no credit for his good acts, and he is not master in his own country. Much casuistry was expended some years ago, on the defence of the Dewani and double government system, which, was at best, but one of the poor cloaks of expediency, and was gradually thrown off as our strength increased. The subsidiary and protected system is, if possible, worse. If ever there was a device for insuring mal-government, it is that of a Native Ruler and Minister, both relying on foreign bayonets, and directed by a British Resident. Even if all three were able, virtuous, and considerate, still the wheels of Government could hardly move smoothly. If it be difficult to select one man, European or Native, with all the requisites for a just administrator, where are three, who can and will work together, to be found? Each of the three may work incalculable mischief, but no one of them ~~can~~ do good if thwarted

by the others. It is almost impossible for the Minister to be faithful and submissive to his Prince, and at the same time honest to the British Government; and how rarely is the European officer to be found who with ability to guide a Native State, has the discretion and good feeling to keep himself in the back ground—to prompt and sustain every salutary measure within his reach, while he encourages the Ruler and Minister by giving them all the credit—to be the adviser and not the master—to forget self in the good of the people and of the protected Sovereign! Human nature affords few such men, and therefore, were there no other reason, we should be chary of our interference. From Tanjore to Gwalior the system has been tried, and everywhere has equally failed. In Oude each new reign has required a new treaty to patch up the system. Having little legitimate scope for ambition, the sovereigns have alternately employed themselves in amassing and in squandering treasure. The hoards of Saadut Ally were divided among fiddlers and buffoons: the penurious savings of the late King have been little more creditably employed by his successor: and the Government of Oude, like that of the Deccan, is now as bankrupt in purse, as in character. And yet there are men who advocate interference with Native States! Satisfied as we are of the evils of the system, and desirous, by a record of the past to offer a beacon for the future, we shall present a brief sketch of Oude affairs, and will then venture to suggest the policy which, under existing circumstances, appears fittest for our Government to adopt.

We will first briefly set before our readers a sketch of the kingdom of Oude, as it was and as it is.

Ajoodhya, or Oude, is celebrated in Hindoo legends as the kingdom of Dasaratha, the father of Rama, who extended his conquests to Ceylon and subdued that island. The Mahomedan invaders at an early period conquered Oude, and it remained, with fewer changes than almost any other province of India, an integral portion of the Mogul empire, until the dissolution of that unwieldy Government. Under the Delhi Kings, the Soubadaree, including what are now the British districts of Goruckpore and Azimghur, comprehended an area about one-fourth greater than the limits of the present kingdom. Abulfazel states, that "the length, from Sircar Goruckpore to Kinoje, includes 135 coss; and the breadth, from the northern mountains of Seddehpore to the Soobah of Allahabad comprises 115 coss."

During the decadence of the Delhi empire, the Viziers Saadut Khan and Sufder Jung, each employed his power, as

minister of the pageant King, to increase the bounds of the Oude viceroyalty. Both cast greedy glances on Rohilcund, and Sufder Jung made many attempts at its acquisition ; but it was not till the time of Sooja-oo-doulah that it became subject to Oude. The dominions of that prince, when he first came in contact with the British Government, extended over the greatest portion of Soubah Allahabad, including the districts of Benares and Ghazeepeer. While our troops defended Allahabad and Oude proper, he took advantage of the absence of the Mahrattahs in the Deccan to seize and occupy the middle Doab, or districts of Futtehpore, Cawnpore, Etawah, and Mynpooree, close up to Agra. During the ensuing year, Colonel Champion's brigade, by the decisive battle of Kutterah near Bareilly, placed the province of the Rohilcund at his feet, and enabled him to seize Furruckabad as a fief. Thus Sooja-oo-doulah not only owed his existence as a sovereign to the clemency, or perhaps to the fears, of his conquerors after the battle of Buxar, but his subsequent accessions of territory were the fruits of British prowess. He left his successor a territory paying annually not less than three millions of money, and capable of yielding double that sum. On the conquest of Rohilcund in 1774, he at first rented that province at two millions ; but it yearly deteriorated, so that not a quarter of that amount was obtained from it when ceded to the British in 1801. The cessions then made were estimated at 1,35,23,474 Rs. or, in round numbers, at one and a third million of money, being above half the Oude possessions ; but, by improvement and good management, the ceded districts can scarcely yield, at the present time, less than two and a half millions. The area of the Oude reserved dominions is estimated to contain 23,923 square miles. They are bounded on the North and N. E. by the Nepal mountains ; South and S. W. by the River Ganges ; East and S. E. by the British districts of Goruckpore, Azimghur, Juanpore, and Allahabad ; and West by Rohilcund. The kingdom is very compact, averaging about two hundred miles in length by one hundred and twenty in breadth. Lucknow, the capital, in N. Latitude 26° 51' and Longitude 80° 50', is admirably situated on the navigable river Goomtee, nearly in the centre of the kingdom. The Oude dominions form an almost unbroken plain. The general flow of the rivers is towards the South-East. The Ganges, the Gogra, the Sai and the Goomtee, are all navigable throughout their respective courses within the Oude territory, but owing to the long unsettled state of the country, and the impositions practised on traders, the three last are little used, and, even on the Ganges, few boatmen like to frequent the Oude bank, for

fear of being plundered in one shape or other. The population is estimated at three millions, four-fifths of whom, perhaps, are Hindoos, and they furnish the best disciplined Infantry in India. Three-fourths of the Bengal Native Infantry come from Oude; and recruiting parties from Bombay are sometimes seen to the East of the Ganges.

A few remarks on the past and present capital of Oude, the only part of their dominions which Indian rulers much regard, will not be out of place here.

The ancient city of Ajoodhya, which either receives its name from the province, or gives its own name to it, must, even from present appearances, have been a place of prodigious extent, though we do not pledge ourselves to the *precise* accuracy of the dimensions given by Abulfazel, who states its length at 148 coss, and its breadth at 36 coss. Ajoodhya is a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and is situated on the south side of the river Gogra, in N. Latitude  $26^{\circ} 48'$ , and E. Longitude  $82^{\circ} 4'$ . Its ruins still extend along the banks of the stream, till they meet the modern, but already decayed, city of Fyzabad. This last town, Shooja-oo-doulah made his capital, and adorned with some fine buildings, but it was abandoned by his successor, Asoph-oo-doulah, and has consequently fallen into decay, and bears little trace of any former magnificence. Lucknow, the present capital, consists of an old, and a new city adjoining each other; the former, like other native towns, is filthy, ill-drained, and ill-ventilated. The modern city, situated along the south bank of the river Goomtec, is strikingly different, consisting of broad and airy streets, and containing the Royal Palaces and gardens; the principal Mussulman religious buildings; the British Residency, and the houses of the various English officers connected with the Court. This part of Lucknow is both curious and splendid, and altogether unlike the other great towns of India, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan. There is a strange dash of European architecture among its oriental buildings. Travellers have compared the place to Moscow and to Constantinople, and can easily fancy the resemblance. Gilded domes, surmounted by the crescent; tall, slender pillars; lofty colonnades; houses that look as if they had been transplanted from Regent Street; iron railings and balustrades; cages, some containing wild beasts, others filled with "strange, bright birds;" gardens, fountains and cypress trees; elephants, camels and horses; gilt litters and English barouches; all these form a dazzling picture. We once observed at Lucknow a royal carriage drawn by eight elephants, and another with twelve horses. Yet, brilliant and picturesque as Lucknow is, still there is a

puerility and want of stability about it, characteristic enough of its monarchs. The Shah Nujeef or royal Imam-bara, forms a striking feature in the group of buildings, half Frank, half Asiatic, that meets the eye, after passing through the Room-i-durwaza,\* a gateway, said to be built on the model of one at Constantinople. The Imam-bara is a lofty and well-proportioned building. Hamilton gives the dimensions of the centre room as 167 feet long, by 52 wide, but its contents resemble those of a huge auction-room or toy-shop, where the only object is to stow away as much incongruous splendour as possible. Mirrors, chandeliers, gigantic candlesticks, banners, manuscripts, brocades, weapons of all sorts, models of buildings, gaudy pictures, and a thousand other things, all bespeak a ruler who possesses wealth, without knowing how to employ it. That this is no mere vague assertion our readers will believe, from the fact that Asoph-oo-doulaw expended £150,000 sterling on double barrelled guns, a million of money on mirrors and chandeliers, and 160,000 gold mohurs, or £320,000, on a single taziah. †

The Fureed Buksh palace is a place of some interest. In 1837, it was the scene of the only insurrection which has occurred during our connexion with Oude. The event, though recent, is comparatively forgotten, for the tumult was promptly crushed. With less energetic measures there might have been a rehearsal of the Cabul tragedy. On the night of the 7th July 1837, when Nusseer-oo-deen expired, the Badshahi Begum forcibly placed on the throne the boy Moona Jan. During the twelve hours' tumult that ensued, the Resident, his suite and the rightful heir to the throne, were all in the hands of an infuriated mob. Armed soldiers with lighted torches and lighted matchlocks in their hands, held possession of the palace, stalked throughout its premises, and spared no threats against the British authorities if they did not assent to the installation of their creature, Moona Jan. The nearest succour had to come five miles from the cantonment. Five companies of Sepoys, with four guns, however, soon arrived. The Resident managed to join his friends. He then gave the insurgents one quarter of an hour's grace. When that had expired, the guns opened,—a few rounds of grape were thrown into the disorderly mass who thronged the palace and its enclosures. Morning dawned on an altered scene; the rioters had succumbed or dispersed; the dead were removed; the palace was cleared out; and, by ten o'clock in the forenoon,

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\* Gate of *Room* or Constantinople.

† Model of the Tomb of the Martyr Houssein.



the aged, infirm, and trembling heir to the crown was seated on the throne that, at midnight, had been occupied by the usurper. The Resident placed the crown on the new King's head, and the event was announced to the people of Lucknow by the very guns which a few hours before had carried death and consternation among the Oude soldiery.

The Fureed Buksh palace is built close to the Goomtee, and viewed from the opposite side of that river, has a very pleasing effect. But within, there is nothing to satisfy the eye or the mind. Enormous sums have been expended in decorating the rooms, but all these luxuries give the idea of having been collected from the love of possessing not from the desire of using them. The apartments are so crammed that there is no judging of their height or proportion. The room containing the throne is long and has a dismal appearance. It is laid out after the European fashion, with glass windows and scarlet cloth curtains, but these are dirty, musty and moth-eaten. The throne itself must be of great value; it is a large, square seat, raised several steps from the ground. The sides are, if we remember right, of silver, richly chased, and gilt, set with a profusion of precious stones. Of these, many were plundered during the insurrection mentioned above, as they have not been replaced, the throne, with all its splendours, partakes of the prevailing air of incompleteness.

The neighbourhood of Lucknow, still more than its interior, differs from other cities of Hindoostan. At Delhi, Agra, and elsewhere, one is struck with the bleak, desolate aspect of the country, up to the very walls. Lucknow, on the contrary, is surrounded by gardens, parks and villas belonging to the King and his nobles. Besides these, there is the fine park and house of Constantia, the property of the late General Martine. The life and death of this soldier of fortune, are illustrative of Indian, and especially of Oude politics. He bequeathed £100,000 to found a school at Calcutta to be called La Martiniere, and a sum nearly equal in amount for a like institution at Lucknow. Martine's will shews his estimate of Saadut Ali's conscience. He dreaded lest his estate of Constantia, where he intended the school to be built, should be seized by the Nawab after his death. A Mussulman might violate property, and even frustrate charitable intentions, but he would reverence a grave. The General, therefore, ordered that his own body should be interred in one of the underground apartments of his house, thus consecrating the whole building as a tomb. The buildings intended for the Lucknow charitable institution are now, after

the lapse of nearly half a century, in progress of erection ; and we hope ere long to see the Lucknow Martiniere diffusing the blessings of education through the Oude territory.

The soil of Oude is generally fertile, though light ; when properly cultivated and watered, it is capable of producing all crops. Not only are rice, wheat, barley, with the many kind of vetches, and oil plants grown, but opium, sugar-cane, and indigo are produced. From the numerous large rivers and numberless small streams, as well as the proximity of water in wells, irrigation, that first necessary to the Indian farmer, is easy and cheap. Indeed, in no division of India has nature done more for the people ; in none has man done less. Elsewhere, famine, cholera, and the invader's swords have reduced gardens to wastes ; but to no such causes can the progressive deterioration of Oude be attributed. For eighty years the country has not known foreign war ; the fertility of the soil and its facilities of irrigation have usually averted from this province the famines that have desolated other parts of the country ; and its general salubrity is not to be surpassed by any portion of India. What, then, has laid waste whole districts, driven the inhabitants to emigration, or, still worse, compelled them, like beasts of prey, to take refuge in the forests, and abandon their habitations to the stranger and to the licensed plunderer ? The answer is easily given. A double Government. An irresponsible ruler, ridden by a powerless pro-consul.

It may seem that we are exaggerating the evils of the system. Theoretically, it might be argued that a King, freed from all fear of foreign aggression, secured from domestic insurrection, and commanding a large, and what might be, an unencumbered revenue, would have leisure for the duties of a good ruler, and would make it his ambition to leave some record of himself in the grateful remembrance of his people. Experience, however, proves that slavery, even though its fetters may be concealed or gilded, works the same mischievous effects on nations as on individuals. Independent freedom of action is as necessary to develop the powers of the mind as those of the body. The Roman system very much resembled that which has hitherto prevailed in British India. The Roman Provinces were gradually broken into the yoke. The subject Kings, shorn of their independence, and bereft of all means of good government, were continued for a time, until each voluntarily surrendered his load of care, or until the outraged people called aloud for absorption. That which was the result of a systematic plan with Rome, has arisen chiefly from a fortuitous combination of

circumstances with Great Britain. During our weakness, we made treaties that have been a dead weight on our strength. These original arrangements have often dishonoured us, and have generally proved grievous to our protégés. Human nature is much the same in the East as in the West. The same principle holds good with nations as with individuals. The man, whether King or servant, who has no fears, has no hopes. The man who is not called on for exertion must be almost more than mortal if he bestir himself. We see the principle daily exemplified: the child born to competence, seldom distinguishes himself in life, while the beggar stripling often reaches the top of the ladder. Subjects state and guaranteed rulers, now as of old, verify the same remark; and no better example can be offered than that of Oude. It has had men of more than average ability, and of at least average worth, as rulers and ministers, who, if left to themselves, would have been compelled in self-defence, to shew some consideration for the people they governed. Failing to do so, their exactions would have called into play the rectifying principle of Asiatic monarchies, and the dynasty of Saadut Khan would long since have become extinct. But, protected by British bayonets, the degenerate rulers have felt secure to indulge in all the vices generated by their condition; sacrificing alike the welfare of their subjects and the character of the lord paramount.

Our arrangements, in Oude as elsewhere, have been the more mischievous because they have been invariably incomplete. Lord Wellesley's great measure was a most arbitrary one, but if thoroughly carried out, in the spirit in which it was conceived, would only have injured one individual. Saadut Ali, alone, would have suffered; his subjects would have gained by it. But unhappily in Oude, as in other parts of India, one Governor-General and one Agent decrees and others carry out, or rather fail to carry out, their views. Not only does no systematic plan of action prevail, but no such thing as a general system of policy is recognized. The only portion of Lord Wellesley's treaty that was thoroughly carried out, was that of increasing the subsidy to 135 lakhs, and seizing territory to cover this enormously increased subsidy. In all other points, we played fast and loose, going on the usual see-saw practice which depends so much on the digestion of the local Resident and the policy of the Governor-General of the day. Saadut Ali, according to all report, was an extremely able, and naturally, by no means an ill-disposed man. Learned, intelligent, and studious, he was one of the few rulers of Oude, who have been personally capable of managing

their country, and yet, practically, he was more meddled with, than even his silly predecessor, and very much more so than the silliest of his successors.

The British Government came to the reformation of Saadut Ali's administration with dirty hands. They commenced by depriving him of half his dominions, and could therefore hardly expect that their advice regarding the remainder should be kindly taken. Nor was it so; Saadut Ali's talents were henceforth employed in obtaining all the advantage he could from the Resident's presence, and in procuring from him the use of British troops to collect his revenues, while at the same time, he treated him and his advice with all the neglect and dislike that he dared to shew. The consequence was, that the British Government and its Agent were wearied out, and failed to enforce the very provision of the treaty which, at all hazards, should have been primarily attended to. In the acquisition of one-half the Oude territory we seemed to forget that we had become responsible for the good management of the other half. Having secured our subsidy, we not only abandoned the people of the reserved Oude dominion, but lent our bayonets to fleece them; and Saadut Ali who, under a different system, might have consecrated his energies to the improvement of his country, lived merely to extract every possible rupee from his rack-rented people. It is hardly a stretch of imagination to conceive him deliberately blackening the British character by the use he made of their name in revenge for his wrongs, real and supposed. Mr. Maddock has recorded, that "His temper was soured by the perpetual opposition (thus) engendered, and his rule, though vigorous and efficient, was disfigured by cruelty and rapacity."

Such is the present misrule of Oude that, odious as was the revenue system of Saadut Ali, it is now remembered with considerable respect. Doctor Butter repeatedly refers to his reign as the period when there was some law in the land, "but since his death, no court of justice has been held by the Nawabs, and the Chackledars attend to nothing but finance." Further on he says, "during the reign of Saadut Ali, a single cannon-shot could not be fired by a Chackledar without being followed by immediate enquiry from Lucknow as to its cause: now a Chackledar may continue firing for a month without question." Again, "since the death of Nawab Saadut Ali, in 1814, no lease has been granted for more than one year." Thus the period which, not only the Resident of the day but, the Military Officers employed in Oude designated as a reign of terror, is now remembered as one of comparative mercy and tranquillity. Saadut Ali, being

a man of ability, plundered for himself; his imbecile successors suffer their minions to devastate the land. Under Saadut Ali there was one tyrant; now there are at least as many as there are local officers. Saadut Ali left his dungeons full of his ex-amils, and fourteen millions of money and jewels in his coffers.

Sir John Malcolm somewhere remarks that the quality of a Native Government may be estimated by the character of its district officers, and the infrequency of change among them. He might have offered a more brief and even a better criterion in "the revenue system." Throughout India, the land is the source of revenue. Under almost every Native Government, the collections are farmed, and in no part of India are these vicious arrangements so viciously carried out as in Oude. On one occasion we were personally witness to a defaulting village being carried by storm; seven or eight of the inhabitants were killed and wounded, and all the rest were taken captive by the amil. Such occurrences are frequent.\* While we write we observe in the daily papers, a detailed account of the death in battle of the amil of Buraileh, and of the victorious talookdar having, in consequence, taken to the bush, to be a felon probably for life, or at least until he pay the blood-money at Court. Year by year several of the largest landholders are thus temporarily outlawed. No man owning a fortalice thinks of paying the public revenue, until a force, large or small, is brought against him. Barely indeed is the sum demanded conformable to the agreement made. The demand almost invariably depends on the nature of the crop, and on the Zemindar's means, real or supposed, to pay or to withhold payment.

The present income of Oude may be estimated at a million and a half sterling, and it arises almost entirely from the land revenue. The fiscal divisions are arbitrary. Mr. Maddock in 1831 shewed twenty-four. Doctor Butter in 1837, twelve; and we have before us a list of twenty-five, large and small districts, obtaining during the present year. The charge of each chukla, or district, is generally sold by the Minister and his favourites to the highest bidder, or is given to a creature of his own. Lucknow bankers sometimes engage for large districts and appoint

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\* The injury done to British border districts by these affrays may be estimated from the fact that, on the occasion alluded to, seeing a number of armed British subjects flocking around the village, after the amil's army had retired, we taxed them with participation in the fight. This they at first denied, but on taking a matchlock from one of the men, we observed that it had been just discharged. The parties then allowed that they had come to join in the defence of the village, but were too late, it having been surrounded during the night and the assault made at daylight. Thus are our subjects taught club and matchlock law.

their own agents. These are by no means the worst cases, for low persons, who have risen to notice by the vilest arts, are often appointed amils. They have not only their own fortune to make, but to pay the Court bribes, while their friends remain in office; a change of Ministry turns the majority of them adrift.

The Revenue contractors have all the powers of Judge and Magistrate; they are, in short, unshackled, unchecked governors of their chuklas. Five of the present twenty-five divisions are under what is called amaunee management; that is, of salaried officers, who collect the Government rents; but this system only obtains in districts so deteriorated that no one will bid for farming them, and in such cases the Ameens are under so little check that the cultivators are at their mercy nearly as much as under the farming system. Mr. (now Sir Herbert) Maddock, in an able memorandum, published among the papers at the head of this article, shews the modes by which the situations of amils are procured, and the sort of people who in his time filled the office, including for instance, "Nawab Ameers-ood-dowlah," who has been raised to the dignity of an amil from the "very humble duties of a fiddler. His sister, formerly a concubine, or "nauch girl, having gained the royal favour, is now one of the "King's wives, designated by the title of 'Tauj Muhul,' and "receives a Jageer, for the support of her dignity, of which her "brother, the 'Nawab Ameers-ood-dowlah,' is the manager. "In like manner, the individual placed in charge of Annaw, &c. "was formerly the humble attendant upon nauch girls, but has "lately been advanced to the title of 'Nawab Allee Bux,' "through female influence in the palace." Sir Herbert Maddock furnishes a detailed list of nuzerana received by one Minister (Mohumud-ood-dowlah) amounting to more than seventeen lacs of rupees, and estimated that the amil's share among them was nearly fifty lakhs of rupees yearly.

Matters are far from improved since Sir Herbert Maddock wrote. The weak are still squeezed, while those who "are secured by forts and backed by troops" continue to pay pretty much as they choose. The picture drawn by Sir Herbert of the career of an amil in the year 1830 stands good for the same official of to-day. Rules and rates, justice and mercy, are disregarded now, as they were then, and in his words it may still be truly said that, "a few seasons of extortion such as this, lays "waste the fields and throws a multitude upon the world, now "almost deprived of honest means to gain subsistence. These, "driven from their homes, betake themselves to crime, and goaded "by poverty, become thieves and robbers, infesting the coun-

"try on every side." "The amil or his officers, finding a yearly decrease of revenue, are naturally urged to further exactions, until, at length, the kingdom has arrived at such a crisis that hundreds of villages have gone to ruin, the former cultivation is now a waste, and the hamlets once occupied are now deserted." The foregoing brief quotation is as applicable to the state of the police, and of the revenue, at the present day, as it was when Sir H. Maddock wrote. In the year 1806 when several gentlemen were examined before Parliament on the Oude question, Major Ouseley, an Aid-de-Camp and personal friend of the reigning Nawab, Saadut Ali, testified to the infamous state of the police. The evidence of all others was to the same effect.

Sir H. Maddock, Dr. Butter, and all modern writers, shew that the condition of the police is now, to the full, as bad as it was half a century ago. The latter gentleman states "that nothing is said about a murder or a robbery; and, consequently, crime of all kinds has become much more frequent, especially within the last sixteen years, and in the smaller towns and villages. Gang-robbery, of both houses and travellers, by bands of 200 and 300 men, has become very common. In most parts of Oude, disputes about land, and murders thence originating, are of very frequent occurrence; feuds are thus kept up, and all opportunities of vengeance laid hold of." Again, "Pipar, five miles N. N. E. of Gonda in Amethi, contains a population of 4,000 ch'hatris who are robbers by profession and inheritance: every bullock and horse stolen in this part of Oude, find its way to Pipar." Also, "Sarangpur, ten miles south of Tanda, has a population of 9,000 Hindu thieves, dakoits (gang-robbers,) and t'hugs, whose depredations extend as far as Lak'hnaui, Gorak'hpur, and Benares." In the same page, it is stated that "In November 1834, Tanda, and its neighbourhood were plundered by the notorious freebooter Fattah Bahadur of Doarka, who surprised and defeated the Faujdar, and a toman of 100 men stationed there, and carried off about 100 of the principal inhabitants, who on pain of death, were compelled to procure their own ransom, at sums varying from 50 to 400 rupees. Of this outrage no notice was taken by the Government."

The Army is in much the same condition as it was when Sir James Craig declared that it would be useful only to the enemy. It is dangerous to the well-being of the state; utterly useless for war, most mischievous during peace. In round numbers the Army may now be estimated at fifty-two thousand men, and its

expense at thirty-two lakhs of Rupees yearly.\* Doctor Butter's account, written in 1837, describes its present condition with sufficient accuracy.

"The Army of Oude, excluding the brigade raised by Local Colonel Roberts, is an ill-paid, undisciplined rabble, employed generally coercing, under the Chakledar's orders, the 'refractory' Zemindars of his districts ; in conveying to Lak'hnau, under the exclusively military orders of their own officers, the revenue when levied ; and occasionally, in opposing the armies of plunderers, who harass the eastern districts of Oude." And, again, "the nominal pay of the Sipahi is four rupees, but he receives only three, issued once in every three or four months, and kept much in arrears ; he has also to find his own arms and ammunition. He gets no regular leave to his home, but takes it occasionally for ten or fifteen days at a time ; and little notice is taken of his delinquency by the tumandar. There is a muster, once in every five or six months ; and the man, who is absent from it, gets no pay."

"This army has no fixed cantonments, no parades, no drill, and no tactical arrangement : when one pultan is fighting, another may be cooking. Encounters hand to hand are thought disreputable, and distant cannonading preferred, or a desultory match-lock fire, when no artillery is available. There is no pension or other provision for the severely wounded who, *de jacto*, are out of the service, and return to their homes as they can."\* \* \* \* "They have no tents ; but when they make a halt, if only for two days, they build huts for themselves, covering them with roofs torn from the next villages."

We refer to Colonel Sleeman's little volume "*On the Spirit of Military Discipline*," pages 10 and 11, for a very striking anecdote, exemplifying at once the Oude Revenue System and the value of its present military force.

Having thus, from sources sufficiently independent, set forth the past and present condition of the finance, police, and military system of Oude, we shall now offer a brief historical sketch of the progressive causes of this condition.

Saadut Khan, the founder of the Oude dynasty, was one of the many bold spirits that came from the Westward to seek their fortunes in Hindustan. He combined with the usual qualities of a good soldier, the rarer talents required for an able administrator. Mr. Elphinstone has fallen into the error of earlier historians in calling him a merchant : he was, in reality, of

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\*There are, also, not less than a hundred thousand armed men, employed by the Talookdars and Zemindars, to defend their forts and fight against the Government.



noble birth, and his original name was Mahommed Ameen. In the year 1705, while still but a lad, he arrived at Patna, to join his father and elder brother, who had preceded him thither. On his arrival, finding the former dead, he and his brother proceeded to push their fortunes at Delhi. His first service was with Nawab Sirbulund Khan, whom, however, he soon quitted, resenting a taunt uttered by his master on occasion of some trifling neglect. The youth took his way to Court, where he soon acquired favour; and having materially assisted his imbecile Sovereign in getting rid of Hosein Ali (the younger of the Syuds of Bara, who were at that time dragooning the king,) Mahommed Ameen was rapidly promoted to the Viceroyalty of Oude, with the title of Saadut Khan. He found the province in great disorder, but soon reduced the refractory spirits and greatly increased the revenue. He protected the husbandmen, but crushed the petty Chiefs who aimed at independence.

Modern historians question the fact of Saadut Khan having, in concert with Nizam-ool-moolk, invited Nadir Shah's invasion. We have not room to detail the evidence on which our opinion rests, but a careful comparison of authorities leads us to believe that he was guilty of this treacherous deed. The atrocities committed by Nadir are familiar matters of history. The traitor Chiefs did not escape, and Nizam-ool-Moolk and Saadut Khan were especially vexed with requisitions. They were not only themselves plundered, but were made the instruments of extorting treasure from the distant Provinces. Nizam-ool-Moolk, jealous of the power and ability of Saadut, took advantage of the persecutions of Nadir Shah to execute a plan for getting rid of his rival. He affected to confide to him his own determination of suicide, and agreed with Saadut Khan that each should take poison. The latter drank his cupfull, and left the hoary schemer without a rival in the Empire.\*

Saadut Khan, who had but a few years before been a needy adventurer, and had now been plundered by Nadir Shah, was still enabled to leave his successor a large treasure, estimated by some at nine millions of money. Though he accumulated so much wealth, he has not left behind him the character of an oppressor. On the contrary, he seems rather to have respected the poor, and to have restricted his exactions to the rich. He

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\* Mr. Elphinstone, noticing the current story of Saadut Khan's death, and of his and Asoph Jah's (Nizam-ool-Moolk) having called in Nadir, observes, "these fictions, like many others which are believed in times of agitation, disappear when full light is thrown on the period." We regret to say that this "full light" has yet to appear.

overthrew many lordlings, and established in their stead one stronger, and therefore better rule. No qualms of conscience stood in his way. The aggrandizement of his own family was his one object, in furtherance of which he was regardless alike of gratitude, loyalty or patriotism. So long as his own territory escaped, he cared not that Persian or Mahratta should ravage the empire, and humble the monarch, in whose weakness he found his own strength. He reaped much as he had sown; his ability and management established a sovereignty; his faithlessness brought him to a premature and ignominious end. He proved no exception to the rule, that they who are busiest in entrapping others are themselves the easiest deluded.

On the death of Saadut Khan, his two nephews, Sher Jung and Sudfer Jung, each applied to the all-powerful Nadir Shah for the investiture of Oude; the petition of the latter, who had married Saadut Khan's daughter, being backed by the Hindoo Vakeel of the late Viceroy, with an offer of a Nuzzur of two millions sterling: he was of course invested with the government.\* Nawab Sudfer Jung was accounted an able ruler; for a time he sustained the tottering authority of the King of Delhi. In the year 1743 his son, Shoojah-oo-dowlah was married to the Bhow Begum, who, in after-days became so conspicuous in Anglo-Oude annals. On Nadir Shah's death, Ahmed Shah Abdalli seized the throne of Afghanistan, invaded India, and killed the Vizier Kumer-ood-deen Khan at Sirhind. At this juncture Sudfer Jung distinguished himself by his zeal and ability. Mahomed Shah the Emperor of Delhi dying shortly after, his son Ahmed Shah appointed Sudfer Jung to the post of Vizier; that nobleman also retaining his viceroyalty of Oude. The first design of the new Vizier was, in 1746, against the Rohillahs, who were troublesome neighbours to his Oude viceroyalty. The period was favourable to his views; for Ali Mahommed, the founder of the Rohillah family, was dead, and Sudfer Jung induced Kaim Khan† Bungush, the Affghan chief of Furruckhabad, to conduct the war against his countrymen. Kaim Khan fell in the cause of his ally, who, in return, plundered his widow and seized the family jagheer, giving a pension to Ahmed Khan, the brother of the deceased chief. The Vizier made over his new acquisition, with the province of Oude, to his Deputy Rajah Newul Roy, and himself proceeded to Delhi.

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\* Indian historians generally call these two millions cash taken from Saadut Khan, but, after comparing many authorities, we believe ours to be the correct version.

† The fine village, or rather town, of Kaingunje in Furruckhabad, is called after the old chief.

It was not long before Sufder Jung tasted the bitter fruits of his own tyranny and ingratitude : the train of disaffection was laid, and a spark soon kindled it.

An Affghan woman of the Afredi tribe, who gained her livelihood by spinning thread, was maltreated by a Hindoo soldier of Newul Roy. She went direct to Ahmed Khan, the Vizier's pensioner, and crying for justice, exclaimed, "Cursed be thy turban, Ahmed Khan, who permittest an Afredi woman to be thus treated by a Kaffir. It had been better that God had given thy father a daughter than such a son as thou." Ahmed Khan was roused ; in concert with bolder spirits, he plundered a rich merchant, and with the funds thus procured, raised an army, killed the Kotwal of Furrukhabad, seized the city, and, within a month, was in possession of that whole district. Rajah Newul Roy, who was a brave man, came to the rescue from Lucknow, was met near the Kalinuddy by the Affghan army, defeated, and slain. The victors crossed the Ganges and were soon in possession of the whole viceroyalty of Oude. Sufder Jung, on hearing of the disaster that had befallen his Lieutenant, assembled a large army, estimated in the chronicles of the day at 250,000 men, and, accompanied by Sooruj Mul, the Jaut chief of Bhurtpoor, moved against Ahmed Khan, who came out to meet him, at the head of a very inferior force, but, by a sudden attack on the wing of the army commanded by the Vizier himself, wounded him and drove him from the field. His troops, observing that their Commander's elephant had left the field, fled in confusion, and left Ahmed Khan undisputed master of the provinces of Oude and Allahabad. The Affghans had fought bravely, but they could not agree among themselves. Dissensions arose in Oude, and, after a brief struggle, the late conquerors were expelled the country.

Sufder Jung, as unscrupulous as the other leaders of the day, called in the Mahrattas to his support, and with an immense force again marched against Ahmed Khan, who alarmed at the formidable aspect of affairs, forgave the Rohilla chiefs the death of his brother, and entered into a treaty of mutual defence with them. Unable to meet the Vizier in the field, Ahmed Khan crossed the Ganges, and fell back on his Rohillah confederates, who, giving way to their fears, abandoned the open country, and allowed themselves to be hemmed in under the Kumaon mountains. There they were reduced to such straits that a pound of flesh was sold for a pound sterling. Terms were at length granted, and the Mahrattas returned to their country loaded with the plunder of Rohilcund, and their leaders enriched by two and a half millions of subsidy. Sufder Jung

was so far a gainer that he not only humbled, but crippled his Affghan opponents.

Factions soon arose at Delhi, and the Vizier was often sore pressed, and put to many shifts to retain his authority. The Queen mother was enamoured of a cunuch, of the name of Jawid, who, supported by the King as well as his mother, sought to supplant the Vizier during his absence in Rohilcund. Sufder Jung on his return to Delhi, settled the dispute by inviting the cunuch to a feast, and there causing him to be assassinated. The King was enraged at this act, and employed Ghazi-ood-deen, to avenge it. This youth was the grandson of Nizam-ool-Moolk, and had been brought forward by the Vizier himself. After some intriguing and bullying with varied result, the Vizier withdrew to his vicerealty, and his rival assumed the functions of the Vizarut. No sooner had Sufder Jung retired, than the pageant King found that in his new Minister Ghazee-ood-deen, he had saddled himself with a hard master. Hoping to escape from this yoke, he wrote to recal his late Vizier; but the letter found Sufder Jung dying; and Ghazee-ood-deen, on hearing of the effort thus made to supplant him, caused both the King and his mother to be blinded, and raised one of the Princes of the blood to the throne under the title of Alumgeer the Second.

Shoojah-oo-dowlah, the son of Sufder Jung, had been brought forward during his father's life time, and on his death, was placed on the musnud of Oude, now become hereditary in the family of Saadut Khan. A rival to Shoojah-oo-dowlah, however, arose in the person of his cousin, Mahommed Kooli Khan, the Governor of Allahabad, whose pretensions were unsuccessfully supported by Ishmael Khan Kaboolee, the chief military adherent of the late Viceroy.

Ahmed Shah Abdallee on his third invasion of India in 1756, after capturing Delhi sent Ghazee-ood-deen, the Vizier of the so-called Great Mogul, to raise a contribution on Oude. No sooner had the Abdallee retired, than the Vizier called in the Mahrattas, upset all the arrangements made by Ahmed Shah, and, in concert with his new allies, who had not only captured the Imperial City of Delhi, but had overrun a great portion of the Punjab, planned the reduction of Oude. Alarmed at the threatened danger, Shoojah-oo-dowlah entered into a confederacy with the hereditary enemies of his family, the Rohillahs, and when the Mahrattas invaded Rohilcund, carrying desolation in their path, and destroying thirteen hundred villages in little more than a month, Shoojah-oo-dowlah came to the rescue, surprised the camp of Sindia, the Mahratta Commander, and drove him across the Ganges. Ahmed Shah was at this time making

his fourth descent on Hindustan, and called on the Mahomedan Chiefs to join his standard against the Mahrattas. The Rohillahs did so, but Shoojah-oo-dowlah hesitated between the two evils of Affghan and Mahratta enmity. A move on Anopshuhur, on the Oude frontier, made by the Abdallee, determined the choice of Shoojah, who, however, while he professedly joined the Affghan, kept up close communication with the Mahrattas. Throughout the battle of Panneput, which took place in January 1761, the Oude Ruler continued to temporize, holding his ground, but taking as little part in the action as possible. The entire success of either party was contrary to his views. He desired a balance of power, which would check a universal monarchy either Hindoo or Affghan.

We must here retrace our steps. In the year 1758, when the wretched Emperor, Alumgeer 2nd, was in daily danger of death from his own Vizier, Ghazee-ood-deen, he connived at the escape from Delhi of his heir, Prince Alee-gohur (afterwards Shah Alum,) who after seeking an asylum in various quarters, was honorably received by Shoojah-oo-dowlah and by the kinsman of the latter, Mahommed Kooli Khan, the Governor of Allahabad. Thus supported, and having received from his own father the investiture of the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Prince Alee-gohur crossed the Caramnassa river, with a design of expelling the English and their puppet Nawab Jaffier Ali. At the head of a motley band of adventurers, the Prince appeared before Patna; and, so ill was that place supplied, that he might have taken it, had not his principal officer Mahommed Kooli Khan, suddenly left him, in the hope of recovering the Fort of Allahabad, which had been treacherously seized by his kinsman Shoojah. Alee-gohur was now obliged to relinquish his attempt; but, two years after (in 1760), though driven, in the interval to the greatest distress for the very necessities of life, he was again contemplating an attempt on Bengal, when his father was put to death,—another victim to the sanguinary Ghazee-ood-deen. The Prince, assuming the vacant title of Emperor, appointed Shoojah-oo-dowlah his Vizier, with a view of securing the support of that noble; and now, appeared again as Shah Alum before Patna, cut off a small British detachment, and might have got possession of that city, had he acted vigorously. It would be foreign to our subject to detail the circumstances by which the English were victorious, and Shah Alum was compelled to confirm their creature Cossim Ali in his *vicerealty* of Bengal. The crest-fallen Emperor prepared, as soon as possible, for his return to Delhi, on the guarantee of his new Vizier, of Nujeeb-oo-dowlah and other

Chiefs. He was anxious also to obtain the protection of a British escort, but though there was much desire to grant one he was only escorted, by Major Carnac, to the border of Behar.

In 1763, Cossim Ali was driven by the oppressions of the English, and their disregard of all decency in the matter of the inland trade, to abolish all duties on the internal commerce of the country. This measure, which should have been warmly encouraged by the British authorities, was the main cause of the hostilities that followed. One outrage brought on another. Mr. Ellis, the most violent and injudicious of the many violent men then in authority, precipitated matters at Patna. The result was, that Cossim Ali was removed and Jaffier Ali restored to the musnud. Cossim Ali could still muster some troops, with which he met the British, was defeated, and on his flight, perpetrated that massacre of his English prisoners which will brand his name, as long as it is remembered. After this act of butchery, he fled for refuge to Shoojah-ood-dowlah, taking with him three hundred and eighty-five elephants loaded with treasure. The exile offered Shoojah a lakh of Rs. for every day's march, and half that sum for every halt, as long as the war might last, with three millions sterling, and the cession of the Patna district, on the recovery of Bengal, if he would join him against the English. But Cossim Ali, desiring to have two strings to his bow, offered at the same time, a large bribe to the Emperor for his own appointment to the Viceroyship of Oude, in supercession of Shoojah-ood-dowlah. The latter intercepted Cossim Ali's letter and forthwith placed him under restraint, after gaining over Sumroo and other Military Officers with their troops. A mutiny in the English Camp cramped, for a time, the British Commander, but on the 22nd October 1764 the battle of Buxar decided the fate not only of Bengal and Behar, but of Oude.

The immediate result of the battle was the surrender of the unhappy Emperor, who, instead of having been reinstated at Delhi, had been detained prisoner by his Vizier. The latter also begged for terms, and offered fifty-eight lakhs to the English Government and Army. The victors refused to make any terms until Cossim Ali and Sumroo had been surrendered. The Vizier had plundered and arrested the former, but hesitated to surrender him: he offered, however, to connive at his escape, and to cause the assassination of Sumroo. As the British Commander would not accede to this proposal, the negotiation with the Vizier failed; and arrangements were made with the Emperor, stipulating that he should be placed in possession of Shoojah-ood-dowlah's dominions, including Allahabad, and should in return grant Benares and Ghazeepoor to the British. Hostil-

ities were accordingly recommenced against the Vizier; the British Troops entered Oude, and took possession of Lucknow, the capital; while Shoojah-ood-dowlah, sending his family for refuge to Bareilly, sought for allies in every quarter. But when the news of the proposed arrangements reached England, the Court of Directors were exceedingly alarmed. They sent out positive orders against any such *demented* scheme of enlarging the British territory, and forbade all meddling with Delhi politics. The despatch arrived just in time to save the Vizier, who had been defeated in a skirmish at Korah, on the 3d May 1765. Deserted by his Rohillah and Mahratta allies, he came into General Carnac's Camp on the 19th of the same month, and threw himself on British mercy. Not being behind the scenes, the Vizier was astonished and delighted at the moderation of the terms granted to him, which were that he should pay fifty lakhs of Rupees to the British; that he should pledge himself not to molest Bulwunt Singh, the Zemindar of Benares, and that he should cede Allahabad and Korah to the Emperor. It is a curious feature in this case, and a damning proof how iniquitous had been our proceedings in Bengal, that the Vizier, now at the mercy of his conquerors and ready to cede all, or any portion, of his territory, yet demurred against admitting the English to trade, free of all duties. Government probably felt the justice of his apprehensions, for in the words of Mills, "Clive agreed, in the terms of the treaty, to omit the very names of trade and factories."

Next year (1766) Lord Clive had an interview with the Emperor and the Vizier at Chupra. The latter again expressed his satisfaction at the terms of peace, and paid up the fifty lakhs of Rupees; and the Emperor again, vainly requested an escort to Delhi. This first treaty did not involve any right of internal interference on the part of the British; yet little time elapsed before very stringent terms were dictated. They relinquished Oude because they would not, or it was supposed in England, *could* not keep it. They did not give it to the Emperor, because they considered that such a gift would imply future protection, and involve them in the wars of Upper India, a dilemma from which Government believed itself to have escaped by restoring the Vizier. On the conclusion of these arrangements, a Brigade of British troops remained in the Allahabad district for the support of the king and the Vizier against the Mahrattas, without any provision for the payment of the Brigade by those who benefited by its services. In the year 1766, however, the Court of Directors wrote, "as all our views and expectations are confined within the Caramnassa, we are impatient to hear that

our troops are recalled from Allahabad." During the same year the Bengal Government became alarmed at the military schemes of the Vizier, at his "amazing improvement in making small arms," and at the large levies of troops entertained by him. In consequence of these suspicions, a deputation was sent to meet the Vizier at Benares, towards the end of 1768, when, after a warm discussion and much opposition on his part, he agreed to reduce his Army to 35,000 men, of whom 10,000 were to be cavalry, and only ten battalions were to be trained sepahi.

About this time Shoojah seized one of his principal officers Rajah Bencee Bahadoor, and caused his eyes to be put out. An attempt was made to procure British interference in his favor, but the reply given was, "that the Vizier was master within his own dominions." The occasion was an ill-chosen one for announcing the fact; but it would have been well had the law continued. In the year 1769, three of the Oude Battalions mutinied; they were promptly put down; but their conduct somewhat reconciled the Vizier to the late compulsory reduction of his troops. In 1771, the Emperor left Allahabad and threw himself into the arms of the Mahrattas, after having made some secret terms with the Vizier for the cession of Allahabad. The next year the Mahrattas threatened Rohilcund and thereby Oude. Upon this the Vizier entered into terms with the Rohillah Chiefs, and induced the Calcutta Council to allow Sir Robert Barker to accompany him with a British Brigade. The combined force, however, did not prevent the Mahrattas from penetrating to the very heart of Rohilcund and even threatening Oude. It was during this campaign that the Vizier made the arrangement with the Rohillah Chiefs, to relieve them of their Mahratta scourge, in return for which they were to pay him a subsidy of forty lakhs of Rupees. The failure of payment was the excuse for the famous, or rather infamous, Rohillah war. In the year 1773 the district of Korah was included within the line of British defensive operations; but Colonel Champion, the commander of the advanced Brigade, was enjoined that, "not a single sepoy was to pass the frontiers of the Vizier's territories." The measure was induced by the forced grant of Korah and Allahabad by the Emperor to his jailors, the Mahrattas, which cession the British authorities determined to oppose and to reserve its ultimate destination to themselves.

Up to this time, the diplomatic relations between the two Governments appear to have been conducted by a Captain Harper who commanded a Regiment of Sepoys in attendance on the Vizier. Mr. Hastings however desired to have a person in his own confidence at Lucknow, and therefore recalled Cap-



tain Harper. The order was opposed by Sir Robert Barker the Commander-in-Chief, who, on his own authority, sent the Captain back to the Vizier. The Governor-General was not a man to be so bearded ; he carried his point after some angry correspondence, the commencement of that acrimony which prevailed in the discussion of Oude affairs during Mr. Hastings's administration, and which has been so prominent a feature in most of the discussions that have since occurred regarding that Province. In September 1773, Mr. Hastings met Shoojah-ood-dowlah with a view of revising the treaty, "as the latter might call upon the Company for assistance, and yet was under no defined obligation to defray the additional charge thrown upon them by affording such assistance." On the 19th of the same month the new treaty was concluded, making over the districts of Allahabad and Korah to the Vizier, on condition of his paying to the Company the sum of fifty lakhs of Rupees, and stipulating that he should defray the charges of such portion of the British troops as he might require ; which were fixed at two lakhs and ten thousand Rupees per month for each Brigade. At this meeting the Vizier felt the Governor-General's pulse as to the support he was likely to receive in his project, already contemplated, against the Rohilla.

Mr. Hastings took the opportunity to arrange for the reception of a permanent British Resident at Lucknow, telling the Vizier at a private conference that, "he desired it himself ; but unless "it was equally the Vizier's wish, he would neither propose nor "consent to it." Shoojah declared he would be delighted, and Mr. Middleton was accordingly appointed. Scarcely had the Governor joined his Council when the Vizier wrote that he understood Hafiz Ruhmut and the other Rohillah Sirdars were about to take possession of Etawah and the rest of the middle Doab, which he would never allow, especially "as they had not "made good a daum of the forty lakhs of Rupees, according to "their agreement." The Vizier added, "on condition of the "entire expulsion of the Rohilla, I will pay to the Company "the sum of forty lakhs of Rupees in ready money, whenever I "shall discharge the English troops ; and until the expulsion of "the Rohilla shall be effected, I will pay the expenses of the "English troops ; that is to say, I will pay the sum of Rupees "2,10,000 monthly." The Council affected some squeamishness about the Doab, which, however, they did not prevent the Vizier from seizing. Respecting the operations against Rohilcund, they gave a half-and-half sort of answer, *but held* a Brigade in readiness to await the requisition of the Vizier.

The tale of the Rohilcund campaign has been often told ; we

shall not add to the number of narratives. Suffice it to say that the brunt of the battle of Kuttera fell on the British Detachment, Colonel Champion reporting that the Vizier had evinced the most "shameful pusillanimity." The English Commander was, however, not an unprejudiced judge. Shoojah-ood-dowlah, whatever were his faults, was never before accused of cowardice, and on several occasions, especially at Buxar, evinced great courage. It is to the credit of Colonel Champion that he did not like the work in which he was employed; and looking with abhorrence at the desolation caused by the Oude troops, who had ill-supported him in the fight, he was not chary of his remarks on them or on their Prince. But it is no proof that a Native chief is a coward because he does not fight. He often looks on to await the result of the day. The British Brigade were Shoojah's mercenaries; they were hired to fight his battles. He let them do so, and we are by no means certain that if the battle of Kuttera had gone against the British, and Colonel Champion had fallen instead of Hafiz Ruhmat, that the isolated English Brigade would not have found a foe instead of a friend in Shoojah-ood-dowlah. This campaign, with all its concomitant circumstances, forms the darkest spot in Indo-British history. Little can be said in behalf of the Vizier, and no sophistry can extenuate the conduct of a Governor and his Council, who hired out their troops for butcher work, openly avowing that they did so because they required the offered subsidy to meet the pressure on the local finances and to answer the demands of the home Government. Having given this unqualified opinion, it is just to add that report greatly exaggerated the virtues of the Rohillahs as well as the atrocities of their destroyers. Warren Hastings' conduct was made a party question both in India and England, and his deeds were accordingly misrepresented by enemies and slurred over by friends.

The Rohillah war was scarcely concluded, when the new arrangements for the Government of India gave Mr. Hastings' opponents a majority in Council. They lost no time in pronouncing their disapproval of his measures; they recalled Mr. Middleton, the Resident he had placed at Lucknow, and gave the appointment to a Mr. Bristow, notwithstanding his being personally obnoxious to the Governor-General. The men, however, who thus stigmatized Hastings' measures carried their zeal for reform no further than words. They scrupled not to receive the wages of iniquity. They not only pressed the Vizier for payment of the subsidy, but took advantage of the critical state of his affairs to raise their demand on him. The earthly career, however, of Shoojah-ood-dowlah drew near its

close. He obtained Mr. Hastings' sanction for his return to Fyzabad, that he might make arrangements for liquidating his engagements to Government. On reaching his capital, he was seized with a violent illness which terminated his life. He expired on the 26th January 1775, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mirza Amanee, who assumed the name of Asoph-ood-dowlah.

No public man, not Cromwell himself, has ever been painted in more opposite colours than Shoojah-ood-dowlah. Taking Colonel Duff's version, the Vizier was "the infamous son of a "still more infamous Persian pedlar," \* \* "cruel, treacherous, "unprincipled, deceitful; possessing not one virtue except personal courage." Yet the same writer shews that when danger gathered round, Shoojah had sufficient resolution to relinquish the pleasures of the Harem, and the field sports to which he was addicted, that he might set himself to reform the discipline of his troops, and retrieve the embarrassments of his finance. On the other hand, Francklin describes the Vizier as "an excellent "Magistrate, a lover of justice, and anxiously desirous of the "prosperity of his country." Still stronger is the praise bestowed by Jonathan Scott. He says of Shoojah-ood-dowlah that, "as a prince he was wise and dignified in character, as a private "man, affable, humane, and generous." \* \* \* "Sincerely "beloved by his own subjects, even the sons of Hafiz Rahmat "wept at his death." From these discordant materials, and the fact that after having virtually lost his sovereignty at Buxar, he not only recovered his position, but left to his son an inheritance nearly double what he had received from his own father; it may be inferred that Shoojah-ood-dowlah was an able, energetic and intelligent prince, and that he possessed at least the ordinary virtues of Eastern Rulers.

Asoph-ood-dowlah lost no time in sending a peshcush, or offering, to the Emperor, with five thousand men; they arrived just in time to relieve the unfortunate Monarch from the hands of Zabita Khan, and the opportune aid secured for their sender the post of Vizier, in succession to his father. The province of Oude had now descended to the fourth generation, and the office of Vizier to the third. On the accession of Asoph-ood-dowlah, the Calcutta Council affected to consider that the treaty with his father died with his death. After much discussion, the new Resident, Mr. Bristow, negotiated fresh terms on the 21st May 1775, the chief clauses of which were, that the Vizier should cede Benares and Ghazeepeer, worth 23 lakhs annually, to the Company; raise the monthly subsidy from Rupees 2,10,000 to 2,60,000 for the service of a British Brigade, and agree to dis-

miss all foreigners from his service, and to deliver up Cossim Ali and Sumroo, if they should ever fall into his hands. He further consented to pay up all arrears due by his father. In return for these advantages, the English undertook to defend Oude, including Korah and Allahabad, as also the late conquests in Rohilcund and the Doab. The services of a second Brigade, entitled "the temporary Brigade" were, at the same time, placed at the disposal of the Vizier.

Another affair was now transacted, important at the time, and pregnant with future evil. The British Agent, supported by the anti-Hastings' majority at the Council table, made over the treasures of the late Vizier to his widow, the Baho (Bhow) Begum, who was likewise put in possession of a princely Jagheer. To her this wealth proved a fatal possession, leading to the atrocities afterwards practised on herself and her servants. On the part of our Government the bestowal of it was both unreasonable and unprecedented. Shoojah had died, largely their debtor, and the sum now made over to his widow effectually barred the settlement of their claims. The Begum, it is true, claimed the money as a legacy from her husband : but it is almost needless to say that under no native Government would such a bequest, even if actually made, have been carried into effect. Uninterfered with, Asoph-ood-dowlah would have assumed possession of his father's wealth as naturally as of his place, and his mother would have been satisfied with whatever Jagheer or pension he assigned her. But party spirit in Calcutta divided the house of Oude against itself, and involved the ruler in difficulties which issued in crimes perpetrated by him against his mother, at the instigation of a British Governor-General.

The first year of the new Nawab's authority had not passed before he was surrounded by perplexities. The arrears of subsidy not coming in, tunkwas or orders on the Revenue, were obtained for four lakhs per annum, and the Baho Begum was induced, at the intercession of the Resident, to assist the necessities of the state with fifty-six lakhs of Rupees, on condition however of Mr. Bristow's ratifying her son's engagement not to molest her with further demands. The Nawab had at length leisure to attend to the state of his army. Desiring to introduce discipline among his troops, he applied for, and obtained, the services of several European Officers. They were not ill received by the soldiery, but soon after, on the discharge of some Irregulars, a mutiny broke out. An engagement took place between the Regulars and the Matchlockmen ; 2,500 of the latter supported an engagement for some time with great spirit against 15,000 regulars, repeatedly repulsing them. The fight was only

brought to an end by the explosion of a tumbrel. The mutineers lost six hundred men and the Nawab's Sepahis three hundred.

While such was the condition of the Army, the Nawab gave himself up to drunkenness and dissipation. All authority fell into the hands of the Minister, Moortaza Khan, whose rule was, however, brief. Kwajah Busunt, a eunuch, but the bravest soldier in the service, took advantage of the general dissatisfaction to encourage a party in favour of Saadut Ali, the second and favorite son of the late Vizier. Kwajah Busunt invited the minister to a banquet. In the midst of the feast, making some excuse for quitting the guest chamber, he gave the signal for the slaughter of the unwary Moortaza Khan in the midst of the nautch girls and singers. Asoph-ood-dowlah himself had been invited to the entertainment, probably that he too might be got rid of; the murderer, however, reeling from the effects of the debauch in which he had participated, came boldly into the presence, and boasted of the deed he had performed. The Nawab ordered him to be executed on the spot. Saadut Ali hearing of what had occurred, and alarmed for his own safety, immediately took horse and fled beyond the frontier. Thus, in one day, the Vizier lost his Minister, his General, and his brother.

The troops were still in a very unsettled state, and discontent regarding the new arrangements and the introduction of British officers daily increased. Some of the European officers were so maltreated by their own men, that they fled to the nearest English camp; others braved the storm, but it was only by the timely arrival of two of the Company's Battalions that the mutineers were reduced or disbanded.

Such was the state of the army. The finances were in scarcely less disorder. The regular subsidy was originally 25½ lakhs, the Francis junto raised it to 31½, but what with the expense of the temporary Brigade, extra troops, and numerous officers employed with the Oude army, as well as various miscellaneous accounts, the demands during seven years of Mr. Hastings' administration averaged 100 lakhs annually, while, in spite of constant screwing, the receipts only averaged seventy lakhs; leaving in 1781 a deficit of 2½\* crores of Rupees. To meet this frightful item, there was a materially decreased revenue.

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\* On Oude financial questions Mr. Mills is both ambiguous and contradictory. At page 629, volume 2nd (quarto edition) he states "the debt with which he (the Nawab) stood charged in 1780 amounted to the sum of £1,400,000," but at page 650 remarks that although when the treaty of Chunar was concluded (in 1781,) "the balance appeared to stand at forty-four lakhs," the demand next year (1782) "by claims of unknown balances" exceeded considerably two crores and

Another point here requires remark. We have said that Mr. Middleton was recalled by the majority in Council, as one of their first measures. Mr. Hastings no sooner recovered his ascendancy by the death of Colonel Monson in 1776, than he removed Bristow and reinstated Middleton. The former was restored in 1780, in obedience to repeated and positive orders from the Court of Directors, which, however, were only obeyed on a compromise with Mr. Francis. Mr. Bristow was displaced a second time in 1781, by the Governor-General, who said that he required to have a confidential Agent at Lucknow. To complete the story of the bandying about of Agents, we may here mention that Mr. Bristow was again restored by orders from home in 1782, and, finally, again ousted by Mr. Hastings in 1783. The Governor-General affected to have acted only for the public good in these several transfers. He declared he had no personal dislike for the man he so repeatedly removed, and much respect for his conduct ; but, "the creature Bristow" (as on one occasion Mr. Hastings registered him) was odious in his eyes, inasmuch as that gentleman's appointment to Lucknow was a standing proof of his own discomfiture in Council. The Governor-General hated him accordingly, and few men loved or hated as did Warren Hastings.

This double explanation is requisite as a clue to the proceedings we have next to record. In the year 1780-1, the finances of the Company were in a most disastrous condition. The authorities had reckoned on certain sums from the Vizier, and were disappointed. Mr. Hastings, therefore, determined, himself to proceed to Lucknow. In August 1781, the Governor-General reached Benares when the outbreak occurred, provoked by his arbitrary proceedings against Rajah Cheyt Sing. During these transactions, Mr. Hastings, as usual, evinced great courage, the Nawab great fidelity. The latter joined Mr. Hastings in September at Chunar, when he contrived to convert the Governor-General from a violent and imperious task-master into a warm advocate. For two years the Nawab's remonstrances and entreaties had been treated with contempt or indifference : they were now listened to and complied with, and for a brief space he

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a half, that is, were at least equal to twice the annual revenue of the whole country." In the text we have shewn that the current demand having been from 70 to 130 lakhs, and the receipts having averaged only seventy lakhs, there needed no "claims of unknown balances" to swell the amount of deficit. The last portion, moreover, of the quotation making the total revenue to be only one and a quarter crore, dovetails ill with Mr. Mill's own shewing at page 493, volume 3, that the Revenue in 1801 was about Rs. 2,30,12,929. An increase of more than a million of money during twenty years of progressive deterioration ! Mr. Mills quotes Middleton for his first statement, and "Papers" for the second, but appears to have overlooked their discrepancy.

was treated with respect. An arrangement was effected that led to the withdrawal of the temporary Brigade and three Regiments of Cavalry, leaving only one Brigade and one Regiment to be paid by the Vizier. He was also *allowed* to resume all jageers, giving cash for certain estates guaranteed by the Company; all British officers were also withdrawn; and sanction was given to *plunder* the two Begums, the wife and mother of Shoojah-ood-dowlah, though, as already observed, one of them had been previously guaranteed by Mr. Bristow. The result of the several "arrangements" was, an immediate supply of fifty-five lakhs of ready money to the Company, and a stipulation "for the payment of an additional twenty lakhs, to complete the liquidation of his debt to them."

Approving entirely of the decrease of the Nawab's permanent burthen thus effected, we cannot too strongly reprobate the mode by which he was authorized, and indeed eventually urged, to raise present funds. Mr. Hastings' defenders vindicate his proceedings towards the Begums, on the ground that these ladies abetted Cheyt Singh's rebellion, and that they had no right to the treasure they possessed. The latter statement is true. One wrong, however, does not justify another! What had been granted and guaranteed, *even* wrongfully, should have been respected. The falsity of the first plea has been frequently shewn. We need not, therefore, here repeat the evidence. If any justification for the Governor-General is to be found in the fact, it is true that he was at this time put to his wit's end for cash. As the Court of Directors importuned him, so he pressed the Oude Government. Such was his anxiety on the subject that in May 1782, he deputed his secretary, Major Palmer, to Lucknow, with the express object of realizing the arrears of subsidy. The mission gave such offence to Mr. Middleton that he resigned his appointment; and to add to the Governor-General's difficulties, his own special Agent allowed himself to be talked over and stultified by the Oude Officials.

Large as was the balance due, the Major was persuaded into believing that the sheet was clear; and instead of enforcing old claims he listened to offers of a loan. Mr. Hastings was much provoked both at the gullability of Major Palmer and at Mr. Middleton's abandonment of his post in his (the Governor-General's) difficulty. He wrote to Mr. M. in severe terms; and on the 10th August 1782, addressed Hyder Beg the Oude Minister under his own hand, in a most extraordinary letter, considering it to be addressed to the minister of a sovereign possessing a shadow of independence. After telling Hyder Beg that he owed his position to him (the Governor-General) and

that he had been disappointed in him, he added, "I now plainly tell you that you are answerable for every misfortune and defect of the Nawab Vizier's Government." He then demanded that the balance due to the Company should be liquidated by the end of the year, or threatened that Hyder Beg should be made over to the tender mercies of his master, for the examination of his conduct. Hyder Beg understood full well the process by which the examination of the conduct of disgraced ministers was conducted in Oude as elsewhere. Stringent however as were the measures taken, they did not realize the subsidy. They did not effect Mr. Hastings' wishes, but they did much to upset the authority of the Nawab in his own territory.

Mr. Hastings had very correct *abstract* notions on the subject of interference. His practice and theory was, however, sadly at variance. When money was wanted for the Company he stuck at nothing. His two nominees, Middleton and Palmer, had failed him; and he now, in despair, re-appointed the Company's protégé, Mr. Bristow, arming him with the most extensive authority. The new Agent was informed that "the Resident must be the slave and vassal of the minister, or the Minister at the absolute devotion of the Resident \* \* \* it will be necessary to declare to him (the minister) in the plainest terms, the footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain his place; with the alternative of dismissal, and a scrutiny into his past conduct, if he refuses." Mr. Bristow was further told that he was to controul the appointment of officers, nay, "peremptorily to oppose it" when he (the Resident) considered opposition in any case advisable. In the face, however, of such instructions, Mr. Hastings was not ashamed, in October 1783, to thus characterize the Resident's conduct: "Mr. Bristow, after an ineffectual attempt to draw the minister Hyder Beg into a confederacy with him to usurp all the powers of the Government, proceeded to an open assumption of them to himself." And, on the strength of this shameless allegation, Mr. Bristow was, for the third time, removed.

Unable to realize his views by proxy, Mr. Hastings, in March 1784, again visited Lucknow, where he remained five months, during which time he effected the liquidation of a further portion of the Vizier's debt, removed another detachment of troops, restored a portion of the confiscated jagheers, and endeavoured to put the Oude affairs into some sort of order. At Benares, on his return, he addressed the home Government in these prophetic words:—"If new demands are raised on the Vizier, and accounts overcharged on one side, with a wide latitude taken on the other to swell his debts beyond the means of payment,



"if political dangers are portended on which to ground the "plea of burthening his country with unnecessary defences and "enormous subsidies, the results would be fatal." Mr. Hastings knew how wide a latitude he had himself taken, "to swell the Nawab's" debts beyond the means of payment, and judging of the future by the past, he concluded that another Governor-General might arise who, portending political dangers, would make them "the plea of burthening his (viz. the Vizier's) country with unnecessary defences and enormous subsidies." In short, Warren Hastings foretold, in 1784, exactly what occurred in 1801.

We have entered somewhat fully into the occurrences of Mr. Hastings' administration, as they gave their colouring to the British connexion with Oude,

When Lord Cornwallis assumed the government of India, the Oude minister, Hyder Beg, was sent to wait on His Lordship. The negotiations that ensued were concluded on the 21st July 1787, by a treaty, relieving the Vizier from certain balances still due; and declaring him in all respects independent within his own territory. The letter of the Governor-General contained the following remarkable paragraph:—"It is my "firm intention not to embarrass you with further expense "than that incurred by the Company from their connexion "with your Excellency, and for the protection of your country "which, by the accounts, I find amounts to fifty lakhs of Fyzabad rupees per year. It is my intention, from the date "of his agreement, that your Excellency shall not be charged "with any excess on this sum, and that no further demand "shall be made; any additional aid by the Company is to be "supplied on a fair estimate."

The abuses of the Oude Government repeatedly attracted the attention of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. Both were anxious to effect some reform, but were deterred by the difficulty of interfering with any good effect. At length, the Vizier's extravagance and debauchery brought affairs into such terrific disorder that, in the year 1797, Sir John Shore proceeded to Lucknow. His visit, however, had a double purpose. The ostensible, and we hope chief design, was to give the Nawab good advice, but His Highness was also to be supplied with a minister, and another pull was to be made at his purse-strings. The Company had resolved to strengthen their Cavalry, and, in the face of Lord Cornwallis's treaty, it was thought convenient to make the Nawab bear a portion of the increased expenses attendant on this augmentation. The helpless Vizier consented, stipulating that the charge should

not exceed five and a half lakhs per annum, to pay the expenses of two Regiments. The Governor-General took some credit to himself, that in this transaction he had talked and not dragooned, the Nawab into concession. There was more difficulty in effecting a change of ministry. The Governor-General consented that the eunuch Almas should be appointed, but just as he had given his sanction, he discovered an order by Lord Cornwallis against the employment of that person. The Nawab debarred from the selection of his own favorites, at length consented to receive Tufuzzel Hoosein, a learned, able, and we believe respectable, man who then held the office of Oude Vakeel in Calcutta. It was however a sore trial of the honesty of that minister to be thus brought from Calcutta and forced upon his Sovereign by the Lord paramount. Had Sir John Shore been as experienced in human nature as he was in revenue details, and in Indian politics, he would not have thus introduced the new minister to the Nawab, directly as the creature of the British Government.

Scarcely had the Governor-General left Lucknow, when the Vizier died, and the disposal of the viceroyalty of Oude was in the hands of a simple English gentleman. As in our first Number\* we fully considered the claims of Vizier Ali, and described the process by which he was put up and put down, we need not here repeat the story. But we are bound to record even more emphatically than before, our opinion that Vizier Ali was unjustly treated. The plea of his spurious birth would not, by Mahomedan law, have interfered with his succession; and never would have weighed with the English authorities had he not rendered himself obnoxious to them by desiring to degrade Tufuzzel Hoosein the minister, who was considered "as the representative of the English influence." Tufuzzel Hoosein met Sir John Shore on his way to Lucknow with all sorts of stories about the violence and debauchery of the Lord Vizier Ali, but the Governor-General seemed to forget that this report might be biased by personal motives; perhaps, too, he was unaware that Tufuzzel Hoosein had been the tutor of Saadut Ali, and even during Asoph-ood-dowlah's life was suspected of intriguing in favor of the Vizier's brother. But enough; Vizier Ali was degraded after a few weeks' enjoyment of authority, and Saadut Ali was raised to the musnud. New terms were of course dictated to the new Prince. It was no time for making objections. The treaty was signed; and protected by British bayonets, the new Nawab entered his capital. The ex-ruler, similarly guarded, was removed to Benares.

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\* Article Lord Townmouth.

The treaty thus made was signed on the 21st February 1798. It raised the subsidy from fifty-six to seventy-six lakhs, and provided for the discharge of all arrears. The fortress of Allahabad was ceded, and the sum of eight lakhs of rupees made over for its repairs. Three lakhs were likewise given for the repairs of Futtyghur, and twelve lakhs more were to be paid for the expenses incurred in the late revolution. The Nawab, moreover, agreed to reduce his establishments, and to consult, as to the manner of doing so, with the British Government. No Europeans were to be allowed to settle in Oude, and no political relations were to exist without the knowledge of the British Government. In return for all this, the British guaranteed Oude, and agreed to maintain for defence not less than ten thousand men. If it should at any time be necessary to increase the number of troops beyond thirteen thousand, the Nawab was to pay the expense; if they could be reduced below eight thousand, a suitable reduction of the subsidy was to be allowed.

The advantages accruing to the Company from this arrangement are manifest; it not only gave them possession of Allahabad, but it increased the subsidy twenty lakhs, and defined, though not distinctly, to what extent the subsidy might be lightened or increased. Unfortunately, it left the time quite undetermined, and on this omission were based the unwarrantable demands made by the next Governor-General in 1801. What will perhaps most strike the English reader of Sir John Shore's treaty is, the entire omission of the slightest provision for the good government of Oude. The people seemed as it were sold to the highest bidder. Vizier Ali was young, dissolute and needy; Saadut Ali was middle-aged, known to be prudent, and believed to be rich. Being of penurious habits, he had, even on his petty allowances as a younger son, amassed several lakhs of rupees; and, in short, was a more promising sponge to squeeze than his nephew. From the general tenor of Sir John Shore's life, we believe that his heart was in the right place, though this his last diplomatic transaction, might, if taken alone, lead us to a different conclusion. Wherever his heart was, his head at least must have been wool gathering. He set a bad precedent. He made the musnud of Oude a mere transferable property in the hands of the British Governor, and he left the people of Oude at the mercy of a shackled and guaranteed Ruler. This may have been liberality, but it was liberality of a very spurious sort. Much as we admire Lord Teignmouth's domestic character, we are obliged, entirely to condemn the whole tenor of his Oude negotiations. Historians have hitherto

let him down slightly, but his Lordship may be judged by the same standard as other public officers; by the right or by the wrong that he committed, and not by his supposed motives, or his private character.

A Governor-General of far different calibre succeeded. One of the first objects of the Marquis of Wellesley, on his assumption of the Government of India, was the reformation, or rather the reduction of the Oude Army, and the substitution in their stead of a British force. The Nawab set his face against the measure. The Governor-General was not to be thus baffled. Early in 1799 he applied for the services of the Adjutant-General of the army, Colonel Scott, an able and respectable, but austere man. In the first instance he was placed at the service of Mr. Lumsden, the resident, but the latter gentleman was shortly after recalled, and the appointment bestowed on Colonel Scott. So stringent were the measures now taken, that Saadut Ali threatened to resign the musnud. It was but a threat, and intended to alarm or to mollify his persecutors. The Governor-General however seized upon the words, and putting his own constructions on them, insisted on their literal fulfilment; adding a proviso, which, at any rate, the Nawab had never contemplated, that on his abdication, the East India Company should inherit the principality of Oude, to the injury of his own children. Much disgraceful altercation ensued. The Governor-General returned the Nawab's remonstrances with angry and threatening remarks; insisted on the immediate execution of his orders, and finally marched the British troops into Oude without sanction of the nominal ruler. The Resident issued orders to the district officers to receive and provide for the English Battalions, and was obeyed. Saadut Ali now felt himself within the iron grasp of a power that could crush him, and made the most abject appeals for mercy. The Governor-General however, seized this opportunity for carrying out his own views. Referring to the Nawab's previous statements regarding the inefficiency of his army and their danger to himself rather than to an enemy, Lord Wellesley insisted on its reduction, and the reception, in its stead, of a force of twelve Battalions of British Infantry, and four Regiments of Cavalry. A large portion of the Oude troops were accordingly disbanded, and so judiciously was this reduction managed by Colonel Scott, that not a single disturbance ensued.

The Nawab finding himself once more secure on his uneasy throne had time to reflect how he was to bear the increased burthen laid upon him. His predecessor had been put to continued shifts to discharge the subsidy of fifty lakhs;—he had

himself by better economy, contrived to pay seventy-six lakhs, but how was he now to meet the further demand of fifty-four lakhs, to set against which there was only a diminished expenditure of sixteen and a half lakhs caused by the reduction of a portion of his army? He accordingly declared his entire inability to pay the required sum. The Governor-General wanted just such a declaration. He made it an excuse for the dismemberment of the Principality, and proceeded to carry out the finance arrangements with as little delicacy as had been shewn in effecting the military alterations. Mr. Henry Wellesley was deputed as Commissioner to Lucknow, and in concert with the Resident, dictated the cessions that were to be made when the former, in virtue of his office as Lieutenant-Governor of the ceded districts, made the primary arrangements for their management. The lands thus extorted were, at the time, estimated to be worth 1,35,23,474 Rupees per annum. We have had occasion, at the commencement of these remarks, to shew that they must now yield double that sum.

Lord Wellesley's conduct in this transaction was most despotic. As a wise statesman he judged rightly that the subsidy to his Government was better secured by a territorial cession, than by a bond for cash payment; but, in extorting the former, literally at the point of the bayonet, and at the same time nearly doubling the subsidy, he shut his eyes to the most obvious rules of justice.

This treaty which was signed on the 10th September, 1801, left the Nawab shorn of the best half of his territory; we may easily judge in what spirit he prepared to introduce "an improved system of administration *with the advice and assistance of the British Government*," into the remainder. Such were the vague terms of the only stipulation contained in the present treaty, for the benefit of the people. We need hardly add that it remained a dead letter. This may have been only a negative evil; but a similar looseness of expression in Sir John Shore's treaty admitted of more positive perversion. We allude to the provision, that when it should be necessary to increase the contingent beyond 13,000 men, the Nawab should pay the expense. Sir John Malcolm more shrewdly than honestly observes, that if there was any meaning in the provision, it left the British Government to judge *when* the necessity should arise, and how long it should continue. The Marquis of Wellesley did not hesitate to consider *that* time to be when Oude had just *escaped* invasion by Zeman Shah, and the period to last *for ever*. There *was* danger from Zeman Shah, no one who reads the history of those times attentively can deny the fact

The state of the Oude army, the position of Sindea, and the advance of Zeman Shah called for arrangements for the defence of Oude. But the truth is, that almost as soon as the tidings of Shah Zeman's approach reached the British authorities, the danger had passed away. Sir James Craig stated before Parliament: "The first certain accounts we had were, I believe, "in September or October, I rather think October (1793);" and, again, "The accounts of the Shah returning from Lahore, "which may be considered as his abandonment of his enterprise, "reached Anopshere in January 1799." Thus the knowledge of the danger lasted, at the farthest, five months. Arrangements were made as quickly as possible to meet the invasion; and extra troops were kept in Oude from November 1798, until November 1799, being *ten months* after the Shah's retirement, and a special charge of more than thirty-eight lakhs of rupees was made to cover their expenses. This was all fair and proper. It was right that the sum expended should be charged; but surely there is no excuse for adding to the above contingent charge a fixed annual demand of fifty-four lakhs to cover a danger that no longer existed, and which, from that day to the present, now forty-five years, has never arisen. The claim was clearly opposed to the spirit of Sir John Shore's treaty, and to both the spirit and letter of that of Lord Cornwallis.

One of the earliest evils resulting from Lord Wellesley's arbitrary measures was, that the Resident became personally obnoxious to the Nawab. Colonel Scott was a man whose character passed unscathed through an ordeal of the strictest inquiry both in and out of parliament; but Saadut Ali could only be expected to see in him the instrument of disbanding a large portion of his own army—that chief symbol of Oriental sovereignty—the agent who had arranged the forced cession of the best half of his territory. Thus circumstanced, Colonel Scott could hardly be an acceptable ambassador, and in fact, was rather deemed a hard task-master. Unfortunately, his manner had in it nothing to compensate for the matter of the invidious duties imposed on him. Habituated to military details, and late in life called on to negotiate delicate questions of diplomacy and civil administration, Colonel Scott performed his disagreeable task rather with the bluntness of the military martinet, than with the suavity of the accomplished diplomatist. He carried out his orders honestly, but harshly. He effected the views of Government regarding the Oude army, as well as, perhaps better than, any other officer of the day could have done; but there his services ended. He did nothing for the improvement of the country. He was rather an obstacle in its way.

The Nawab having a reduced field of action, secure from personal danger, and hemmed in by British bayonets, screwed his wretched people. The Resident was not only unable to prevent these oppressions, but the provisions of the treaty was compelled to be the instrument in their execution. Year after year were British troops seen throughout Oude realizing the revenues, enforcing the most obnoxious orders, and rendering nugatory to the oppressed their last refuge, military opposition. Great as was the interference in Asoph-ood-dowlah's time, it was now much greater. In former times the pressure of the Resident's authority was occasional, and on specific questions, and was chiefly felt at Lucknow ; the incubus was now a dead weight bearing down the provinces, as well as the capital. The Nawab was also as much vexed and irritated as ever by the presence and conduct of the Resident, by his interference in favour of, or in opposition to, persons and things in the very capital.

Such conduct, however, at this time tended less than formerly to weaken the ruler's power. The British army was now believed to be at the beck of the Oude Government to support its revenue arrangements. The Nawab was thus, though degraded in character, strengthened in position. The previous (authorised) interference had told rather *against* the Oude Court ; it was now in its favour. The powerful were now supported against the weak. This system went on for years, and under several Residents. It was brought prominently to notice when Colonel Baillie was in office. A long, vexatious, and fruitless correspondence took place between the Nawab and the Government. Colonel Baillie was anxious to promote improvements, the Nawab liked neither the matter nor the manner of the suggestions offered. He cared for his cash, and for nothing else. No person however can read his replies to Colonel Baillie's demands without being satisfied that, under kindlier treatment at the outset, much might have been done with such a prince. We are specially struck at his being, in advance of the Bengal Government of the day on Revenue arrangements. Colonel Baillie proposed that Ameens should be sent into the districts to collect statistical information, that they should visit every village, and procure the revenue papers of former years. "Those papers, after the minutest investigation which may be practicable, to be transmitted, under the signature of the revenue officers, to the presence, when your Excellency and I shall consider them, and be enabled to form an accurate judgment of the real resources and assets of every district in your dominions."\*

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\* Minutes of Evidence. Appendix No. 26, page 383.

The Nawab replied "I shall issue my orders to the Ameens, agreeably to what you have suggested; but I recommend that this measure be carried into effect by actual measurement of the cultivated and waste lands, and of lands capable of being cultivated; in which case the exact measurement of the lands, as well as the amount of the jumma, will be ascertained, and the boundaries of villages will also be fixed, so as to preclude future claims or disputes among the Zemindars on questions of unsettled boundary."\* The following reply to another suggestion shews how much better the Nawab understood his people, and how much better he was able to manage Oude than was the Resident.

"You suggest, that such ameens as perform their duties properly shall hereafter be appointed tehsildars; but in this case, if the ameens be previously informed, that after ascertaining the jumma of their elakas (districts), and transmitting the revenue papers for ten years with the Wasilbunkee accounts of the revenue, they will be appointed to the office of tehsildar, it is probable that, for their own future advantage, they will knowingly lower the jumma, and state less than the real amount. I therefore think it would be more advisable to separate the two offices entirely; or, at all events, that no ameen should be appointed tehsildar in the Zillah in which he may have acted as ameen. In this latter mode, the ameens who are found to be deserving may still be rewarded, and the opportunity for fraud may be prevented."\*

The readers who have accompanied us through this hasty sketch of Saadut Ali's career, will perhaps concur in the opinion we gave at the commencement of this article, that his malgovernment was mainly attributable to English interference, to the resentment he felt for his own wrongs, and the bitterness of soul with which he must have received all advice from his oppressors, no less than to the impunity with which they enabled him to play the tyrant.

Lord Minto at length checked the Resident's interference against the people; he did not thoroughly understand the nature and extent of that at Court, and therefore disturbed not Colonel Baillie's domestic ascendancy. The Marquis of Hastings looked more into the matter and prohibited it entirely.

Saadut Ali died in July 1816, and was succeeded by his eldest son Rufsat-ood-dowlah, under the designation of Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder. His accession delighted Colonel Baillie, and scarcely pleased the Calcutta Government less. The new Nawab, of course, agreed to every proposition of the Resident, whom he addressed as "My Uncle," and who reported that his advice was not only acceptable to Ghazee-ood-deen, but was urgently requested by him. The very spirit of credulity seems,

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\* Minutes of Evidence. Appendix No. 26, page 383.



at this period, to have possessed our countrymen. Not only does Colonel Baillie appear to have swallowed the sugared words of the Nawab, but the authorities in Calcutta adopted his views ; and, taking advantage of what was deemed the amiable spirit of the grateful Nawab, authorized the several measures of reform, which, to say the least, Colonel Baillie was little competent to carry through.

A new light however soon broke in on the Governor-General, and he ascertained that Ghazee-ood-deen loved reform as little as his father had done. It was discovered that both Nawab and Resident had been puppets in the hands of the Residency Moonshee, who, by threatening Ghazee-ood-deen with the fate of Vizier Ali, contrived to bend him to what were called British views, while he found his account in allowing the Resident to fancy himself the friend and counsellor of the Nawab. The discovery of these intrigues induced a peremptory order from the Governor-General forbidding all interference, and the affair ended in the removal of Colonel Baillie, who, however, had in the interim negotiated a loan of two crores of rupees. The friends of Lord Hastings have asserted that these loans were voluntary, but Colonel Baillie has shewn the transaction in a very different light. The money was extorted from the Nawab by the importunity of the Resident, who acted on repeated and urgent instructions from the Governor-General. During the Burmese war, and under another administration, a third crore was borrowed, we know not exactly by what process, but, as the greater part of the interest was settled on the Minister of the day, Motumed-ood-dowlah, (more generally known in India as Aga Meer) and his life, honor and property were guaranteed, it may be inferred that he managed the matter.

Loans of this sort are generally discreditable to the borrowers ; in Oude they have been doubly prejudicial. Most of them have been compulsory, and they have been the means of perpetuating, and immeasurably extending the guarantee system. The interest of each loan, whether from Nawab, King or Begum, has been settled on the connexions and servants of the several parties lending the money, with provision in each case that the pensioner was to be protected by the British Government. Thus, for the sake of temporary pecuniary relief have we established and fostered a system which must vitiate any Government, and is doubly destructive to a Native State. At Lucknow for years the residents held public durbars, where the guaranteed attended, and pleaded against their own Sovereign or his servants. Thus were the Monarch and his subjects arrayed against

each other: thus was the Sovereign degraded in his own Capital.

This abuse has been checked; but a still greater evil exists to the present day. The guaranteed are hundreds; the *privileged* are thousands. Every British Sepoy from the Oude dominions can, through his commanding Officer, refer a fiscal or judicial case to the Resident. This at first sight appears a valuable privilege to our Native soldiery, of whom, (as already stated), the greater proportion are raised in Oude; but the plan works badly. Zemindars throughout the country will buy, beg, borrow or steal the name of a British Sepoy, in the hope of thus gaining attention to their petty claims. The consequence is, that the just appeals of real sepoys are frequently neglected, while a false claim is now and then forwarded. We are indeed of opinion that, much as the Oude Government is molested and degraded by Sepoy's claims, true and false, the men themselves are rarely benefited by the Resident's interference. Litigation is promoted; hopes are excited, and eventually the party who would, if left to his own resources and the practices of the country, have arranged or compromised his quarrel, is led on to his ruin. But we have been drawn from the thread of our narrative.

In the year 1819, the Nawab Ghazee-oo-deen Hyder was encouraged to assume the title of King. Lord Hastings calculated on thus exciting a rivalry between the Oude and Delhi families; the Nawabs having hitherto paid the descendants of the Mogul all outward homage, and affecting still to consider themselves only as Lieutenants of the Emperor. This arrangement was somewhat akin to some of the masquerades with which the Company commenced their career. While ruling Bengal and the Carnatic they were entitled Dewans; and now, while lording it over Oude, the puppet Nawab must, forsooth be encouraged to assume a royal title, in order to act as a counterpoise to *the Great Mogul*!

Death will not, however, spare a King any more than a Nawab Vizier. Ghazee-oo-deen died, and was succeeded by his son, Nuscer-ood-deen Hyder, who more than perpetuated the worst practices of his predecessors. Engaged in every species of debauchery, and surrounded by wretches, English, Eurasian and Native, of the lowest description, his whole reign was one continued satire upon the subsidiary and protected system. Bred in a palace, nurtured by women and eunuchs, he added the natural fruits of a vicious education to those resulting from his protected position. His Majesty might one hour be seen in a state of drunken nudity with his boon companions; at another

he would parade the streets of Lucknow driving one of his own elephants. In his time all decency, all propriety, was banished from the Court. Such was more than once his conduct that Colonel Lowe, the Resident, refused to see him, or to transact business with his minions.

In 1831 Lord William Bentinck visited Oude. He had received a frightful report of its misrule from Mr. Maddock, the Resident; but questioned the reality of the picture laid before him. He now traversed the country and judged for himself; he saw every proof of misgovernment, and was at length convinced that the existing system could not, and ought not, to last. He had one hope for Oude. Momtuzim-ood-dowlah, better known as Hakeem Mehndy Alee Khan Bahadoor, was then Minister, and his energy and ability might, if unshackled, save the sinking state. To encourage his efforts, Lord William studiously manifested his regard for the Minister, and forbade all further interference of any kind on the part of the Resident, who was prohibited even advising unless his opinion was asked. The Governor-General warned the King of the consequences of continued misrule; he gave him and his Minister a fair chance of recovering their common country; and resolved that, if it failed the most stringent measures should be adopted, involving the entire management of Oude by British officers. His Lordship writes on 31st July 1831—"But I am sanguine in my hope of "a great present amelioration from my belief in the capacity "and willingness of the present Minister to effect it; and from "the entire possession he has of the confidence of the King."\*\*\* Sad proof how incompetent is the wisest European to read an Asiatic heart. The Governor-General left Lucknow fully impressed with the opinions above quoted. Hakeem Mehny *had* effected much good, *had* reduced the public expenses, and *had* brought some order into the management of affairs. The subordinate officials feared him; the Talookdars and village chiefs respected him. Under his strong administration the country at length tasted peace. In August 1834, however, just three years after Lord William Bentinck's visit, the Minister found himself, without the slightest warning deprived of office, and threatened with dishonour, if not with death. The charges brought against him were, disrespect to the Royal relatives, and even to the Queen Mother. This was all fudge. At Lucknow, as throughout the East generally, the King is every thing; his nearest relatives are nothing. An affront to the lowest minion about the Court would more probably have been resented, than one to a connexion of the King. The pretext, however, was plausible; the Minister was degraded, and nothing but the

strong arm of the Resident saved his wealth, life, and honour. His real crimes were his ability, energy, and fidelity,\* had he been more subservient and less faithful, he might have escaped his exile to Furruckabad, where he lingered for some years, constantly affecting preparations for a pilgrimage to Mecca, but really longing and watching for a return to power. His wishes were at length fulfilled, and under a more virtuous ruler he died as Minister of Oude. But, during the interval, Hakeem Mehndy's head and hand had become feebler, while the flood of abuse had swelled. Unable to stem the current, he died at the helm, in the bold attempt. Often during his exile, we have heard the old man dilate upon the evils that ruined Oude, and declare that with fair play and a fair field he could yet recover the country. We then considered his day gone by, and little contemplated his having another opportunity of treading the slippery path of politics. The Hakeem's merits must be judged of by comparison with other Ministers; and he will appear just, firm and sagacious. It is therefore to be lamented that such a man was lost to Oude while his energies were still vigorous. On the accession of Mahommed Ali, Hakeem Mehndy was recalled to power, but his health was then declining and his life was near its close.

His nephew and heir Munowur-ood-dowlah Ahmed Ali, a respectable but unenergetic man, has since been twice at the head of affairs: he is a better sportsman than a Cabinet Minister, and is altogether too honest and unpractised in court affairs to cope with the Ameen-ood-dowlahs and Sureef-ood-dowlahs of the day.

Lord William Bentinck in his report of 11th July, 1831, entering into many details of past circumstances, and explaining his proposals for the future, added, "I thought it right to declare to his Majesty beforehand, that the opinion I should offer to the home authorities would be, that unless a decided reform in the administration should take place, there would be no remedy left except in the direct assumption of the management of the Oude territories by the British Government."† His Lordship with propriety adds, "I consider it unmanly to look for minor facts in justification of this measure, but, if I wanted them, the amount of military force kept up by his Majesty

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\* We are quite aware that the Hakeem has been differently painted. In the *Calcutta India Gazette*, he was depicted in 1833, as "one of the most intriguing, avaricious, and rapacious men that ever breathed," but any acquainted with the paternity of those remarks would at once perceive how little dependence could be placed on them.

† Minutes of Evidence. Appendix No. 27, page 404.

"is a direct infraction of the treaty." The Minute continues in the following honest and disinterested strain :—

"It may be asked of me—and when you have assumed the management how is it to be conducted, and how long retained? I should answer, that acting in the character of guardian and trustee, we ought to frame an administration entirely native; an administration so composed as to individuals, and so established upon the best principles, revenue and judicial, as should best serve for immediate improvement, and as a model for future imitation; the only European part of it should be the functionary by whom it should be superintended, and it should only be retained till a complete reform might be brought about, and a guarantee for its continuance obtained, either in the improved character of the reigning Prince, or, if incorrigible, in the substitution of his immediate heir, or in default of such substitute from nonage or incapacity, by the nomination of one of the family as regent, the whole of the Revenue being paid into the Oude treasury."\*

In reply to his suggestions to the home Government, Lord William Bentinck received instructions in the year 1833, at once, to assume charge of Oude, unless, in the mean time his advice had been followed, and decided improvement had ensued. Averse to so strong a measure, and ascertaining that affairs *were* slightly amended, his Lordship postponed the measure again warning his Majesty as to the inevitable result of continued misrule.

Nusser-ood-deen Hyder, however, encouraged by long continued impunity, persevered in his mal-practices. The treasures of his grandfather, Saadut Ali, were now drained to the last Rupee, and every device was invented to recruit the finances of the state, or rather to supply the privy purse of the King. A low menial was his chief confidant; any man who would drink with him was his friend. In 1837 he became ill, and for some weeks was confined to his Palace, but he was not considered in danger, when, suddenly at midnight of the 7th July 1837, the Resident was informed that his Majesty was no more.

When describing the Fúreed Buksh Palace, we touched upon the occurrences of which it was the theatre, on that eventful night. If space permitted, we should now gladly detail those brilliant operations. It was a sudden crisis, an unforeseen emergency, that tested the stuff of which our officers were made. Not only Colonel Lowe himself, but his Assistants, Captain Patton and Captain Shakespeare, shewed admirable courage and coolness. A moment's indecision on the part of the Resident, or a failure on the part of either of the Assistants in the duties assigned to them would have deluged the city of

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\* Minutes of Evidence. Appendix No. 27, page 404.

Lucknow with blood, and cost the Residency party their lives ; as it was, they were in great danger, especially Captain Patton, and were only rescued from the hands of the rebels by the speedy arrival of the 35th Regiment. The conduct of the gallant Noke-ka-pultun that night, was a good augury of the laurels they were so soon to earn in the more trying field of Affghanistan.

The case of the boy Moona Jan was dissimilar from that of Vizier Ali ; the latter was acknowledged, the former disowned by his reputed father.

The new King, Mahommed Ali, was a cripple, a respectable old man, who had never dreamt of royalty, and whose very insignificance and previous seclusion saved his life during the emeute of the soldiery on the 7th of July. Grateful for his elevation which he attributed to the British Government, he was willing to acquiesce in any reasonable terms that might be dictated to him, consistent with what he deemed his *nusut*.\* He fell into good hands : never was there a Resident more kind and considerate than Colonel Lowe. He understood his own position, and had sense to perceive that he gained more credit in fulfilling its duties than by stepping out of his sphere. Contented with exercising the legitimate authority of his station, he had no ambition to be "Mayor of the Palace" at Lucknow, or to maintain the balance of power between the rival factions around the throne. He was satisfied to look on in small matters—ready to advise in great ones. He was a plain soldierly man, who, having served an apprenticeship to politics under Malcolm, fought at Mehidpoor, and afterwards trod the intricate paths of Indian diplomacy at Jeypore, and with Bajee Rao, was well adapted for the Lucknow Court : doubly so as being in his own character the very antithesis of every thing there ; straightforward integrity, opposed to crooked chicanery. Colonel Lowe had seen enough of native courts to understand and fathom them, while he had escaped their corruptions. Inaccessible alike to bribes, threats, and cajoling, he was feared by the vile Nusser-oo-deen Hyder, and respected by the amiable Mahommed Ali.

The new king had soon a new treaty laid before him ; the document bears internal evidence of not being Colonel Lowe's work ; indeed some of the clauses were entirely opposed to his views. Its two prominent features were, first, the introduction into Oude of an auxiliary force of two Regiments of Cavalry, five of Infantry, and two companies of Golundauze at an annual

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\* Honour.

expense of sixteen lakhs of Rupees, to be defrayed by the local Government. The other was a stipulation for the management by British Officers of such districts of Oude as should be notoriously oppressed by the local agents. Colonel Lowe was, we know, averse to saddling the king with more troops; but his views were overruled, and a portion of the Regiments were raised. The measure was, however, very properly disapproved of by the Court of Directors, and the enrolment of the new levy prohibited, as being an exaction on the Oude State.

Mahommed Ali was evidently so much in earnest in his efforts for the improvement of his kingdom, that Government overlooked the glaring mismanagement still existing in parts of Oude, and did not act on the permission given by the new treaty. The King's intentions were good, and the character of the Court rose very much during his short reign. He was unfortunate in the death of his two able ministers, Moomtuzim-oodowlah (Mehndy Ali Khan) and Zaheer-oodowlah. The nephew of the former, as already mentioned, then succeeded, and held office for two years: on his resignation a young nobleman, by name Shurreef-oodowlah, the nephew of Zaheer-oodowlah, assumed the reins of Government, and retained them until the old king's death. Shurreef-oodowlah is a man of good ability, of considerable firmness and activity. His manners are pleasing; he possesses habits of business; on the whole he is considered the ablest and most respectable candidate for the ministry. He is however personally disliked by the present king.

On the death of his father in May 1842, Mahommed Amjud Ali, the present King, ascended the throne. His conduct towards his minister was such as to cause his resignation within two months. He then appointed a personal favorite, one Imdad Hooseen, entitling him Ameen-oodowlah. After a trial of five months he was found wanting, and removed, and Munowur-oodowlah having returned from pilgrimage was reinstated. The new Minister, unable to stem the current of Lucknow intrigue, held the office scarcely seven months, when Ameen-oodowlah was recalled to his master's councils. The favorite is generally supposed quite incompetent for the duties of his office, and indeed is said to trouble himself very little about them. He takes the profits and leaves the labours to his deputy, Syud-oodowlah, a low person who has rapidly risen from penury to power by the prostitution of his own sister. Not long since this man was an Omedwar for the office of moonshee to one of Colonel Roberts's Regiments; now we understand the gallant Colonel to be a candidate for the command of one of his. So goes round the wheel! The King pays no attention to busi-

ness, will abide by no warnings, will attend to no advice, and, it is rumoured, has secretly confirmed his imbecile ministers in their places for four years, in spite of the remonstrances of the Resident.

Let us briefly recapitulate. The condition of Oude is yearly becoming worse. The revenue is yearly lessening. There are not less than 100,000 soldiers in the service of Zemindars. The revenue is collected by half that number in the king's pay. In more than half the Districts of Oude are strong forts, most of them surrounded with dense jungle, carefully rendered as inaccessible as possible. Originally, the effect of a weak or tyrannical Government, such fortresses perpetuate anarchy. The Amils and other public officers, are men of no character who obtain and retain their position by Court bribery. Only the weak pay their revenue; those who have forts, or who, by combinations, can withstand the Amil, make their own revenue arrangements. Throughout the country nothing exists deserving the name of a judicial or Magisterial Court. The news-writers are in the pay of the Amils, generally their servants; nevertheless, not less than a hundred Dacoities, or other acts of violence attended with loss of life, are annually reported; how many hundreds then pass unnoticed! Within the last six months, the Government Dawk has been robbed: within the last three, an Amil has been slain. While we write, the British cantonment of Cawnpoor has been insulted; and month after month, the local press tells of new atrocities. In short, the Government of the country is utterly palsied; its constitution is altogether destroyed; no hope remains. Were any vitality left in Oude, the country has, during the last twelve years, had a fair opportunity of recovering. If the system of a King, a Minister, a Resident, and a protecting army could subsist without ruin to the country so ruled, it has had a trial. The scheme cannot be said to have failed for lack of good instruments. The Oude rulers have been no worse than monarchs so situated usually are; indeed, they have been better than might have been expected. Weak, vicious and dissolute they were, but they have seldom been cruel, and have never been false. In the storms of the last half century, Oude is the one single native state that has invariably been true to the British Government; that has neither intrigued against us nor seemed to desire our injury. It may have been weakness, it may have been apathy, but it is at least fact, that the Oude Government has ever been faithful, and therefore it is that we would not only advocate liberality towards the descendants of Saadut Khan, but the utmost consideration that can be shewn them, *consistent* with the



duty we owe to the people of Oude. Among her ministers have been as able individuals as are usually to be found in the East ; and there have not been wanting good men and true as Residents. It is the system that is defective, not the tools with which it has been worked. We have tried every variety of interference. We have interfered directly, and we have interfered indirectly ; by omission as well as by commission, but it has invariably failed.

One great error has been our interference in trifles, while we stood aloof when important questions were at issue. Another crying evil has been the want of any recognized system of policy in our negotiations with the Lucknow Court. Every thing seems to have been mere guess-work and experiment. One Governor-General or one Resident has adopted one plan ; the next has tried something wholly different. The Nawab, or the King, the Minister and the Resident, have each had their turn. One or other has alternately been every thing and nothing. If an able Minister was appointed or encouraged by the British Government, he was, as a matter of course, suspected and thwarted by his master ; if the King did happen to employ an honest servant, the power of the latter was null, unless he had the Resident's support. The Amils neglected him, the Zemindars despised him. There could be no neutrality in the case : the British Agent must be friend or foe ; he must be for or against the Minister. Thus could each member of the triumvirate vitiate the exertions of one or both the others ; any individual of the three could do incalculable evil ; but the three souls must be in one body, to effect any good. Such a phenomenon never occurred ; there never was an approach to it, unless perhaps for a few months in Colonel Lowe's time.

On reverting to the past, it will be found that we have interfered in the city, and have held aloof in the country ; that at another time, while we spared the palace, we have entered the villages with our tunkhwas (revenue orders). Again, for a time we have left both Court and country unmolested. Such sullen silence was always construed into the most *direct* interference ; for, the King being guaranteed, it was believed that he was then at liberty to work his will without fear or consequences, since British bayonets would appease whatever tumult might arise. Our troops have carried the fortresses of the oppressed by storm and put the brave defenders to the sword. On one occasion a terrible example was made, and not a man escaped. Our Cavalry surrounded the fort ; the Infantry entered ; and of the doomed defenders, not a soul survived.\* At that period we not only

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\* The Fort of Puthur Scrai, in the year 1808.

guaranteed the Ruler, but were made the executioners of his will. A revulsion came; such acts were shewn in all their naked deformity; and both Court and country were again for a while left to themselves. Fraud was then substituted for force, and occasionally large bands of ill-paid and licentious soldiery were sent to devastate the country they could not subdue. The British troops did their work of destruction speedily, and therefore with comparative mercy. The Royal rabble spread, like locusts, over the land, and killed by famine what they could not destroy by the sword.

From this mass of mischief, who is the gainer? It may be supposed that the Amils at least gain; not they. There may perhaps be twenty families in all Oude, that had profited by Government employ; but all others have been simply sponges. The officials have sucked others to be themselves squeezed in turn. Is it to remain thus for ever? Is the fairest province of India always to be harried and rackrented for the benefit of one family, or rather, to support in idle luxury, *one* individual of *one* family? Forbid it justice, forbid it mercy! Had any one of the many Governors-General who spoiled Oude, remained a few years longer in office, he might have righted her wrongs. But, unhappily, while several have been in authority long enough to wound, not one has yet had time to bind up and heal. Hastings began the "stand and deliver" system with the Nawabs. More moderate Governors succeeded who felt ashamed to persecute a family that had already been so pillaged. They pitied the Monarch, but they forgot that misdirected mercy to him, was cruelty to his subject millions.

For this culpable indifference, our Government had a standing excuse,—their hands were tied by the treaties of their predecessors, and their interference, even if justifiable, would do more harm than good. Poor casuistry! The truth is, that where a question admits of doubt, there can be little danger if, *with clean hands*, we take the weaker side; if, foregoing all thought of personal or political profit, we arbitrate in favor of the mass. There was no treaty for Warren Hastings' acts or for half the acts of half his successors. A hole was, however, generally found for creeping out of every dilemma which affected our own interests. At the very worst, when a vacancy occurred on the musnud, a new negotiation soon set all to rights. On each occasion we dictated our own terms; on each of these opportunities we might as readily have made arrangements for securing good government as for securing our own subsidy: we were explicit enough on the one point; all else was left indefinite, the stronger party being, of course, the interpreters

of the law. The Oude Government therefore suffered by diplomatic quibbles; the Oude subjects by revenue ones. In each case the weakest have gone to the wall. The result is before our eyes; the remedy is also in our hands. No one can deny that we are now authorized by treaty to assume the management of the distracted portions of the kingdom. *All* are more or less distracted and misgoverned. Let the management of all be assumed under some such rules as those which were laid down by Lord W. Bentinck. Let the administration of the country, as far as possible, be native. *Let not a rupee come into the Company's coffers.* Let Oude be at last governed, not for one man, the King, but for him and his people.

We must be brief in the explanation of the plan we would recommend.

The King has made himself a cypher; he has let go the reins of Government; let us take them up. He should be prevented from marring what he cannot or will not manage. In every eastern court the Sovereign is *every thing* or nothing. Mahommed Amjud Ali has given unequivocal proof that he is of the second class; there can therefore be no sort of injustice in confirming his own decree against himself, and setting him aside. He should be treated with respect, but restricted to his palace and its precincts. The Resident should be Minister, not only in fact, but in name. Let it not be said that he works in the dark; but give him the responsible charge of the country, and make him answerable to the British Government for its good or ill management. While his personal demeanour to the King must be deferential, he should be no more under his authority than the Commissioner of Delhi is under the Great Mogul. Divide the country into five districts; in each, place a British officer, as Superintendent, who shall receive appeals against the Native officers. Abolish, *in toto*, the farming system. Give as quickly as possible a light assessment for five years, fixed as far as possible by the people themselves; that is, let the one-and-a-quarter million (or thereabouts,) the country may be supposed able to bear, be sub-divided in a great assembly of the people among the five districts; and then let the District, Pergunnah, and Village quotas be similarly told off, under the eye of British Superintendents.

Due consideration must be given to the circumstances of all and to the privileges that may have arisen from long exemption, and it must be remembered that one village may be ruined by paying half what another, in apparently similar circumstances, can easily afford; let the rich and powerful pay as well as the poor and weak. Reference, must be had, and some considera-

tion granted to past payments and past privileges as well as to present condition. Perfect equalization cannot be expected at once.

While the first arrangements are in progress, a strong military force should be at hand ; and the first act of recusancy should be severely punished. The dismissal of the rural armies should be effected, and all forts belonging to notorious persons should be dismantled. Where possible, an amnesty should be given for the past. No individual, whom it may be possible to reclaim, should be branded. The motives that had driven men to the bush should be considered, and penalty bonds having been taken, they should be received and treated as reformed members of society. Under firm but liberal treatment, many a supposed desperado would retrieve his reputation. Speedy and severe examples should be made of Amils and others convicted of fraud, extortion, or other oppression ; and it should be early and distinctly understood that no position will screen malefactors or defaulters. The rule will disgust a few, but will delight the many.

The revenue settlement is the first great question in all eastern countries ; when it was well effected, all remaining work is comparatively easy. At the risk then of being set down by men who deal in forms, rather than in realities, as a very unsound lawgiver, we say, first settle the revenue question satisfactorily, and the path of amendment will be smooth. Let men's minds be relieved as to the past and the future, and they will readily settle down for the present. Three months, at the utmost, should suffice to make the summary settlement we propose ; no niceties need be entered into. Let the assessment be light, and let every man, high and low, who has to pay, have his quota *distinctly* registered, whether it be in cash or in kind ; and let prompt and severe punishment follow the earliest instances of infringement of recorded agreements.

Let a date be fixed, anterior to which no Government claims for revenue shall be advanced. Let it also be at once promulgated that no civil case will be attended to of more than twelve, or at the utmost of twenty years' date ; and no police case of more than three ; and that all claims must be filed within one year of the date of the introduction of the British rule. All these cases should be made over to punchayets, *superintended* by the best men in the land. Brief reasons of decision in each case should be entered in a book, and copies of the same sent weekly to the Superintendent. For ordinary civil, fiscal, and police duties, Courts should be established or old ones confirmed in the several zillahs : punchayets should be encouraged ; honest

members\* of such assemblies, should be honored and favoured, and dishonest ones discountenanced and disgraced.

What a change would such a system, honestly and ably worked out, effect within a single twelvemonth! It is delightful to think of it. We see the difficulties in the way, but difficulties are not impossibilities. No plan is all smooth, no measure of amelioration is without obstacles. Our main difficulty would be to select Superintendents of sufficient experience, possessing at the same time energy and ability, strength of body and of mind, to face the chaos that would at first be presented them. Such men are, however, to be found. They must be paid, and liberally too, not in the Scinde and Saugor fashion. It would be the worst of all economy to employ men who would not remain at least five years to work out the primary scheme.

Our plan involves the employment of every present Oude official, *willing to remain, and able to perform the duties* that would be required of him. The majority of the present Amils would resign as would most of the officers about the Court. All valid tenures of land would of course be upheld, and all superannuated officials having claims to pension, would be considered. It would be desirable to retain the services of one or two respectable men, to assist the Resident and form with him a Court of Appeal from the Superintendent's decrees.

When matters were thus put in train, village boundaries should be defined; a revenue survey, and a settlement for thirty, or even fifty, years should follow.

We do not anticipate the necessity of any permanent increase of establishment. If Mr. Maddock's estimate is correct; half the sum now plundered by the Amils and the Ministers would amply remunerate all the requisite officials.

The primary arrangements would probably require cash; but as the improvement of the country would be secured, an Oude loan of a crore of rupees might be raised, which the increase of cultivation and general amelioration of the state would enable us easily to pay off in ten or fifteen years. We repeat that the assessment should be light. The people as well as the Court should benefit by improvement, if they are expected to further it. There should be a liberal allowance for the King—twenty, thirty or even fifty lakhs per annum might, as the revenues increased, be allowed. He should be furnished, to his heart's content, with silver-sticks, but very scantily with matchlocks. The King would be dissatisfied, let him remain so. He is not

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\* In every community there are individuals whom disputants will readily receive as arbitrators: such men are usually elected, *Sur-Punch* or President, by the members chosen.

particularly well pleased just now, and, so long as we act honestly, the state of his temper is not of much consequence. In whatever spirit he might meet our proposed radical reform he would find few to sympathize in his dissatisfaction. His brothers, uncles, and cousins would be delighted with the change.

The guaranteed would be in extacies. Almost all others would rejoice at the reformation. The people of Oude—the men who recruit our “beautiful Regiments”—would bless John Company,

The scheme we have here indicated rather than detailed is not for a day, nor for any specific term of years. It is refined cruelty to raise the cup to the lip and then to dash it away. Let us not deal with Oude as we have done with Hyderabad and Nagpore. The kings of Oude generally, have as rulers, been weighed and found wanting. His present Majesty has habitually disregarded the spirit and letter of the terms concluded between his father and the British Government. The family must be placed beyond the power of doing further mischief. We have not been guiltless; in repenting of the past, let us look honestly to the future; for once let us remember the people, the gentles, the nobles, the royal family, and not legislate merely for the king.

If the Oude Residency could, with honor, be withdrawn, or if we believed that there was a possibility of the Government of the king holding together for a month, when abandoned by the British Government, we should at once advocate giving his Majesty the opportunity of trying to stand on his own legs; but knowing the thing to be impossible, we have offered the only practicable remedy for the ills that afflict the country, and shall be delighted to see it, or some such scheme, speedily carried out. This scheme is given in the rough. We have not even attempted to round it off; the principle is all we advocate. The details may be indefinitely improved, but whatever outcry or opposition our sentiments may elicit, we sit down satisfied with the reflection, that we have suggested no breach of faith, but have promulgated a plan which the most conscientious servant of the state might be proud to work out.



## NOTES ON THE LEFT OR CALCUTTA BANK OF THE HOOGLY.

BY J. C. MARSHMAN, ESQ., C.S.I.

*Topographical Survey of the River Hooghly from Bandel to Garden Reach, exhibiting the Principal Buildings, Ghats, and Temples on both banks, executed in the year 1841 ; by Charles Joseph.*

AFTER the important questions to which we have solicited the attention of the reader in the preceding pages of this number, we shall be readily excused for closing it with an article which will involve little, if any, mental exertion. We solicit him to accompany us with Joseph's map up both banks of the Hooghly, while we point out the various spots which possess an interest from old associations or have been rendered memorable by historical recollections. To these places we cannot possess a better topographical guide than the map placed at the head of this article, which is remarkable both for the minute accuracy of its details, and for its splendid execution. We are sorry to learn that it has not been sufficiently appreciated by the public, to afford the enterprising compiler any thing like an adequate remuneration for his labor, but in a few years it will unquestionably be considered one of the most interesting publications of the present day, and sought after with a degree of avidity proportioned to its value and its scarcity. The notices we now offer on the different places of note on the Hooghly, which are marked down on the map, or which through the mutation of circumstances have been omitted in it, are drawn partly from the recollections of aged residents, and partly from the observations to be found in authors now known to few but the historian and the archæologist. From these sources we have endeavoured to collect together whatever appeared likely to illustrate the banks of the river, and to revive the remembrance of the scenes and events which have distinguished them. We lay claim to no merit but that of having catered industriously for the amusement of the reader. The reading we now present him is of the lightest order, and by some may even be deemed frivolous. We have no other object in this article but the rational gratification of the hour. We have allotted to it no regular course, or fixed destination, but have reserved to ourselves the privilege of pausing, or digressing wherever we could discover any thing calculated to afford pleasure.

The map commences in the South with that series of splendid mansions at Garden Reach, which surprise and delight the eye of the stranger as he approaches Calcutta, and which form so appropriate an introduction to a city which has justly been denominated the City of Palaces. At what precise period after



the factory of Calcutta had become the capital of a kingdom, these garden houses were erected, we have not been able to discover. Mrs. Kindersley, whose interesting letters, written in 1768, give us a general description of the town, makes no allusion to them, and we naturally conclude that they were not then in existence. She simply says, "in the country *round* the town are a number of very pretty houses which are called country houses, belonging to the English gentlemen.....A little out of town is a clear airy spot, free from smoke, or any encumbrances, called the *corse* (because it is a road, the length of a *corse*, or two miles) in a sort of ring, or rather angle, made on purpose to take the air in, which the company frequent in their carriages about sunset, or in the morning before the sun is up." Twelve years after, however, Garden Reach appears to have been in all its glory. Mrs. Fay says, "the banks of the river are as one may say studded with elegant mansions, called here as at Madras, garden houses. These houses are surrounded with groves and lawns, which descend to the water's edge, and present a constant succession of whatever can delight the eye, or bespeak wealth and elegance in the owners." Of the houses which adorn Garden Reach, that which is now occupied by Capt. Engledue, the agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, is distinguished above all others for its classic elegance. It was erected after a design by Mr. C. K. Robinson, to whose architectural taste the city is indebted for some of its noblest buildings. Since the publication of the map we have chosen for our text, a deeper interest has been given to this spot, as the anchorage of those magnificent steamers which ply monthly between Suez and Calcutta, and bring out passengers in six weeks from England, and enable us to place this Journal in the hands of our friends in London in the same brief period.

A little to the north of the spot where the steamers anchor is the dock-yard, lately belonging to James Kyd, an East Indian gentleman, who not only endeavoured to stir up his own section of the community to seek an honourable independence by their own exertions, instead of wasting their lives in the subordinate position of clerks, but himself set them the example of independent enterprise in the large docking establishment which he conducted at Kidderpore. It is now the property of Government, and is appropriated to the repairs of the public steamers. The assemblage of these various steamers in this locality—of the great leviathans which face the monsoon in all its fury in the Bay, and the little iron vessels which paddle away to Allahabad week by week,—gives an air of life

and cheerfulness to the spot. But its chief interest is connected with the past. It was here that the enterprising Colonel Henry Watson domesticated the art of ship-building in Bengal. It is true that Grose, in speaking of the year 1756, says, "on the other side of the water (that is, opposite Calcutta) there were docks for repairing and carening the ships, near which the Armenians had a good garden;" but his statements are generally too loose to command confidence. Thus, for instance, he tells us that in the first day's encounter with Seraja-dowlah's army in June 1756, the Nabob lost 12,000 men and the English only five! To Colonel Watson unquestionably belongs the honor of having established the first dock-yards in Bengal. His penetration led him to perceive the advantageous position of the Bay of Bengal in reference to the countries lying to the east and west of it. He felt that if the English marine was placed on an efficient footing, we must remain masters of the Eastern seas. He, therefore, obtained a grant of land from Government at Kidderpore, for the establishment of wet and dry docks, and of a marine yard in which every facility should be created for building, repairing and equipping vessels of war and merchantmen. His works were commenced in 1780; and the next year he launched the *Nonsuch* frigate of 36 guns, which was constructed under his own directions by native workmen, and proved remarkable for her speed. He devoted his time and his fortune to this national undertaking for eight years, and in 1783 launched another frigate, the *Surprise*, of 32 guns; but his resources were by this time exhausted; after having sunk ten lakhs of Rupees in his dock-yard, he was obliged to relinquish it. He was the first of those great men who have laid the foundation of great improvements at this presidency; and conferred the most essential advantages on the country. We regret to find that he himself reaped no other reward from these exertions than that which the philanthropist derives from toil and success in a public cause.

Immediately above the dock-yards, we have Tolly's Nullah or canal, which connects the Eastern districts of the country with Calcutta, and where, before 1756 was to be seen the Govindpore creek. A very noble suspension bridge has been erected over this Nullah by the subscriptions of the community in Calcutta, to commemorate the administration of the Marquis of Hastings. Next comes in succession the Cooly Bazar, where the non-commissioned officers connected with Fort William chiefly reside, and where the munitions of war are stored. Immediately above it is Fort William, begun in 1757, by Clive, and completed at an expense of two crores of Rupees

As this brief notice is not intended as a picture of Calcutta, we shall not stop to describe the Fort, or its arsenal ; its Gothic church, or its intolerable heat. Since the date of the map, a Ghat has been erected under the South-west angle of the Fort by public subscription, to perpetuate the memory of James Prinsep, one of the most eminent men of his day, who, after a short and brilliant career, fell a sacrifice to his ardor in the pursuits of science. It is a huge and ugly pile, on which a large sum has been expended without taste or judgment. Its locality is as objectionable as its architecture. It is entirely out of the way of public convenience, and is seldom used as a landing stairs. The most memorable event connected with it, is the departure of Lord Ellenborough, who, instead of embarking as all his predecessors had done, at Chandpal Ghat, thought fit to gratify his military predilections by driving with his cortege through the Fort, and taking his farewell of Calcutta on the steps of Prinsep's Ghat. Not far from it, there is now rising the monument which his Lordship resolved to erect in memory of the battles of Muharajpore and Punniar, from the cannon taken on those fields of victory. The plan is not altogether original, for Napoleon had already erected his triumphal column in Paris with captured cannon, and Lord Wellesley announced his intention to erect a similar memorial of the victory of Assaye, with similar materials. But though the conception is not original, the design is entirely so. Those who have had an opportunity of seeing the drawing describe it as an unsightly imitation of Saracenic architecture, which will reflect little credit on the architect who designed it and prove any thing but an ornament to the town. The monument which Lord Ellenborough had ordered to be built at Bombay to commemorate the victories of Hyderabad and Meanee with the enemy's cannon, had not been commenced at the end of a twelvemonth. It was perhaps on this ground that he hastened the preparations for the erection of the Calcutta monument with unusual ardor. But before the foundation of it could be laid, his administration was brought to an abrupt and unexpected close ; and the completion of it was bequeathed with no little importunity to his successor. It is to be erected on the angle of land on the Western face of the Fort, which projects into the river, where it is more likely to be conspicuous than safe, for the river seems to have a sinister eye to this projection. It is to cost 50,000 Rupees.

The space between the Fort and Chandpal Ghat was formerly occupied with the Respondentia walk, and adorned with trees, few of which are now to be seen. As we approach

the city, we come upon Rajchunder Dass's Ghat, a large, neat and commodious landing stairs, the nearest point of convenient embarkation for the citizens of Chowringhee. Unlike Prinsep's Ghat, it has been erected where one was needed, as the crowd of palankeens around it, and the fleet of vessels in front of it, abundantly testify. The wealthy native at whose expense it was built has not failed to perpetuate his own name, as well as that of the Governor-General under whose administration it was constructed, by a marble tablet placed over the entrance from the land side. Within a few yards of this Ghat stands the Steam Engine which supplies with water the aqueducts, from which some of the more patrician streets of the town are watered. It is one of the most useful establishments in the City of Palaces, and the only wonder is that, in the metropolis of so great an empire, which yields a revenue of twenty crores of Rupees a year, it is the only Steam Engine erected for this important object; and that of the streets which might be benefited by it, more than half are without aqueducts, and are rendered obscure by clouds of suffocating dust, during many months of the year.

Let us pause for a moment at the venerable, time-worn, time-honoured Chandpal Ghat, which lies on the northern side of the Steam Engine, and which some have facetiously denominated St. Paul's Ghat. Though we know not exactly when or by whom it was built, there can be little doubt that it was not dedicated to the Apostle of the Gentiles. Tradition connects its appellation with a native of the name of Chandru Pal—not of the royal dynasty of the Pals—who kept a little grocer's shop in its immediate vicinity, and who has unconsciously obtained an imperishable name in our annals. This is the spot where India welcomes and bids adieu to her rulers. *It is here that the* Governors-General, the Commanders-in-Chief, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Bishops, and all who are entitled to the honours of a salute from the ramparts of Fort William, first set foot in the metropolis. To enumerate all who have landed at these stairs would be to recount the most distinguished men of the last seventy years. It is not noticed in the map of 1756; but we know that it was already in existence in 1774, when Francis and his companions landed here, having had their sweet tempers soured by a five days' voyage from Kedgerce. *It was* here that the author of Junius counted one by one the guns which boomed from the Fort and found to his mortification that their number did not exceed seventeen, when he had expected nineteen. This circumstance appears to have laid the foundation of the implacable hatred he manifested towards Hastings,

and which for six years exposed the administration of the country to contempt. Is it unreasonable to suppose that if his self-esteem had been gratified by two additional charges of powder, the unseemly and dangerous opposition which brought the empire to the brink of ruin, might have been avoided, and that even the solemn trial in Westminster Hall, so memorable for the rank of the victim, and the splendid genius of his accusers, would never have occurred? Upon what trifles do the most momentous affairs of mankind appear to hang. And it was at this Chandpal Ghat that the first Judges of the Supreme Court, who came out to redress the wrongs of India, but created infinitely more mischief than they remedied, first set foot in India. It was here, at this Ghat, that the Chief Justice, as he contemplated the bare legs and feet of the multitude who crowded to witness their advent, exclaimed to his colleague, see Brother, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was not surely established before it was needed. I trust it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings.

Having thus arrived at Chandpal Ghat, and reached the spot where the recollections of the Factory of 1756 begin, we shall for a moment look back on its original establishment, in the seventeenth century, with the view of ascertaining, if possible, the site of the three villages, of Chuttanutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, which once occupied the spot now adorned with the City of Palaces. To pursue the enquiry to any advantage, it will be necessary briefly to touch upon the events of the fifteen years which preceded the elevation of Calcutta to the rank of a Presidency in 1700. Previous to 1684-85, the trade of the Company in Bengal had been subject to repeated interruption from the caprice of the Viceroy, and the machinations of his underlings. The seat of the Factory was at Hooghly, then the port of Bengal, which was governed by a Mahomedan officer, called the Foudar; who had a large body of troops under his command, and possessed supreme authority in the place. The Company's establishment was therefore completely at his mercy, and their officers had no means of resisting exactions or resenting insult. The Court of Directors, thus constantly reminded of the disadvantages of their position, naturally became anxious to obtain the same freedom from interference in Bengal which they enjoyed at Madras and Bombay, where their settlements were fortified, and the circumjacent lands were under their command. They accordingly instructed their President to demand of the Nabob, and through him of the Great Mogul a grant of land where they might

establish warehouses and erect fortifications. This singular demand for permission to plant an independent flag in Bengal was the first ever made to the House of Timur, for neither Bombay nor Madras was subject to the Emperor when our factories were established there.

While this demand, as we suppose, was under consideration, the oppression of the Native government brought matters to a point. The pykars, or contractors, at Cossimbazar, were a lakh and a half of Rupees in debt to the Company's agents, and refused to furnish new supplies for the investment without a fresh advance of half a lakh of Rupees. Charnock refused to comply with the demand. They appealed to the Nabob, who decided in their favour. Charnock however still remained firm; and a very exaggerated representation was sent to the Emperor, of the refractory behaviour of the English. All their trade was at once stopped, and their ships were sent away half empty. When intelligence of these events reached England, the Company communicated it to James the Second, and that monarch sanctioned their resolution to go to war with the Great Mogul, and to establish themselves by force in his dominions. They accordingly sent out a large armament, consisting of ten ships, of from 12 to 70 guns, under Captain Nicholson, who was to command the fleet till his arrival in Bengal, when the President was to assume the post of Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. Six Companies of infantry were sent at the same time, but without Captains, as they were to be commanded by the Members of Council. The orders of the Directors were that their officers should take and fortify Chittagong with 200 pieces of cannon, and make it the seat of their commerce; and that they should march up against Dacca, then the capital of Bengal, and capture it. But we need not detain the reader with the schemes of wild ambition which the Court of Directors indulged at a time when Aurungzebe was in the zenith of his power. A part only of the fleet arrived at Hooghly; but while the President was waiting for the remainder, an affray was caused by three soldiers on the 28th of October, 1686, which brought on a general engagement. Nicholson bombarded the town and burnt 500 houses and spiked all the guns in the batteries; and the Fouzdar begged for an armistice, to gain time. It is remarkable that just before this action, orders had arrived from the Viceroy to compromise the dispute which had brought this hostile armament into Bengal, and to submit the claims for compensation of losses to arbitration. The attack of course superseded all thoughts of accommodation; but if it had not taken place, there is little hope that the negotiations would

have terminated favourably. The compensation which the Directors had instructed Nicholson to demand and to enforce with his cannon was incredibly extravagant ; it actually amounted to sixty-six lakhs of Rupees ; of which twenty lakhs were set down for the demurrage of their ships for three years, and twenty lakhs more as the charge of the 1,000 men and 20 ships of war sent to enforce the demand, thus making the Great Mogul pay for the very birch which was to be employed to chastise him. The Company could never have expected that Aurungzebe would comply with this haughty and unreasonable demand, or that it would produce any other result than to exasperate his mind, and to prolong hostilities.

During the truce, the Company's officers reflected upon their position, in an open town like Hooghly, and resolved to abandon it. Instead, however, of obeying the orders they had received from home of proceeding to Chittagong, they retired to Chuttanutty, a little below the Dutch factory at Barnagore, where they landed on the 20th December 1686 ; and the English flag was for the first time planted in the spot destined to become the capital of a great empire. The Directors were exceedingly enraged on hearing of these transactions, and censured Nicholson for not having struck terror into the minds of the natives by sacking Hooghly, while they attributed the failure of the expedition to the timidity and selfish views of their agents,—in which they were not far from the truth. They again declared their determination to obtain an independent factory, with the ground around it, a fortification capable of commanding respect, and a mint ; and they resolved to quit Bengal if these advantages could not be secured. The history of the subsequent year is obscure, owing to the loss of the vessels which took home the despatches ; but we gather that the Mahomedan General soon after arrived at Hooghly with an army, and that the Company's Agents construed this into a breach of the armistice, and proceeded forthwith to plunder Tannah, and every place which lay between it and the island of Ingelee, which they took and fortified. Though our troops began to die by scores of jungle fever on that fatal island, Charnock obstinately continued to occupy it. Not long after he burnt Balasore, and captured forty Mogul ships. How he could expect that matters would be accommodated after he had proceeded to these extremities, we are at a loss to imagine, but he appears to have applied to the Nabob for an order to re-establish the out-factories of Cossimbazar and Dacca, and for the cession of Oolooberiya, sixteen miles below Calcutta, in which he was not unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, the Court of Directors sent out the most peremp-

tory prohibition of any compromise, and repeated their resolution to maintain the war with vigor. They accordingly despatched a hot-headed man of the name of Heath, in command of the *Defiance* frigate, with a hundred and sixty men, either to assist in the war if it still continued, or to bring away their whole establishment if a truce had been made with the enemy. Heath arrived in 1688, and sailed to Balasore Roads the next month ; and though a firman had intermediately arrived for the re-establishment of British commerce on a favorable footing, he landed his men, stormed the batteries of Balasore and plundered the place. He then embarked the whole body of Company's servants and sailed across the bay to Chittagong, opened a negotiation with some Raja in Arracan, and without waiting for his reply, sailed away to Madras, where he landed the whole of the Company's establishment. Thus, this premature attempt of the Company to obtain a footing by force in Bengal, and to maintain their position by the terror of their arms, ended in the entire loss of their commerce and the abandonment of all their establishments in the province. Sixty-six years after, a new and more disastrous crisis arose ; all their factories were broken up ; the seat of their commerce was captured and pillaged ; its very name was changed, to efface the remembrance of their existence ; and one-half their servants were massacred. Within a twelve-month after that calamity, Calcutta was re-captured and re-established, the Nabob defeated and slain, and the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with a population of twenty millions, were brought under their absolute control without any instructions from them, and even without their knowledge.

Soon after, Ibrahim Khan was appointed to the Government of Bengal, and sent two successive invitations to Charnock to return with the Company's establishment. He at length accepted the offer and landed at Chuttanutty with a large stock of goods ; and on the 27th April received a firman, in which the Emperor declared, "that it had been the good fortune of the English to repent of their past irregular proceedings," and that he had given them liberty to trade in Bengal without interruption. In 1691 we find Charnock residing in Chuttanutty with a hundred soldiers, but without either store houses or fortifications. He died the next year in January. His name is inseparably associated with the metropolis of British India, which he was accidentally the instrument of establishing ; but there does not appear to have been any thing great or even remarkable in his character. He had no large or comprehensive views ; he was vacillating, timid, and cruel. He is said to have rescued a Hindoo female from the flames, and to have subsequently



bestowed his affections if not his hand upon her, and he appears to have passed his time under the influence of native associations. On the death of Charnock, Sir John Goldsborough came up from Madras to Chuttanutt, where he found every thing in disorder, and none of the Company's servants in the factory worthy of being entrusted with the charge of it. He therefore called Mr. Eyre up from Dacca, and appointed him the chief. At the same time he reduced the number of soldiers from 100 to 20, exclusive of two Sergeants and Corporals. In 1694-95 the Court of Directors gave orders that Chuttanutt should be considered the residence of their chief Agent in Bengal; and directed that efforts should be made to obtain the farm of two or three adjoining villages. The town duties collected in this year at the new factory amounted to 2,000 Rupees, which shews that in the short period of five years its native population had considerably increased. In 1696-97 happened the rebellion of the Burdwan Zemindar, Sobha Sing, and all the districts to the east of the river from Midnapore to Rajmahl were for a time alienated from the government of the Viceroy. The foreign factories were threatened with exactions; and the French, Dutch, and English chiefs solicited permission to throw up fortifications for their own defence. The Nabob gave them a general order to provide for their safety, and they eagerly seized the opportunity of strengthening the works which they had previously erected by stealth. Such was the origin of Fort Gustavus at Chinsurah, Fort William in Calcutta, and the French fort at Chandernagore. In 1698-99, the Chief at Chuttanutt received a Nishan, or orders from the viceroy of Bengal for "a settlement of their rights at Chuttanutt, on the basis of which they rented the two adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpore." When intelligence of this event reached the Court in London, they ordered that Calcutta should be advanced to the dignity of a Presidency; that the President should draw a salary of 200 Rs. a month with an additional, perhaps personal, gratuity of 100 Rs.; that he should be assisted by a Council of four members; of whom the first should be the Accountant; the second, the Warehouse-keeper; the third, the Marine Purser; and the fourth, the Receiver of Revenues. It was in this year, and under this new organization, that the Fort, which had now been completed, was called Fort William.

It appears that the Factory was called Chuttanutt in the dispatches sent from England, from the time when Charnock returned to Bengal, to the acquisition of the two villages of Calcutta and Govindpore; after which it was called, first, the Presidency of Calcutta, and eventually, of Fort William. Re-

specting the locality of Chuttanutty there can be no doubt. It stood on the area at present occupied by the native part of the town, and intersected by the Chitpore road. The evidence of this fact is to be found in the designation of the Ghat now called Haut Khola, which for more than ninety years was known as Chuttanutty Ghât as well as in the existence of the great bazar of Chuttanutty in its immediate vicinity. Govindpore, a straggling village, with clusters of native huts interspersed with jungle, occupied the site of Fort William, and the open plain around it. We find it stated in Holwell's valuable tracts that the rents of the Govindpore market having been affected by the neighbourhood of Kalee-ghat, the evil was remedied by establishing a toll on all articles brought into the English territories from that market. There can, therefore, be little hesitation in fixing the site of this village. The village of Calcutta, must therefore, have stood between Chuttanutty and Govindpore. In 1756 it included the whole of the ground occupied by the European houses; and which at the present time comprises what may be called the commercial and official portion of the town. It would be vain to endeavour to fix the original boundaries of the three villages; but if the map drawn up by Mr. Holwell in 1752, and in which every house was noted, be still in the archives of Leadenhall Street, much assistance may be afforded to the future topography of the metropolis. The position of the original village of Calcutta is distinctly marked by the following circumstances:—In the map of 1794 two portions of the town to the east of Tank Square are marked Dhce Calcutta. The great bazar, now known only by its native name of Bura Bazar, was entered on the records before 1756 as being in Dhce Calcutta; and the ground on which St. John's Cathedral stands, and which was presented by Raja Nubukissen, is also stated in the deed of gift as being in Dhce Calcutta.

We return to Joseph's map and the banks of the river. Moving up from Chandpal Ghat, along the noble Strand, we come upon Colvin's Ghat, which from time immemorial was called, the *kucha goodee* Ghat, or the place for careening native boats. They were hauled upon the banks of a narrow canal which ran through the town from this point to the Salt water lake. It is now filled up, and no trace of it is to be seen except in the old maps. It was on the bank of this creek, on the spot now occupied by the Bengal Secretariat that the southern battery was thrown up in 1756. In the immediate vicinity of Colvin's Ghat is the Police Ghat, now adorned by the Metcalfe Hall; and there in ancient time, before the capture of

Calcutta, stood the house and grounds of the President. The garden appears to have extended from the river to Tank Square then called the Park, which was the great resort of the community for recreation. A neat gateway, as may be seen in the old views, terminated the Governor's garden in front of the Park, and it was from hence that he is described as walking down to the Church, which stood at the western end of Writers' Buildings, doubtless after his Masters had informed him in 1728, that if he wanted a chaise and pair he must pay for them himself. After the capture of Calcutta a new residence was erected for the President on the spot where the present Government House now stands; and it was there that he was in the habit of entertaining his guests at dinner in the month of May, at one in the afternoon, without punkahs, and placing a little hooka on the table before each individual when the cloth was removed. The old Government House was soon after turned into a Banksall, or Marine Yard, and at the Ghat in front of it, a dock-yard was erected in 1790 for the repairs of Pilot vessels; but it was disused and filled up in 1808. It is worthy of remark that half a century ago, there were no fewer than three streets called by the name Banksall, the one to the south, the other to the north, and a third to the east, of the present Banksall; from which it would appear that the whole of the spacious square of the old Government House was occupied with the Marine establishments of the state. The origin of this word *Banksall* has baffled all our enquiries, though we suspect that it is derived from the Portuguese. That it was in use nearly a century and a half ago is evident from the orders of the Court of Directors, when they erected Calcutta into a Presidency in 1700, that all ships under 400 tons burden should go up to town, and all above that tonnage should anchor in Balasore roads, and that a "Banksall" should be erected at Kedgerree. The term has become so thoroughly acclimated that the natives have no other name for a dock-yard.

In Joseph's map, the next Ghat in succession is Coelah Ghat, which is quite a modern appellation, for it was known fifty years ago as the New Wharf, and the old Custom House arose immediately above it. This Ghat stood at the southern extremity of the old Fort, and the Ghat still called the Fort Ghat—a name it has retained for a hundred and fifty years—marks the northern limit of that fortress. The whole of the square between these two points, now occupied by the Export Warehouse and the Custom House, comprised the old Fort, which was completed in 1700, and captured in 1756, after which it ceased to be used as a fortification. A considerable

portion of it was still standing in 1820, when it was pulled down, or rather blown up, to make room for the present buildings. It was then discovered to have been built of materials so strong that the cost of removing it was calculated to be as great as the expense of labour in building it would have been. There was long a tradition in the town that the fort was covertly erected by degrees, in consequence of the jealousy of the Native Government; and that the chunam used for cement was therefore brought up from Madras by sea, and landed in secrecy; and this was supposed to account for its amazing strength. But we find no notice of this fact in any author; and Grose says it was "built with brick, and mortar called puckah, made of brick-dust, lime, molasses and hemp, which becomes as durable as stone."

On this spot, now occupied by the Custom House, through which merchandize to the value of fifteen millions sterling is annually passed, we pause for a moment to retrace the scenes which were enacted there, when the young Nabob, within two months of his succession to the throne of his grandfather, marched down with a determination to sack Calcutta and expel the English. Calcutta had by this time risen to be the most important commercial town in Bengal. Its trade exceeded a million sterling a year, and the shipping which annually visited it did not fall short of sixty vessels. The Court of Directors seem to have had some presentiment of the danger to which their settlement might be exposed on the death of Aliverdy Khan, or on the occurrence of a war with France. In 1751 they had sent out orders that the Militia should be trained to arms, but this precaution was so entirely neglected that when the troubles began, and it became necessary to organize a Militia, there were scarcely any among the Armenians and Portuguese, and few among the Europeans, who knew the right from the wrong end of their muskets. In 1753 they sent out fifty-five pieces of cannon, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, which their servants never thought fit to mount, and which were lying near the walls of the Fort with the grass growing over them when the siege began. The very year before the loss of Calcutta, Captain Leigh Jones, the Captain of the train—in other words, the Commandant of the Artillery—pointed out the ruinous state of the fortifications, and urged their being repaired; but no steps were taken till the enemy was at the door. The eastern curtain was in so dilapidated a state that a four-pounder which it was attempted to fire went through the terrace. Though the death of Aliverdy Khan had been expected for months, and the animosity of his successor to the English

was well known, no preparation was made to meet the approaching storm; no provisions were laid in, and no stock of ammunition was collected. The garrison was totally unprepared for a siege when the first guns of the Nabob's army, fired at Pering's point at Chitpore, announced the approach of his overwhelming host; and though the provisions in the Fort were barely sufficient for its small garrison, and that only for a short period, by an infatuation not to be accounted for, more than *six thousand* of the inhabitants of Calcutta, including several hundred Portuguese women, were admitted into it. Of the five military officers in the garrison, Commandant Minchin was remarkable only for his indolence and *insouciance*. The President had repeatedly complained of his utter inefficiency, of which he very soon gave a notable proof by putting himself on board a boat and escaping to the ships as soon as the danger became pressing. The second in command, Captain Clayton, had never seen a shot fired. Captain Buchanan, the third in rank, was an officer of great experience, and exhibited the most undaunted spirit throughout the siege, and at last perished in the Black Hole. Had the President executed his threat of superseding Captain Minchin, and raised Captain Buchanan to the supreme command as soon as it was known that the Nabob had set his face towards Calcutta, the town might have been saved—but then it is questionable whether we should ever have had Clive in Bengal, or have fought the battle of Plassey, or have acquired the empire of India. Including officers, the whole number of troops in garrison when the siege began, did not exceed 190; of these only 60 were Europeans, and not five of them had ever seen a shot fired in earnest. The Militia was therefore embodied. The senior members of Government took the post of field officers, and even the Rev. Mr. Mapletost, the Chaplain, rendered himself useful as a Captain Lieutenant. The junior members of the service served in the ranks, and the obstinate defence of the place during the 19th and 20th June, which so greatly exasperated the Nabob, is to be ascribed to their extraordinary valor.

The Nabob invested the town on the morning of the 18th June, and before night all the outposts were in his hands, and his troops were enabled to approach within musket-shot of the Fort. A Council of war was held that evening, and like all other Councils of war,—that of Jellalabad perhaps excepted,—resolved to seek safety otherwise than by fighting. It was determined to send the ladies away on the *Dodaly*, together with the Company's money and books. As that vessel was likely to be over-crowded, Mr. Holwell offered his own snow,

the *Diligence*, on which four of the ladies embarked. Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, two of the members of Council, were the first to set the example of flight. On pretence of accompanying the ladies, they went on board the *Dolaly* of which they were part owners, and from which they never returned. Their Masters' papers and cash were left behind,—for want of coolies; though coolies were easily found to convey other packages on board, which were reasonably supposed to belong to the owners. By the evening all the ladies in the settlement had been embarked, save one, a very "fine country-born lady," as Holwell calls her, the wife of Mr. Carey, one of the officers of the ships, who refused to quit her husband, and when the town was captured, resolved to accompany him into the prison of the Black Hole, from which she was drawn forth in the morning an emaciated widow. She was taken by force to the Nabob's camp, and it is said, that she remained seven years in the seraglio, but the assertion rests on mere rumour, and her heroic attachment to her husband, renders it any thing but probable.

The Council of war continued to sit till four in the morning. At nine, the President, Mr. Drake, Mr. Mackett, a member of Council, Commandant Minchin and Captain Grant, proceeded to the water's edge, threw themselves into some boats that were lying there, and rowed off to the ships, thus abandoned their companions to the mercy of an infuriated enemy. During the previous night, Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, who had been the first to fly, had moved their vessel down to the Cooly Bazar, out of reach of the enemy's shot. Thither they were now followed by Drake and his cowardly associates. From the place where they were anchored on the 19th, they could see the Company's House, Mr. Cruttenden's, Mr. Nixon's, Dr. Knox's, and the Marine Yard in flames, "a spectacle of unspeakable terror;" they could perceive the various signals of distress by which their deserted companions implored their aid, and they could hear the discharges of artillery which shewed with what fury the struggle was still maintained; but they never weighed anchor. For Drake, the defence has been set up that he was a quaker and retired from the scene of carnage from motives of conscience; and Voltaire has been induced to adopt this explanation of his conduct. But, he was one of the original Committee of Fortifications; during twenty-four hours, while there appeared any hope of safety, he had assisted in military operations, and only an hour or two before his flight, he had been personally employed in transferring cotton from the original bales to bags to be placed on the parapet, to deaden the fire from the Church. It was from the scene of danger that he fled upon no

conscientious motives but from the impulse of cowardice ; and it is for the interests of humanity that his name and the names of Mackett, of Manningham and Frankland, of Minchin and Grant, should be consigned to the perpetual scorn and contempt of mankind, for their base and dastardly desertion of those whose safety had been entrusted to them. Nothing perhaps shews the wretched character of the home Government at this period more than the fact that these poltroons were never called to account for their conduct. Nothing shews so decisively how unfit the Court of Directors then were to govern the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, of which they had so unexpectedly become masters, as their entrusting the administration of them to this same Drake, who had proved so unworthy of all trust. The anomaly however is explained, when we find that Roger Drake, junr., was rewarded with his Commission as President of the Government by a Court of Directors, of which Roger Drake, senr., was Chairman.

The flight of the President and the military officers became the signal for a general desertion. Crowds hastened down to the river, and each one leaped into the first boat he could find ; and the boatmen, apprehending some new and more imminent danger from this movement, were in their turn seized with a panic, and pushed off from the shore in haste. In a few moments every boat of every description was gone. The gentlemen in the Fort, who had thus been abandoned to their fate by their superiors, and whose retreat was thus cut off, at a time when the enemy was closing upon them in every direction, immediately held a Council, and having suspended the President and the three civilians who had fled, unanimously elected Mr. Holwell as their chief. The garrison made the most vigorous defence of the Fort during the 19th, and till ten in the forenoon of the 20th, when it was found that of 170 men who had been left, 25 were killed and 70 wounded ; that all were exhausted with fatigue, and that the Fort itself was no longer tenable. Mr. Holwell, therefore, determined to capitulate, and sent an Armenian to Omichand the banker, to ask him to use his good offices with the Nabob for a pacification. The tragedy of the Black Hole was the result. It is too well known to the civilized world to need any notice. But before we quit the Fort and its dismal recollections, we must mention that of the two chaplains in the settlement during the siege, the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft, after having nobly assisted in the defence of the place during the 18th, went on board the vessel on which his wife had taken refuge, with the determination to return, but was carried along with the stream of fugitives down to Cooly

Bazar the next morning, and from thence, on the loss of the town, retreated to Fultah, where he died before the end of the year, of fever. The senior Chaplain, the "veteran Ballamy," as he was called, stood out the siege, and was thrust into the Black Hole with his son, the Lieutenant, and the next morning they were both found dead with their hands locked in each other.

Of the great number thus killed and wounded, a very large proportion appears to have fallen at the eastern curtain of the Fort, where the enemy kept up the most galling fire from the Church, about forty yards distant, of which they had obtained possession. This is the edifice which was raised about thirty years before the fall of Calcutta by the united contributions of the merchants and captains, and was greatly admired for its architecture, and more especially for its beautiful steeple, which was thrown down in the storm of 1738. Whether it was ever rebuilt, is not recorded. The view of Calcutta given in Orme exhibits no steeple in the back ground. The Church appears to have been completely ruined during the siege. The year after, a sum was demanded of Meer Jaffer, when he was raised to the throne and was paid by him, as a specific compensation for the destruction of this edifice, but the members of Government were too intent on improving the golden prospects then opened to them to think of religion, and Calcutta remained for nearly thirty years without any building dedicated to the worship of God, except the private chapel erected by the Missionary Kiernander, now the Old Church. The compensation paid by the Nabob was added to the old Calcutta Charity fund; in which was also absorbed the donation of Oomichand, to which we have alluded; and both sums were subsequently transferred to the Free School on its establishment in 1789. It may, therefore, be said with the strictest truth, that they were at length devoted to the object for which they were given, when the funds of that Institution were employed, fifteen years ago, in the construction of St. Thomas' Church.

We return to our map and to the banks of the river. Just above the Old Fort Ghat, now stands the Bonded Warehouse, the only corporation in Calcutta besides the Bank of Bengal, but which, notwithstanding its charter, has been unable as yet to realize a reasonable dividend on its capital. On this spot more than a hundred years ago stood the noble mansion of Mr. Cruttenden, subsequently the Governor of Calcutta, which was burnt down on the second night of the siege in 1756. At a later period here lived the Begum Johnson, the grandmother of the Earl of Liverpool, the Prime Minister of England, who



was married in Calcutta in 1738, and died in that city in 1812, after a residence of seventy-four years in it. Immediately above it is Clive Street Ghat, which was known fifty years ago as Blyth's Ghat, when that gentleman's large ship-building establishment was in its vigor. Of Mrs. Ross, now Beebec Ross, there is no memorial on record, except in the Ghat which has been called after her, and which promises long to retain its designation. The next Ghat above it is Raja Daby Singh's, and the mention of his name carries us at once back to the days of Hastings, under whose administration he acquired enormous wealth, and in connection with whose trial he was consigned to perpetual infamy for his cruelties in Dinapore, in the speech with which Sheridan electrified Westminster Hall. Cossinath Baboo's Ghat is named after an opulent native who owned much property in Calcutta seventy years ago, but has long been forgotten. Within a few yards of it, there existed half a century ago a Ghat of which the name is no longer preserved. It was called Huzoor Mull's Ghat. To whom the erection of it is to be attributed, we have been unable to learn. Huzoor Mull was the name of Oomichand's executor, who paid over 25,000 Rupees in his master's name to build a Christian Church; and it may have been erected by him. But, as we find it in the vicinity of the Armenian quarter of the town, it is more likely to have owed its origin to the great Armenian family of Huzoor Mull, who flourished in Calcutta more than a century ago, and in 1734 built the steeple of the old Armenian Church. At no great distance from it stands the New Mint, a splendid building filled with magnificent machinery, which was finished in 1829 at a cost of thirty lakhs of Rupees, and is capable of coining money sufficient for the supply of all India.

We pass over fourteen Ghats of no note above the New Mint, and pause at the obscure landing stairs, round the elbow of land, called after Bonmalee Sirkar, whose name it has now retained for more than a century. A few hundred yards above it, stands the well-known Ghat of Baug Bazar,—though, strange to say, not mentioned in Joseph's map; at the river entrance to the town from the north-west. It formerly bore the name of Roghoo Mitter's Ghat. He was the son of the once renowned Govinderam Mitter, whose name has been preserved from oblivion in a triplet which we have heard from the lips of some of the oldest native residents;

Who does not know Govinderam's Club,  
or the House of Bonmalee Sirkar,  
or the Beard of Oomichand?

One hundred years ago these men were among the most wealthy and influential natives of the town of Calcutta. Bonmalee's house, alluded to in these lines, was probably the large building in that locality marked down in the maps constructed before the siege of 1766. The family has fallen to decay, and no trace of it is to be found among the present aristocracy of the town. Oomichand was the well-known merchant, a native of the Punjab, who was employed for many years before 1753 in furnishing the Company's investments, and was the channel of communication between the Council of Calcutta and the Durbar of Moorshedabad. In that year the President determined to emancipate the Company from the frauds of the *Daduny*, or advance merchants, of whom Oomichand was the chief, and to contract for their piece-goods direct with the weavers. Being thus deprived of one great source of wealth, he is supposed to have taken his revenge by instigating Seraja-dowlah to attack Calcutta. He possessed more than one house in the European part of the town, and a large garden on the Circular Road,—of which we shall speak hereafter, where he was arrested, in the beginning of the troubles of 1756, in spite of his three hundred armed retainers, and placed in confinement within the Fort. It is somewhat singular that Grose should attribute the attack on Calcutta by the Nabob to the incarceration of this native. He had amassed immense property under the auspices of the Company, and enjoyed no little distinction throughout the country. It was this man whom Col. Clive defrauded by that fictitious treaty, on which Mr. Macaulay has fixed a sentence of just condemnation. To excite public animosity against Clive, it was widely circulated that Oomichand, on finding his hopes of receiving thirty lakhs of Rupees thus unexpectedly baffled, fell into a state of idiocy, and soon after died. Yet, after he had been deprived of this opportunity of adding a few lakhs to his vast hoards, he lived no fewer than six years, and made a very elaborate and reasonable will, bequeathing various sums in charity, and among other objects, 25,000 Rs. to the charitable funds of those who had injured him.

Near the angle where the road which ran up from Bonmalee Sirkar's Ghat joins the great Chitpore-road,—a road which remains unaltered after the lapse of more than a hundred years,—there is still to be seen the remains of a large temple, the largest in Calcutta, which was once crowned with a lofty cupola. For many years it was the most conspicuous object in the city, over which it towered as the dome of St. Paul's does over the city of London. It was visible from a distance of many miles ; and

more especially from the long reach of the river which terminates at Bali Khal. About twenty-five years ago the cupola suddenly came down with a crash, but without injury to life, and it has never since been rebuilt. That temple, usually called the "five jewels," was erected by the opulent and powerful Govinderam Mitter, who ruled the native population of Calcutta with sovereign sway from 1720, when he was appointed the Dewan of the Zemindar, to the year 1752.

To understand the position and influence of this man we must ask the reader's indulgence for another digression, and glance at the state of Calcutta a century ago. The reader will picture to himself the President, living in a large house with well-shaded grounds on the banks of the river, where the Banksall now stands, upon a salary of 300 Rs. a month; and a Council, consisting sometimes of nine, sometimes of twelve, employed upon still smaller salaries, in superintending the affairs of the Factory, and living in houses without flues, without venetians, without glass windows, and of course without punkas. For venetians they had pannelled doors, which admitted neither light nor air; and for sash windows, frames with a net work of cane, as may yet be seen in old chairs. When the wind blew strong in one direction the doors were closed, and those in an opposite direction thrown open. To this there could be little objection in winter; but in summer, when it became necessary to meet the strength of the south-west monsoon by closing the doors, and opening those to the north, the heat must have been intolerable, and the mortality and promotion in the service proportionally great. The President and Council were all engaged extensively in trade on their own account, and for every Rupee they made for their Honourable Masters, made two for themselves. Subordinate to the Council, was a large body of junior merchants, factors and writers, engaged in the less dignified duties of appraising cloth, and weighing saltpetre, or in serving their apprenticeship to the craft and mystery of the Company's trade. Their allowances were upon the most parsimonious scale, and ranged from 50 to 150 Rs. a month; yet their Honourable Masters are found to reprove them for sitting down to dinner with a band of music, and driving about in a chaise and four.

The young writer came out at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and immediately engaged a *banian*, who in general became his master, and retained his influence as long as his employer remained in India. The object of this engagement was to obtain pecuniary assistance in that career of private trade on which the Civilian embarked before he had been a twelve month

in the country. The banian advanced the money and, of course, took the lion's share of the profits. But this was not all. Every Company's servant, down to the junior writer, was entitled to a *dustuck* for his private trade. The *dustuck* (*dustukhut*) was a passport for trade, issued under the broad Persian *perwannah* seal of office, signed by the President, and countersigned by the Secretary to the Council, by virtue of which the goods covered by it passed "clear of duties, let, hindrance, or obstructions from the Government guards." These *dustucks* became the most prolific source of disputes with the native Government, and repeatedly constrained the President to pay down two and three lakhs of rupees to pacify the Nabob. They ought never to have been granted; but as the President was himself largely engaged in private trade, he doubtless found that it would be invidious to draw a line of distinction between himself and his juniors. It was to obtain the benefit of this *dustuck* for his own private and clandestine trade, and thereby to evade the payment of duties on his adventures, that the banian attached himself to the writer. The trade protected by these *dustucks* was invariably entered in the master's name, though carried on with the capital of his banian; and thus it often appeared on the public register, that Civilians who were known not to be worth five pounds, were possessed of a trade of two lakhs of Rupees a year. The terms of this illicit compact between the Civilian and the banian varied with circumstances; the former obtained an eighth, a fourth, and sometimes even a moiety of the profits—that is, of the profits which the banian was good enough to admit. At other times, the privilege of the *dustuck* was unblushingly sold for 200 Rs. and sometimes even for so low a sum as 25 Rs. This shameful abuse of *dustucks* had been denounced no less than twenty-five times by the Directors between 1702 and 1756, and the most peremptory orders had been issued to make restitution of the customs of which the native Government had been defrauded, and to send home the offending servant by the first ship. But it was found impossible to eradicate the abuse. The transgressors were too numerous and too powerful for the President and Council. The whole body of the service was implicated more or less in these underhand dealings, and there was none in a position to cast the first stone at his neighbour. The Civilian continued to live by his trade and his *dustucks*. Meanwhile, the spies of the Nabob in the settlement did not fail to report the prostitution of this privilege to their master; and it was remarked in Durbar that the Nabob Seraja-dowlah had "a long *dustuck* account to settle with the English, who had thereby defrauded the revenue of a crore and a half of Rupees in fifty years."

Such was the state of the Civil Service. Three or four Military officers commanded a small body of troops, whose duties and whose discipline were equally nominal. A few private merchants, in spite of the Company's jealousy of interlopers, resided and traded in a town where all were merchants, from the highest to the lowest, the civil and the military, the medical as well as the ecclesiastical servant. Many natives had been attracted to the town by the security of property and the prospects of trade; and, without any disrespect to Chandernagore or Chinsurah, it may be affirmed that Calcutta was evidently the "commercial capital" of Bengal even at this early period. The Seats, with the wealth of princes, had a *guddy* (commercial seat) in Calcutta. Many of the chief officers of the Native Government, Roy Doorlub, Rajah Manickchand, and Futtehchand, had mansions in the town, while those who were employed in furnishing the Company's investment, Oomichand, Bonmalee and others, were in a measure identified with the settlement.

The President and his Council were employed partly in superintending the trade of the Company, but chiefly in managing their own. Their diplomatic duties were limited to pacifying and bribing the officers of the Durbar, when the abuse of the dustucks and the loss of the public revenue came under discussion. A Court consisting of a Mayor and Aldermen was established in 1727, and administered British law to British subjects in a house built by Mr. Bouchier soon after the Charter arrived, which was then called the Court House, and the remembrance of which still survives in the street, which after the lapse of a hundred and fifteen years, is yet called Old Court House Street. From the decision of the Mayor and Aldermen, an appeal lay to the President in Council, and the two bodies were thus kept in a state of constant activity and collision. The municipal, fiscal, civil, and criminal affairs of the town, as far as the natives were concerned, were administered by a Civilian, who was styled the *Zemindar*. He farmed out the monopolies; he collected the rents; and he decided all civil and criminal suits. In all actions for property, an appeal lay from his award to the President. In capital cases, in which "the lash was inflicted till death," the confirmation of the sentence by the President was necessary. In all other cases, the investigation of the *Zemindar* was summary, and his decision final. He had the power of fining, flogging, and imprisoning. He was Judge, Magistrate, and Collector; and he was consequently the most important personage in the rising town. This officer was always changed once, and sometimes

thrice, in a twelvemonth. He was never allowed to remain long enough in office to acquire any knowledge or experience of his duties. He was, in almost every instance, a total stranger to the native language, which he could neither read nor write ; and, to complete his helplessness, all the accounts were kept exclusively in it. His salary was 2,000 Rs. a year, with a percentage on the farms, which may have given him half as much more. He was always involved in trade, from which he drew an income of ten times the value of his salary. Such was the municipal Government of the town of Calcutta in 1745.

The municipal revenues were derived from various sources, some of which were of the most vexatious nature. The revenue system established in Calcutta, corresponded with that which prevailed throughout the interior of the country under the Mahomedan Government. The ground within the Mahratta Ditch, which paid rent, and at the rate of 3 Rs. the bigah, was estimated at 5,472 bigahs. There were no fewer than eighteen bazars, great and small, in the town, which were annually farmed out, and which, though they yielded 60,000 Rs. a year under honest management in 1752, produced only 40,000 Rs. in 1745. These farms were ostensibly put up to auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. The profits of the farmer arose from two sources ; the duties levied on all articles sold in the bazars, and the sale of monopolies. A duty was levied on rice, paddy, gram, tobacco, ghee, or clarified butter, leaves, thread, oil, capass, or cotton, seeds, beetlenut—in short, “ on every thing which came within the denomination of common food, or the common necessaries of life.” The rate of duty on every article amounted on an average to nine per cent. As to the monopolies, the glass maker within the jurisdiction of the market, the chest maker, the caulker, the seller of vermilion, the seller of opium, the maker of fireworks, paid the farmer a large premium for the exclusive privilege of exercising his vocation. To such an extent was this odious system of taxation carried, that six farms, which were abolished in 1752, were said by the European officers to be no less disgraceful to Government than vexatious to the community. Even the purchasing and vending of old iron, tea cattie, and iron nails was at length made an object of taxation, and yielded 60 Rs. in the first year, and 562 Rs. in the second. It is singular that while rice was saddled with a duty of eight per cent., salt paid only 3 Rs. 2 annas per cent., except that introduced by Khoja Wazeed, the Mogul merchant, the first great salt monopolist on record, whose salt, in consideration we suppose of the services rendered by him at the Durbar, was taxed only to the extent of a Rupee a maund.

There was no tax either on spirituous liquors or on opium, or indeed on any article of an intoxicating nature except *bang*, which produced only 150 Rs. a month in a town which supported eighteen markets. We may regard this fact as proof either of the superior sobriety of the people, or the greater dexterity of the farmer. So small was the intercourse of the inhabitants of Calcutta with the opposite bank of the Hooghly, that the ferry produced only 12 Rs. a month. In addition to these farms, a commission of five per cent. was levied directly by the European Zemindar on the sale of houses, boats, sloops, and on all sums recovered in the Courts. For registering the transfer of every slave, the purchaser paid the sum of four Rupees four annas. The Company also demanded a tax of three Rupees from each party for every marriage license, but sometimes "let off the poor." Fifty per cent. of the diet money which was paid by the defendant to every officer of the Court who served a summons, went to the public chest; and a duty was paid for every public notice by beat of drum, of the loss of either "slave, cow, or horse."

The collection and management of this revenue, as well as the charge of the Police, the Magistracy, and the Civil Court, was, as we have said, vested in a European officer, who was in almost every instance a total stranger to the office, and held it only for a brief time. Govinderam appears to have been appointed the Dewan of this officer, the Zemindar in 1720; and he continued to hold the place for more than thirty years. In the language of the Company, he was the "black Zemindar." Any one acquainted with the native character will easily perceive that the whole power of the Zemindar's office must have been concentrated in the hands of his permanent deputy; and that during the long period of his incumbency, he must have possessed more weight and influence than any other person in the settlement. We have only to revert to his position to feel the truth of Mr. Holwell's assertion, that he "had ten times as much power as his masters." Though his salary was for many years restricted to 30 Rs. a month, and eventually raised only to 50 Rs., his opportunities of amassing wealth must have been almost unlimited, and we may feel assured that he did not neglect them. The farms were disposed of at his own residence, and of course, more to his own advantage than to that of his employers. The most lucrative farms were taken by himself in fictitious names, and the very same day let out to others at a hundred per cent. advance. Every transaction paid him a toll of ten per cent. under the name of dustooree. He defrauded his ignorant and helpless masters in every direction in the

most audacious manner. He drew large allowances for public servants whom he never entertained. He doubled the charge for the repairs of roads, bridges, and cutcheries. He interfered in the disposal of Civil suits, and in the punishment of criminals. He disposed of all appointments, and made them a source both of profit and influence. Every man in the town was overawed by his power and no one had the courage to complain of him. His influence among the Company's servants appears also to have been considerable. At the time of the Mahratta irruption in 1742 he was possessed of a large garden east of the Circular Road. It is still, we believe, designated Halsee Bagaun. It appears that when the public authorities in Calcutta began to dig the Mahratta ditch for the security of their settlement, the line marked for its course in that direction would have run to the west of his garden, and thus excluded it from protection. The maps indicate that after a portion of the ditch had been dug, he prevailed on his English masters to destroy the rectitude of their line, and carry it around his garden, and that of Oomichand which adjoined it; and the map of 1794 describes the ditch as thus encircling both gardens. It was at this garden house of Oomichand that Meer Mudun, Scraja-dowlah's General, took up his head-quarters the day after Calcutta was captured, and it was hither that Mr. Holwell and two other European gentlemen were conveyed with a burning fever in their veins, and thrust into a tent four feet long, three feet wide, and three feet high, where they were obliged to remain during the night exposed to the rain which fell in torrents, with only one-half their bodies protected by the canvas; but they had passed the previous night in the Black Hole, and the tent was paradise.

Suspicious appear to have been entertained for the first time of Govinderam's honesty in 1748, and the Court of Directors were gradually persuaded that the administration of the "black Zemindar" had been more beneficial to himself than to them. But no effort appears to have been made to stem the current of speculation till 1752, when Mr Holwell was appointed Zemindar, with the promise of retaining the office for a long time. He demanded the production of the Zemindarry accounts from the commencement of Govindram's induction to office, but was told that all the documents before 1738 had been swept away in the great storm; and that the greater portion of those belonging to subsequent years had been devoured by white-ants. Govinderam was yet in power, and not an individual ventured to stand forth as his accuser. By dint of perseverance, however, Holwell obtained sufficient data to substantiate various frauds, and he lost no time in charging him before the Council with having embezzled



the property of the Company to the extent of a lakh and a half of Rupees, and demanded "on behalf of his Honourable Masters, that he should be forthwith committed to close custody till the sum was discharged; that a military guard should be placed over his houses, and that his son Roghoo Mitter should be obliged to give security for his appearance." But Holwell's zeal was ill-seconded by the Council, among whom the black Zemindar had many friends. The President, instead of placing him in arrest or sequestering his property, put the charges into his hands; within seven days he produced two replies, written apparently in English, and doubtless by some of the gentlemen of the factory, who were no strangers to his liberality. In his reply he stated that the farms had invariably received the written sanction of his European superior,—which he had not failed to secure;—and that as it regarded those he had taken himself, every Rajah's and Zemindar's Dewan was invariably indulged with some farms for his own profit; and that he could not be expected to keep up the equipage and attendance necessary for an officer in his station on 50 rupees a month. Holwell replied, that if any Dewan was detected in concealing the real profits of a farm, or in holding it clandestinely in another name, or in exacting more than the dues from the people, according to the custom of the country, "the lash, fetters, imprisonment, and confiscation, were the immediate consequence." He remarked, that as Mitter confessed to having plundered "agreeably to the maxims of his own nation," so the laws of his own nation should be the measure of his punishment. But the Council were not disposed to inflict the lash or fetters on the first native in the settlement; they threw every impediment in the way of the prosecution, which, therefore, fell to the ground, and the Dewan was allowed to retain all the wealth he had amassed. Mr. Holwell continued to improve the revenue, and had increased it to nearly 1,00,000 Rupees a year, notwithstanding the contempt and passive resistance of the Council, when the storm of 1756 swept away the whole establishment. In 1757, the Court as a recognition of his eminent services, ordered his allowances to be raised from 2,000 rupees to 6,000 rupees, including all fees and perquisites. But this increased salary he was never destined to touch; nor indeed did he need it. The "Bombay faction," soon after gained the ascendancy in the Direction, revoked the augmentation, and, notwithstanding his eminent services, degraded him to the ninth place in Council. We next find him second in Council under Clive, and affixing his signature to that celebrated despatch in which the conqueror, of Plassey and the defender of Calcutta told their Masters,

"that the diction of their letter was most unworthy of the Court of Directors and the Council of Bengal, in whatever relation considered, either as masters to servants, or as gentlemen to gentlemen." The Court of Directors brooded long over this letter; but thirteen months after it had been sent, wrote out to say that they had taken it into "their most serious consideration, and that many paragraphs therein contained gross insults upon, and offered many indignities to, the Court of Directors;" and they, therefore, ordered that Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell, and the three gentlemen who had joined him in signing it, should be dismissed from their service and sent home by the first ships,—and thus ended the public career of the gallant and indefatigable Holwell.

Returning to the banks of the river, the first object that meets the eye is the Circular Canal, a modern work of great utility to commerce, and no little profit to the state. This Canal, over which several suspension bridges have been erected, joins the river either at the spot where the Mahratta ditch commenced, or in its immediate vicinity. A little beyond its junction commences the village of Chitpore, which appears from an ancient Bengalee poem to have been in existence three hundred years ago. It was then written Chittrupoor, and was noted for the temple of Chittresuree Dabee, or the goddess of Chittru, known among Europeans as the temple of Kalee at Chitpore. According to popular and uncontradicted tradition, this was the spot where the largest number of human sacrifices was offered to the goddess in Bengal before the establishment of the British Government. A corresponding temple of Kalee stands in front of the great and dilapidated temple in Calcutta we have already mentioned, and many a human sacrifice has been offered at the shrine of Siddesuree Dabee, as it is called. But the Chitpore temple was by far the most renowned for the number of its human victims. The most conspicuous object at Chitpore, as stated in the map, is the house and garden of the Nabob Tuhower Jung. This was the original residence of the Chitpore Nabob, as he was called, Mahomed Reja Khan, to whom the whole administration of Bengal, civil, criminal, and revenue, was entrusted for several years after the Company had obtained the Dewanee. It was to this house that the Nabob was brought a prisoner in 1772, by the peremptory orders of the Court of Directors, when they suspected that he had made the interests of the country and the Company subservient to his own. After he arrived, and was lodged in his own house under a guard, the members of Council actually debated on the mode in which the object of

their Master's displeasure should be received, and the majority decided on deputing one of their own number to do him honour !

Immediately above Chitpore is the village of Cossipore with its stacks of chimneys, presenting, when viewed from the south, the appearance of a manufacturing suburb of the great eastern Babylon. Here we have the Government Foundry, one of the most complete and perfect to be seen in any country, erected some years back by Colonel Hutchinson of the Engineers, after he had ransacked England and Europe for the best models. The curious and elaborate machinery, which seems as if it was endowed with the power of thought and contrivance, and the noble hall in which it stands, will amply repay the visit of the stranger. In the immediate vicinity of the Foundry are the steam engines and flour mills of Messrs. Haworth, Hardman and Co ; and half a mile above it is a large assemblage of buildings belonging to Rustomjee, with one steam engine, and a chimney which has long been unconscious of a fire. In the space between Rustomjee's factory and the Foundry, one of our Calcutta millionaires, Baboo Motcelall Seal, has recently erected two spacious country houses. Cossipore, lying at the same distance from Calcutta as Garden Reach, seems, indeed, to be better adapted, by the advantages of its position, for a series of villas ; for it not only enjoys a larger expanse of the river to the south, but has none of those marshes in its neighbourhood which render Garden Reach so frequently unhealthy. The road to it, however, is one of the most execrable about the metropolis, and seems to have received no improvement since Calcutta was a factory. We must not forget to mention that immediately above Rustomjee's factory, the traveller will see the first Ghat erected in India for the exclusive use of females. It is screened from public view by a wall on either side, and females are thus enabled to enjoy the luxury of a bath without being exposed to the gaze of the men. This Ghat has been erected by Ramrutun Baboo, a wealthy native Zemindar, and it is one of the results of that improvement in civilization which has arisen from intercourse with Europeans.

North of Cossipore lies Barnagore, well dotted with brick houses, which indicate the remains of that opulence which grew up with the commercial establishments of the Dutch. During the greater part of the last century this settlement belonged to them, and here their vessels anchored on their way to Chinsurah. It is said to have been originally a Portuguese establishment. It was a place of considerable trade when Calcutta was the abode of wild beasts. Calcutta is now the metro-

polis of a great empire, and Barnagore one of its suburban villages. The chief object of note is the cluster of temples built on a large scale by Joynarayun Mitter some years ago, which present an imposing appearance from the river. A little higher up, we have the village of Dukhinsore, remarkable chiefly for the country scat, marked down in the map as Hastic's Garden, but which has repeatedly changed hands during the last thirty years. To the north of it lies the Powder Magazine. During the four years which have elapsed since Joseph's map was published, four elegant houses have sprung up immediately to the south of this garden. Indeed, those who visit this section of the river for the first time after an absence of fifteen years, would scarcely be able to identify it, so great have been the improvements. More than twenty lakhs of Rupees have been expended in the erection of steam engines and country houses in the space between Dukhinsore and the Chitpore canal, in a range of less than three miles. Within the last five years we have noticed the building of no fewer than six elegant houses, which give to this reach a very European and patrician aspect; and there can be little doubt that within the next twenty-five years, the whole river front between the northern limit of Calcutta and the Barrackpore Park will thus be adorned with mansions,—except where the ground is pre-occupied with temples, which can never be touched—and that a steam-vessel will be devoted to the daily conveyance of the residents to and from town.

About a mile from the Powder Magazine is the Grove, one of the oldest garden houses on the left bank of the river. It is a noble-looking house, but presents a gloomy appearance from the too great proximity of trees, which compose a little forest in front of it. The next object of note above the Grove is a Christian Church with Gothic turrets, cheering the eye with its delightful associations after a dreary succession of temples devoted to the worship of idols. This is the Refuge at Agrapara, which that eminent servant of God and friend of man, Mrs. Wilson was instrumental in raising. No lady in India has ever exerted herself with more perseverance or more success in the cause of Christian philanthropy. Through her benevolent and irresistible importunity, she was enabled to obtain funds for the erection of apartments for a hundred and fifty orphans, to be trained up in Christian duties and hopes; of a house for a Missionary, a large English School, and an elegant Church. This complete Missionary establishment will long remain a monument of her zeal and devotedness to the cause; but so entirely is every human effort, even in the noblest of causes, stamped

with instability, that at the moment when her plans had apparently attained complete efficiency, a change came over her religious views, which led to a separation from the Church Missionary Society and the Refuge, and induced her eventually to return to England. It is enough to say of this institution that Mrs. Wilson's soul no longer animates it.

A little above the Refuge we have the *Rass* temple at Khurdah, the most distinguished of its class in Bengal. It belongs to the family of the Gossains, who live in the village around it in much sacerdotal ease. They are descendents of Nityanundu, the associate of Chitunyu, the great modern heresiarch, who died about 1528, and through the agency of whose disciples a fifth of the population of Bengal has been withdrawn from the creed of the Poorans. The Khurdah Gossains possess the greatest ecclesiastical influence of any body of men in the Lower Provinces. They are the spiritual guides of half the great and wealthy Baboos of Calcutta, and enjoy privileges of exemption from Hindoo observances accorded to no others. They can do with impunity that which would entail excommunication on the most holy personage. They give the *muntur*, or holy text, indiscriminately to brahmuns and harlots. They may enter the houses of the unclean, who happen to be their disciples, and partake of food in their houses, cooked of course by their own attendants, without been defiled. The image which gives its celebrity to this place is that of Samsoonder, and a brief notice of its origin will serve to illustrate the progress of superstitious credulity in the minds of the people, and shew that it is by no means necessary to assign the Poorans a vast antiquity to account for the deep root their mythological fables have taken in the popular belief. A very short period, a century or two, appears amply sufficient to give any legend, however ridiculous, the same authority as "truths of holy writ" among the Hindoos. About three hundred years ago, Roodra, a man beloved of the gods, is said to have been expelled from a temple at Chatra. He retired to Bullubhpore, at the southern extremity of Serampore, then a dense jungle, where he practised religious observances for four or five years. At the end of this time his tutelary god appeared to him, and ordered him to proceed to Gour, and bring from thence a celebrated stone, which stood over the door-way of the palace in which the Mahomedan viceroy resided. On arriving in that city, he found that the prime minister was a Hindoo and devoted Voishnavu. He made known the divine revelation to him, and asked his assistance to procure the stone for an image of Vishnoo. The stone was said to have the singular quality of sweating, and the minister, taking advantage

of this circumstance, is said one day to have pointed out to his master the tears which it shed, and advised that so inauspicious a stone should be sent away with all speed. It was ordered to be taken down ; but as Roodra was placing it on the boat, it fell into the water, and by another miracle was conducted without his aid to Bullubhpore, where a portion of it was formed into an image, over which a splendid temple has since been erected. The Gossains at Khurdah, obtained a part of the wonderful stone, and made an image for their own temple, which has become to them the source of great wealth. A festival is held there in the month of November or December, attended by tens of thousands from all parts of the country. Khurdah, which was in existence three hundred years ago, is supposed to contain four thousand houses, and no fewer than twenty thousand inhabitants ; but it is known for hundreds of miles round exclusively by its temple of Samsoonder, just as towns were celebrated in the olden time in England for the images and shrines with which they were enriched.

Half a mile above the great Rass temple at Khurdah, stands a cluster of twenty-four temples, erected by the wealthy family of Bishwas, and dedicated to Shivu. The family is modern, and its property is the growth of our administration. Pran Bishwas was one of the most devoted followers of the Tuntra School, and his liberality to Brahmuns, is yet the theme of commendation among them. At his death, his heirs, as usual, went to law with each other ; the estate, which he had husbanded with so much care, was thrown into Chancery, and came out sadly curtailed of its fair proportions. The property, including the temples, was divided ; one-half the number of temples was allotted to one son, and the remainder to another ; and the traveller may here see an example of the division of property among the Hindoos, by remarking that half the number has been repaired and white-washed, while the other remains darkened by the effect of the climate.

A mile above Khurdah we reach the great garden at Titagur, said to contain three hundred bigahs of land, and in which four garden houses have been erected. One of these is the residence of Sir John Peter Grant, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court ; another, lying on the northern limit, but not named in the map, is usually called Combermere Lodge, after the conqueror of Bhurtpore. Immediately above it is a thick grove of trees, and a small rivulet. This spot, which has now all the charm of sylvan solitude, was a scene of life and activity forty years ago. Messrs. Hamilton and Aberdeen, enterprising merchants in Calcutta, established a dock-yard there at the

beginning of the present century, and in 1801, the largest merchantman ever built on the Hooghly, the *Countess of Sutherland*, of 1,445 tons, was launched there. The next year, the *Susan*, of humbler dimensions, was built there, and in 1803, the *Fredrick*, of 450 tons. This appears to have been the last vessel constructed at the Titagur dock-yard, which was soon after closed, and of which not a single vestige now remains. In those days, there was no Insolvent Court in Calcutta, to preserve the obituary of deceased firms, and we cannot therefore ascertain the precise date on which Messrs. Hamilton and Aberdeen ceased to have a name among the Calcutta merchants; but we fancy they must have fallen about 1804; for their names appear in the Directory of that year, but not in that of the succeeding year.

A stone's throw from the site of the old dock-yard, is a Ghat with some old dilapidated temples above it, which will long be remembered as the place where for thirty years Dr. Carey landed and embarked as he went down to Calcutta and returned from it twice a week, to deliver lectures in Fort William College. A zig-zag road connects the Ghat with the great Barrackpore road, which the Doctor was obliged to traverse; and on the west of it, a little over the bridge, stands a pukka house, which he said he seldom passed without a feeling of horror. It was built by a family who were hereditary *phaseegars*, as they were then called, and whose wealth had been accumulated by murder. He often described the mode in which they assassinated their victims, by means of a rope, many years before Colonel Sleeman had laid bare the practices and the ramifications of the Thug confederacy, or had entered on the duty of breaking it up. The family to whom the house belonged were known and dreaded as Thugs. This fact may be regarded as an evidence of the early existence of this nefarious association in Lower Bengal.

We have now reached Barrackpore Park, created by the taste and public spirit of Lord Wellesley, forty years ago, and to which twelve Governors-General in succession have retired from the noise and bustle of the town to rural privacy. Every tourist has described the Park, the ornament of Barrackpore, and we need not go over the ground. It was originally the intention of Lord Wellesley to have brought all the public offices up from Calcutta and established them in the vicinity of the Park: and there are few of the officers of Government who will not regret that the plan was not carried into execution. It was with this object that he erected a large bungalow, on the site of the present house, for a temporary residence, and on the spot marked down "a Green House" on the

map, laid the foundation of a palace which was to have cost three or four lakhs of Rupees. But the Court of Directors peremptorily prohibited the outlay of so large a sum on such an object, and the work was suspended, after the basement story had been erected. The beams, doors and windows, and all the other materials, which had been collected, were soon after sold by public auction ; but the shell of the house stood for many years, till the Marchioness of Hastings pulled it down, and erected a Conservatory on its site. The temporary bungalow which Lord Wellesley had erected, served the turn of Lord Minto, who spent much of his time at Barrackpore with his family, but the Marquis of Hastings enlarged it into the present more commodious mansion. Its situation is admirable. It has a noble prospect of more than six miles down the river, and the breeze which, during the hottest season of the year, comes to it over this expanse of water, keeps it comparatively cool. The dining-room, which is lofty and spacious, is unquestionably the noblest hall in this part of the country. The house is adorned with some excellent portraits of the royal family of Oude, from the pencil of Mr. Home. It is also remarkable for its antique furniture, which continues to resist all the innovations of modern taste. The side sofas of the plainest form, the chairs, the marble tables with their antiquated legs, the long mirrors in old-fashioned frames, and even the chandeliers remain unaltered after the lapse of more than thirty years. In one of the side drawing-rooms is to be seen almost the last specimen extant of the single branch wallshade, which the progress of improvement has long since banished from all other houses. That primitive wallshade with its still more primitive bracket, was to be seen in the house in the days of Lord Minto, and while the new men of only twenty years' standing in the service regard it as an emblem of the shabbiness of the Court of Directors, who are deaf to all entreaties for new and more respectable furniture, there are others who can gaze on it with the deepest antiquarian interest.

Barrackpore, the Head-Quarters of the Presidency division of the army, looks bravely on Joseph's map. It is known by the natives only by the name of Chanuck, although it is more than a hundred and fifty years since Charnock established his bungalow at this station, and gathered a little bazar around it. Troops were first stationed at the place in 1772, and from that time forward it has acquired the barbarous name of Barrackpore among Europeans—an unnatural compound of an English word and a Sanskrit termination.

Turning round the bend of the river at Barrackpore we come upon the village of Muneerampore, at the northern end of



which is the house and garden occupied by the late General Marley, long the father of the Indian army, who arrived in India in the year 1771, and died in 1842, after a residence of seventy-one years in it. There are some other pleasant houses in the neighbourhood, one of which was formerly the residence of Mr. John Prinsep, who, like Colonel Watson of Kidderpore, was a great public benefactor, and like him also, reaped little personal advantage from exertions which have been the source of fortune to hundreds. His name has been revived during the present century by six sons, who have acquired distinction in the Civil and Military service of Government, at the bar, in the pursuits of trade, and in the walks of science ; but none of them can be said to have eclipsed their parent in the career of public usefulness. Mr. John Prinsep was regularly bred to the profession of a cloth merchant in the City of London, and very early in life became intimately acquainted with the manufactures of "Glasgow, Paisley, Dunfermline, and Edinburgh, of Manchester, and Blackburn ; with the fabrics of Ireland and Silesia ; of Russia and Haarlem." In 1769, he received the thanks of a Committee of Directors appointed to examine his information relative to the improvement of the Company's fabrics. He arrived in Bengal as a Cadet in 1771, but soon obtained permission to resign the service. In 1773, he was appointed an Alderman of the Mayor's Court in the very last year of its existence ; and five years after, received the appointment of Assistant Superintendent of Investments. This office was abolished in 1785, from motives of economy, but he continued to discharge the duties without salary till March 1787. The next year he returned to Europe, and the following year the office of Cloth Superintendent having become vacant by the departure of Mr. Blaquiére, he memorialized Government in the hope of obtaining it ; but here our information fails us, and we are unable to state whether he was successful or not. During his residence of seventeen years in India, he was employed in the most active and useful undertakings. He was for ten years contractor for the Chintz investment of the Company ; and if he did not originate the manufacture, he contributed in no small degree to its improvement. It was by the workmen drawn from the establishment he had set up at Muncrampore, that the wooden blocks with which Dr. Marshman printed the first edition of the Chinese New Testament were engraved. But that which renders his name particularly memorable in India, is the manufacture of Indigo, which he introduced into Bengal, and which has contributed so greatly to its prosperity and opulence. He supplied Government with this article for several

years on contract. Latterly, he turned his fertile mind to the coinage, and contracted with Government for the supply of the first copper coinage ever struck in Bengal. It is singular that although Mr. Hastings had resolved in 1777, that there should be but one mint allowed for the coinage of money, and that it should be established at Calcutta, Government encouraged Mr. John Prinsep five years after to set up a mint at Pultah, the village immediately to the north of Muneerampore. In compliance with the terms of an award, of which we have not the history, he surrendered the tools and implements of the Pultah mint in 1784 for an indemnity short of two-thirds of his real disbursement.

A little above Muneerampore, are the Powder Works at Ishapore, formerly under the superintendence of John Farquhar, who contrived to amass the colossal fortune, as it was said, of eighty lakhs of Rupees. It is but an act of justice to his memory to state that the whole of this sum was not accumulated from the perquisites, fair or unfair, of his official post ; a considerable proportion of it was the result of the unrivalled parsimony of this prince of Indian misers, who contracted with the solitary servant of his house to supply his table for two annas a day. On his return to England, he is said to have offered to endow one of the Scottish Universities with £100,000 to establish a professorship of Atheism, but the offer was of course rejected. A little beyond Ishapore, once stood Bankybazar, where the Ostend East India Company established a factory and a fort, as it is supposed in 1724, and from which they were expelled in 1733, by the troops of the Mahomedan Government, at the instigation of the English and the Dutch. A little beyond Bankybazar, though not marked in Joseph's map, is a fortified place called Somookghur, of which we have been able to obtain no other account than that it was erected as a place of retreat by the Raja of Burdwan, during the irruptions of the Mahrattas, or Burgees, in the days of Aliverdy Khan.

This article has grown under our hand so much beyond the limit we had allotted to it, that we are constrained to postpone to the next number, the Notes on the right bank of the river.

## RAMMOHUN ROY.

BY BABOO KISSORY CHAND MITTER.

1. *Biographical Memoir of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy, with a series of illustrative extracts from his writings.* Calcutta, 1834.
2. *Translation of the Abridgment of the Vedant or Resolution of all the Vedas, &c.* London, 1817.
3. *Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude, independently of Brahmanical observances (in Sanskrit).* By Rammohun Roy. Calcutta, 1280. (Hindu Era.)

**V**IEWED, in reference to native amelioration, the present is perhaps the most interesting and eventful period in the history of this country. It might be properly called the age of enquiry and investigation. The metropolis of British India is now undergoing a remarkable transition. Customs, consecrated by immemorial observance and interwoven with the fibres of Hindu society, are unhesitatingly renounced as incompatible with the laws of God and man. Hinduism is arraigned before the bar of an enlightened reason, and will ere long be swept from the land which had so long groaned under its domination. But in reflecting on the change now being wrought by educational and other instrumentalities on the native mind, we are irresistibly reminded of the impetus originally communicated to it by Rammohun Roy. His name is inseparably connected with the great moral revolution. It is, therefore, peculiarly interesting to trace the history of this extraordinary man, for it is, in a great measure, the history of that revolution.

Rammohun Roy was born in 1774. He was descended from a long line of Brahmans of a high order, who were from time immemorial devoted to the duties proper to their race. Religion was their vocation. They led a purely monastic life down to his fifth progenitor, who, more than a century and a half ago, "gave up," to quote his own language, "spiritual exercises for worldly pursuits and aggrandizement." This change came over the spirit of his family in the reign of that able, energetic, but tyrannical Mogul Emperor Arungzebe. Whether this change was voluntary, or the inevitable result of that bitter and fierce persecution to which the sacerdotal order had been subjected by that Emperor is uncertain. The descendants of his fifth progenitor attached themselves to the Mogul Courts, held offices, acquired titles, and underwent the vicissitudes inseparable from a political life, especially under an absolute and arbitrary Government—"sometimes rich," as he himself assures us, "and sometimes poor, sometimes excelling

in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment." The grandfather held situations of respectability and emolument at the Court of Murshedabad, the capital of the Soubah of Bengal, owing then nominally allegiance to, but being virtually independent of the Delhi throne. He served under Shurajadowla, who was the Nero of Bengal, and took a particular pleasure in burning and consuming to ashes the houses of his Hindu subjects, in causing boats full of men to be drowned in the middle of the Ganges, and in subjecting even pregnant women to atrocities which we dare not describe. The official career of Rammohun's grandfather was commensurate with that stirring epoch which

"Big with the fate of Cato and of Rome"

witnessed the struggles of a company of merchants with the Nabob—struggles which ultimately resulted in the establishment of a mighty and magnificent empire. Rammohun's father, Ramkunt Roy, experiencing some ill-treatment at the Murshedabad Court, and not being able to brook the disgrace as most of his countrymen would have done, retired from service, and took up his residence at Radhanagur, in the district of Burdwan, where he had taluks, the patrimony of the family. At Radhanagur Rammohun Roy was born.

Rammohun Roy's mother was a strict and orthodox woman. Though she was wedded to the superstitions of her country, yet her son succeeded in opening her eyes to its monstrous absurdities. She confessed to him a year before her death, that, notwithstanding she had been convinced of the folly of her faith, she had been too long accustomed to the strict observance of its ceremonies to give it up altogether. "Rammohun," said she to him, "you are right, but I am a weak woman, and am grown too old to give up these observances which are a comfort to me."\* She was descended from Brahmans of the highest respectability who have, up to the present day, uniformly adhered to a religious life—a life of penance and devotion—a life of gloomy asceticism which aims at eternal beatitude through the literal mortifications of the flesh. The maternal ancestors of Rammohun were the prototypes of that class of Brahmans who are essentially and emphatically Brahmans—who conform, to the letter,

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\* This was said by her before she set out on her last pilgrimage to Juggernaut, where she died. With such self-denying devotion did she conform to the rites of the Hindu religion, that she would not allow a female servant to accompany her to Juggernaut, or any other provision to be made for her comfort or support on her journey. When at Puri, she occupied herself in sweeping the temple of the uncounted idol. One-eighth of the infatuated pilgrims who crowd to Juggernaut at Dol and Rathjatra every year meet with untimely graves. They fall victims to the foetid air of the place and the extraordinary hardships of the journey.

all the stringent rules of the *Akshika Tattva*—who conduct themselves in the same manner as the great-great-grandfathers of their great-great-grandfathers had done.

Rammohun Roy received the first elements of native education at home in accordance with the system, which universally obtains among the upper classes of native society, of initiating the children in the mysteries of *Subankar* under the paternal roof before sending them to a public school. The initiation takes place under the auspices of that model of an educator, a gurunahashay, who, instead of teaching “the young idea how to shoot,” takes good care to cramp and check the development of all ideas except such as might be inspired by his example ! It must not, however, be supposed that the boys acquire any mastery over the Bengali language. Far from it. They only pick up a few rules of arithmetic and letter-writing. They acquire enough of Bengali to enable them to conduct the duties of a sheristadar and a peshkar, but not enough of it to express their thoughts with correctness or elegance. They acquire enough of it to write a long rubakari, but not enough of it to pen a short decent letter. At the age of eight or nine, they are now generally sent to an English school. It is therefore obvious that the acquisition of the Bengali language—the language of their infancy—the language in which their earliest associations are entwined, forms, properly speaking, no part of their education. Far different, however, was the case with Rammohun. Though he had received his elementary Bengali education from a gurunahashay, yet he not only attained, by dint of self-study, a knowledge of Bengali,—which, to say the least, was unrivalled by his contemporaries,—but afterwards brought the language itself to a very high state of improvement. We confess that it is, as yet, destitute of a literature ; that it may take generations, if not centuries, to bring it to the highest state of copiousness and refinement ; that for elegance, flexibility and precision, it cannot be compared to the Sanskrit, which has been cultivated by a Vyasa, a Vālmiki and a Manu ;—yet it must be admitted that it is far more adapted to be a living *national* language. Sanskrit, so called, because of its being a *finished* language—the language of the Gods, the Mohorshis, and the Rishis,—can never be the medium of imparting instruction to the great mass of the *Hindus* ; as the complexity of its grammar, which Panini and Vopadeva delighted to mystify, renders its acquisition an herculean achievement. All this was known to Rammohun Roy. He therefore undertook to create a Literature in Bengali, and his exertions were crowned with a success that exceeded the most sanguine expectation. The Bengali has

been so vastly improved by his careful cultivation, by his taste and genius, that it can be now successfully devoted to the communication of Western knowledge to the children of this great country. He was evidently the first who consecrated, so to speak, the Bengali language by rendering it the medium of moral and religious instruction. But he experienced the greatest difficulties in embodying in it his elevated ideas on the nature and attributes of God. He found it totally inadequate to the expression of subtle metaphysical distinctions. He found here the same obstacles which Sir James Mackintosh says "stood in the way of Lucretius and Cicero when they began to translate the subtle philosophy of Greece into their narrow and barren tongue ; and are always felt by the philosopher when he struggles to express, with the necessary discrimination, his abstruse reasoning in words, which, though those of his own language, he must take from the mouths of persons to whom his distinctions would be without a meaning." But he obviated these difficulties by the introduction into it of expressive Sanskrit words. To his exertions, therefore, we are largely indebted for the improvement of the Bengali language. He was evidently one of the best, if not the best Bengali writer ever born. He was second to none, except it might be to Varut Chunder Roy,—who however prostituted his talents by enlisting them in the cause of libertinism. The court of Rajah Krishna Chunder Roy, of which he was one of the brightest ornaments, and which has been so graphically described by him, afforded the most tempting premiums to such prostitution. The Rajah, who is said to have been the most accomplished gentleman of his time, was a zealous patron of learning.\* He appreciated the brilliant and caustic wit of Gopaul Bhar, the metaphysico-theology of Buggonundun Srimony, as well as the poetry of Varut Chunder. But, though gifted with a keen appreciation of intellectual excellence, his highness's taste was essentially vicious. A desire to pander to that taste was the cause of the misdirection of the talents fostered by his patronage. The *Vida-Sunder* of Varut Chunder Roy, the most popular poem in Bengal, and the words of which are as much household words with its people as those of *Hamlet* and *Othello* among the people of England, is nevertheless a filthy production. Though it exhibits a rich fancy and almost Shakespearcan knowledge of the practical workings of the human heart, yet all its excellencies

\* The great grandson of this Rajah, Srish Chunder Bahadur, seems to have inherited his ancestor's liberality. He has subscribed Co.'s Rs. 3,000, to the New College at Kishnaghur.

re marred by that vicious tone which pervades it throughout. Its immoral tendency cannot be too strongly reprobated. But enough of this digression—into which the parallel we have endeavoured to draw between Varut Chunder Roy and Rammohun Roy has betrayed us. Rammohun Roy's Bengali was truly classical. All his vernacular writings are pre-eminently characterized by a chastity of diction, a suavity of style and a delicacy of illustration, not to be met with in the writings of older Bengali writers. They are free from that meretricious orientalism which characterizes so often vernacular productions. But it must not be supposed that the Bengali language, though thus considerably improved by Rammohun, is yet entirely fitted for the use of the metaphysician or the theologian. It is destitute of a scientific nomenclature, which must be either created or borrowed to enable us to transfuse European science into it. We have no reason, however, to despair of the vernacularization of Western knowledge. Since the time of Rammohun, the importance of this great work is fully recognized, and the establishment of the contemplated hundred and one vernacular schools in the Mofussil, with other collateral measures, will, we hope, tend to accelerate its accomplishment; since the demand, which it will create for vernacular books, must inevitably bring in a rich supply.

Having received the elements of Bengali education, Rammohun Roy was sent to Patna to study Arabic and Persian, the acquisition of which was then what the acquisition of English is now, a passport to wealth and distinction. The study of these foreign languages first opened his eyes to the absurdities of Hinduism. Struck with the simplicity of a faith of which the fundamental doctrine has been pronounced by its prophet to be "God is but *One*," he instinctively revolted from the unmeaning, frivolous, and disgusting ceremonies of Hindu idolatry. The Maulavis at Patna invited his attention to Arabic translations of the works of Aristotle and Euclid: and it must be easily perceived that the mental discipline thus acquired by the perusal of these works, as well as his acquaintance with the doctrines of the Koran, contributed to cause that vigorous and searching scrutiny into his national faith which soon resulted in his emancipation from its chains, and ultimately led to the great and successful efforts he made to destroy its empire. Rammohun Roy, after finishing his course of study at Patna, went to Benares for the purpose of mastering the aristocratic language of his country. At Benares, the seat of the muses, the Oxford of India, he read the Sanskrit and Vedas. Here it was that, properly speaking, he laid the foundation of his greatness. The zeal and enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to the

study of the Sanskrit, and the acquisition of the treasures locked up in it, can alone be conceived from the splendid results to which they afterwards led.

Young as he was, his clear and strong intellect could not fail to discern the absurdities of that superstition which has, from time immemorial, galled and manacled the great mass of his countrymen. Disciplined to the discovery of truth by the process of logical induction and mathematical demonstration, through the writings of Aristotle and Euclid which he attentively studied in Arabic, it revolted from the detestable doctrines of the Puranic system. Saturated with comparatively pure and elevated ideas of God by the study of Mahomedan theology at Patna, it could not hold any fellowship with the puerilities of his national creed. Accordingly, at the age of sixteen, he composed a manuscript calling in question "the idolatrous system of the Hindus." Thus we see that,—at an age, hovering between boyhood and youth, which is seldom devoted to any graver pursuit in this country than playing *Kopoti* and attending school, and which we should deem too premature in any country for so important a decision,—he renounced Hinduism. His renunciation of it, however, to be duly appreciated, must be viewed in connection with the sacrifices inseparable from it. In casting off his allegiance to it, he braved the loss of caste, the loss of ancestral property (for the *Lex Loci* had not then been concocted) and what must have been perhaps more trying to the nerves of the young reformer, the enmity and persecution of his nearest relatives. His composition of the MSS. to which we have adverted, hastened, what could not be long retarded, an estrangement from his father, who was a bigoted Hindu, and could not brook the heresy of his son. It is cheering to contemplate Rammohun Roy at this time. Though literally a boy, and absolutely dependent upon his father for his support, he manfully asserted his principles, despite the obloquy which he knew their assertion must bring down upon him. The tenderness of youth, when associated with such moral courage and such energy and independence of character, challenges our admiration, and exhibits an interesting, we had almost said, a sublime spectacle. It were earnestly to be wished that the educated natives would follow the example of their illustrious countryman much oftener than they now appear to do. Their renunciation of Hinduism must not be lip-deep, but practical. It is not sufficient that they should *talk* of the folly of an observance of the rites and ceremonies enjoined by the shastras, while they conform to them in practice, by performing *shrads*, and marrying their children according to the Hindu mode. It is



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not sufficient that, when taxed with their inconsistency, they should plead the necessity of bowing to public opinion. The habit of compromising with idolatry, they must know, is incompatible with a sincere and earnest love of God. It is high time, therefore, that they should try to wipe off the reproach so often cast upon them, that their actions clash with their professions.

The coldness which had been produced between Rammohun and his father by his secession from that religion in which the latter had taken so much pains to instruct him, having rendered his home uncomfortable to him, he began to entertain the idea of travelling. Accordingly, at the age of sixteen, he left his paternal roof. He proposed to travel to different parts of the country in order to enlarge his acquaintance with the different systems of religion prevailing there—to watch their practical operation—and to ascertain their effects upon the character of their votaries. The enterprising spirit which led him to fulfil this design cannot be too much lauded, inasmuch as it so seldom characterizes the Hindus, who are religiously and constitutionally indisposed to all locomotion except in the cause of superstition. After visiting different parts of the country, he proceeded to Tibet, where he resided two or three years for the purpose of investigating the Buddha creed. The worship of Lama soon disgusted him, and he unhesitatingly ridiculed it before its disciples: the freedom of his remarks gave much offence to them. Prudence might have dictated a different line of conduct, but his frankness and sincerity at this early age gave utterance to his real sentiments. He travelled into other parts beyond the limits of Hindustan till the age of twenty, when his father consented to recall him, and restore him to favour probably through the intercession of his mother.

When he returned, he was met by a deputation from his father and received by him with great kindness. Being domiciled in his father's house, he appears to have devoted himself to the study of the Vedas and the Puranas. With what success he employed himself in these studies, it would be superfluous to inform our readers. From the undivided attention he paid to them, and the zeal and ardour with which he pursued his researches into Hindu theology as developed in the works of Vyas, Manu and Sankaracharya, we are disposed to believe that he had planned, even at this time, that moral revolution with which his name is identified. The evidence on this point is indeed, we confess, hardly sufficient to prove that any systematic scheme should have been so early formed even by so powerful and active a mind. But it is certain that he had been

strongly convinced of the debasing and demoralizing tendency of Hinduism, and had seriously been thinking of making an attempt at its subversion.

At the age of twenty-two he commenced the study of the English language, but made no marked progress in it for the next six years. This was owing, we are firmly persuaded, to his not having brought to bear upon its study that application and strength of mind which had enabled him to master so many languages. He afterwards addressed himself to it with his characteristic vigour and energy, and acquired so highly respectable a knowledge of it as to be enabled to write and speak it with accuracy. But we would have it distinctly understood that his English writings do not furnish a legitimate criterion of his English knowledge. They were, to a certain extent, the production of his European friends, though the thoughts and sentiments embodied in them owed their paternity to him alone. The matter was his, but not wholly the manner of expression; his acquaintance with the English language was, as we have said, highly respectable, and no more,—though, *for his time*, it might well be pronounced remarkable. In writing his religious and political pamphlets; in drawing up papers or even letters of any importance, he had constant assistance from an intelligent and highly educated friend. He did not send a line to the press without submitting it to his revision. The truth is that Rammohun Roy was exceedingly ambitious of literary fame.

It had been remarked by those who came into contact with him that he wrote English much better than he spoke it. The reason is obvious. What he spoke was really his own. What he wrote was not wholly his own *bond fide* production. In extenuation, if not in justification of this weakness,—for such in part we consider it to be,—we may observe that it was not wholly the result of vanity but of a solicitude to disseminate his sentiments among the European community, for which end it was absolutely necessary that they should be expressed with correctness and elegance. In his own English, unquestionably, they would not have found their way home to the business and bosoms of his friends; and thus a large proportion of the good, which he could alone effect through the co-operation of the intelligent and well-disposed Europeans, would probably have remained undone.

To a man of Rammohun Roy's extensive and varied acquirements, it is however no disparagement to say that he was not an elegant English writer. One, who was decidedly the best Bengali writer, who was one of the most profound Sans-

krit scholars, who had mastered Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindustani, who had a tolerable knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, need not take any shame to himself for not having acquired a complete command over the English language.

Rammohun Roy's father, Ramkant Roy, died in the Bengali year 1210, corresponding to A. D. 1803, leaving another son besides himself, viz. Jugomohun Roy. It has been roundly asserted by the writer of the memoir placed at the head of this article, that Rammohun had been disinherited by his father. This is not true. The assertion owes its origin to the circumstance of his not having accepted any portion of his ancestral property, because of its having been in an encumbered state. As the succession to it would have involved, according to the Hindu Law, a liability to the payment of his father's debts, he thought it proper to have had nothing to do with it. The Maharajah of Burdwan, Tejchand, the father, by adoption, of the present Maharajah, instituted a plaint against Rammohun Roy in the Calcutta Provincial Court in 1823, for a balance due from his father on a kist-bundy bond, when his defence was, that inheriting no part of his father's property, he was not legally responsible for his father's debts.

The death of his father having devolved upon his shoulders the management and maintenance of his family, he was led to seek official employment under the British Government. He was most desirous to obtain a provision which might enable him to devote himself to philosophy and literature. He had been favourably noticed by several civilians. His father and grandfather held responsible and lucrative offices under the Mogul Government. His own talents were such as the English Government might have been glad to enlist in the public service. But the road to official distinction had not then been rendered accessible to the natives. The system of making Hindus, Prime Ministers and Generals, which constituted a redeeming feature of the Mahomedan administration, was swept away with that rule: and they had not yet been allowed to sit on the bench of justice. The enlightened policy of giving them a share in the administration of their country had not been recognized by the British Government. The narrow and mistaken Cornwallis policy of conducting the administration exclusively through European agency, which has since proved such a miserable failure, was then in full operation.

The post of Dewan, since called *sheristadar*, was then the highest to which a native could aspire. Rammohun Roy

wished to get it. With this view he entered, as a clerk, the office of Mr. John Digby, Collector of Rungpore. Connected with this subject, it is curious to observe that, on his entering office, a written agreement was signed by Mr. Digby, stipulating that Rammohun should not be kept standing in "*the presence*," or receive orders as a common Amla from the *Huzûr*. This circumstance proves, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that the hauteur of the civilian toward the natives, which has since grown into a proverb among them, and which precludes educated, respectable, and high-spirited men from seeking employment in the Company's Courts, was in Rammohun Roy's time, appreciated as now. What a reflection it is upon the official character of the civilian? The sovereign contempt with which many of our English Hukims look down upon the Amla is without a parallel in the annals of servitude, and has in a high degree succeeded in alienating the better portion of the native community. The ranks of the Amlas, being for this reason mainly supplied from the dregs of that community, their corruption should not be wondered at. That they should sell their official influence to the highest bidder, and convert the Mofussil Courts into dens of iniquity and *Joachury*, is quite in the course of things. We would, therefore, strongly urge the desirableness and importance of gradually levelling down that invidious line of demarkation between the covenanted and uncovenanted service which an imaginary necessity or a blind self-interest has upreared. We earnestly hope and trust that the discussion which the question of the renewal of the charter will give rise to in Parliament in 1854, will result in the abolition of a distinction, which, in the opinion of the Bentincks, the Munros, and the Metcalfes, is not only unjust in principle, but inefficient in practice.

Free from that "insolence of office" against which the agreement entered into by him with the Collector guarded him, Rammohun Roy addressed himself to his duties with a zeal and energy which elicited the approbation of his employer, and soon earned for him the post of Dewan. By serving in this capacity, he is said to have realized as much money as enabled him to become a Zemindar with an income of Rs. "ten thousand a year." If this assertion be true, it must raise in the mind a strong suspicion of the moral character of this extraordinary man. But we are prepared neither to substantiate nor to contradict it. Whether his integrity was proof against those temptations, which are generally irresistible to the Amla, or whether, like another Bacon, he exhibited a melancholy illustration of the union of intellectual greatness with moral littleness, is a

problem the solution of which is beyond our power. Whether the apostle of Hindu reform, like the high priest of inductive philosophy, sold justice, is a question which, however interesting, we are not competent to decide. The evidence on this subject is too inconclusive to enable us to arrive at a decision. It is therefore impossible to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, whether there was any difference between Rammohun Roy the Reformer, and Rammohun Roy the Dewan—between Rammohun Roy seated in his study, and discussing with his friends the means of ameliorating the moral and social condition of his countrymen, and Rammohun Roy located in the collectorate of Rungpore and penning *foisallahs* and *rubakaries*—between Rammohun Roy thundering against Hindu idolatry, and Rammohun Roy conducting the fiscal duties of his office.

If Rammohun Roy did keep his hands clean, and abstain, as in the absence of all positive evidence to the contrary we are bound to suppose, from defeating the ends of justice for a—consideration,—he must have been a splendid exception. Constituted as human nature ordinarily is, it is preposterously absurd to calculate upon a faithful and conscientious discharge of duties by men who, while clothed with all but an irresponsible authority, are paid a pittance which hardly suffices to meet their pocket expenses. The same causes which led the European functionaries before the time of Cornwallis to be more true to their own interests than to those of their Honorable masters, must inevitably operate in producing the same results among the natives. For the system of small pay and large responsibility, heretofore the pet-system of our Government, makes official corruption the rule, and official integrity the exception. Its inefficiency, however, has been recognized by Government in the late increase of the salaries of the Darogahs. While we rejoice in the adoption of that enlightened policy which has dictated this measure, we would urge its extension to other classes of ministerial officers. The emolument of the Dewan or Sheristadar, the first ministerial officer in the Mofussil Court, is totally inadequate to the responsibility and respectability of the office. We could name several districts and Zillahs where the sheristadar is the *de facto* Magistrate, the *de facto* Collector, and the *de facto* Judge. It is absolutely necessary that the pay of this functionary should be at least doubled before we can have a right to reckon on his integrity.

The more Mr. Digby saw of Rammohun, the more he appreciated him. The esteem which they entertained for each other ripened into a warm friendship which only terminated with the death of the latter. They cultivated oriental and English

literature in conjunction—mutually aiding each other. Mr. Digby many years after, while in England, thus bears his testimony to the acquirements and opinions of his quondam Dewan :

“ By perusing all my public correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as by corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language, as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy. He was also in the constant habit of reading the English newspapers, of which the continental politics chiefly interested him, and from them he formed a high opinion of the talents and prowess of the late ruler of France, and was so dazzled with the splendour of his achievements, as to become sceptical as to the commission, if not blind to the atrocity of his crimes, and could not help deeply lamenting his downfall, notwithstanding the profound respect he ever professed for the English nation ; but when the first transports of his sorrow had subsided, he considered that part of his political conduct which led to his abdication to have been so weak, and so madly ambitious, that he declared his future detestation of Buonaparte would be proportionate to his former admiration of him.”

Rammohun Roy resided alternately in the Zillahs of Rungpore, Bhagulpore, and Ramghur till the year 1814, when he took up his residence in Calcutta. He purchased a garden with a house constructed in the European mode, and furnished in the European style, in the upper Circular Road at the eastern extremity of this city. Thus we see that, at the age of fifty, he carried into effect his long-cherished plan of retiring from business, and consecrating the latter portion of his life to philosophy and religion. His love of literary retirement amounted almost to a passion. He used to say that a man, after acquiring a competence, should spend his life in the enjoyment of philosophic ease. “ Old as I am,” said he once to a friend, “ I wish I may retire to a solitary cave, and there apply myself to the study of the Vedant and Mesnavi.”\*

To retire from the hurry and bustle of the world—to revel in the luxuries of lettered leisure—to cultivate philosophy and religion amidst the solitudes of jungles—to consecrate his energies to the furtherance of the great work of his country's regeneration,—this was the *beau idéal* of his happiness. Business, which is the “ be-all and the end-all” of the existence of the great majority of mankind, whether located in civilized, demi-civilized, or uncivilized countries, was considered by Rammohun Roy as something too low to engross a whole life. He not only knew but felt the great truth, that man is created for higher ends than the

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\* The Mesnavi is a work of Maulano Rum, a celebrated Persian poet. It treats of religion, morality and politics. “ It is an astonishing work,” says Sir W. Jones, “ and the highest flights of sublimity can be found in it.”



acquisition of rupees—that being gifted with moral, and intellectual powers, nothing short of the cultivation of all these powers can promote his happiness—that there is that in man which the things of this world cannot altogether satisfy, which longs after eternity, and after Him of whom it hath been sublimely said that he “inhabiteth eternity.”

Rammohun Roy, being permanently located in the City of Palaces, gathered around him many inquiring and intelligent Hindus. He soon became the centre of a circle composed of men in advance of their age. From this time forward his career as a reformer commenced. From this time forward to the last day of his existence he devoted himself, heart and soul, to the mighty work of his country's regeneration. He laboured day and night, right and left, to promote this great object. All his hopes and aspirations were centred in the prospect of its realization. It absorbed his energies. It engrossed the whole man.

So effectually has the cruel and demoralizing superstition of the Hindus extinguished the religious feelings of their nature, and perverted their ideas of the very fundamentals of divine worship, that they never think of worshipping their God except by means of unintelligible and unmeaning *montras*. These *montras*, which they have been taught to articulate without comprehending their import, are considered to be a passport to heaven. Such lip-deep and mechanical devotion is a mockery of worship, and a downright insult to Him who is *to be loved with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength*.

Rammohun Roy sought to reform the faith and worship of his countrymen. By teaching them to contemplate the natural, intellectual, and moral attributes of God, he proposed to make them worship their Creator “*in spirit and in truth*.” The extermination of Hindu idolatry and the dissemination of sound and enlightened views of the Supreme Being—of the unseen and future world—of truth—of happiness—of final beatitude;—this was the great object of his being. And to the furtherance of that object, he unhesitatingly devoted his talents, his time and his fortune. Endowed with an energy of character and strength of intellect of which his age furnished no model, he braved the most formidable obstacles which opposed themselves to the progress of the good cause he had espoused; and the pecuniary sacrifices he made to promote that cause were indeed noble. Though his fortune was anything but princely, yet he gladly consecrated a large portion of it to its advancement. Never did a reformer labor more zealously, more sincerely, more indefatiga-

bly. Never did a reformer unite in himself more happily the urbanity of the gentleman, and the shrewdness of the man of the world, with the profundity of the philosopher, and the enthusiasm of the theologian. Of course, it will be understood, that we speak of him *relatively*, as a *Hindu reformer*, rising up, by self-effort, out of the chaos of Hinduism. It would be unfair to judge of him by the highest standard of Christian civilization.

It is impossible for us to estimate adequately the exertions he made to liberate the Hindu mind from spiritual bondage, and to indoctrinate it with the pure, elevated and living principles of veneration, justice, and benevolence. One of the means he adopted for the realization of this important end, was the publication and distribution of tracts, on moral and religious subjects. He published them all at his own expense, and distributed them gratuitously among his countrymen.

He first appeared before the public as an author by his translation into Bengali of the celebrated Vedant. It is a resolution of the Vedas, or a compendious digest of the Hindu Scriptures, accompanied with annotations on the more difficult passages. It owes its paternity to that intellectual phenomenon of India, Krishna Dayapayana Vyas. Regarding this author and his system, enough has appeared in a previous article to render any additional statements necessary here.

Being written in the Sanskrit language, the Vedant is of course inaccessible to the great mass of the Hindus. By presenting to them a Bengali translation of it, Rammohun Roy did no small service to his cause. The Bengali translation was followed by a Hindustani one. In 1816 he published the English translation of the Vedant, "the most celebrated and revered work of Brahmanical theology." The preface, "addressed to the believers of the one true God," is so interesting and so much illustrative of the doctrines he endeavoured to inculcate, that we cannot resist the temptation of quoting it at length :—

"The greater part of Brahmans, as well as of other sects of Hindus, are quite incapable of justifying that idolatry, which they continue to practise. When questioned on the subject, in place of adducing reasonable arguments in support of their conduct, they conceive it fully sufficient to quote their ancestors as positive authorities ! And some of them are become very ill-disposed towards me, because I have forsaken idolatry, for the worship of the true and eternal God ! In order, therefore, to vindicate my own faith and that of our early forefathers, I have been endeavouring, for some time past, to convince my countrymen of the true meaning of our sacred books ; and to prove, that my aberration deserves not the opprobrium which some unreflecting persons have been so ready to throw upon me.

"The whole body of the Hindu Theology, Law, and Literature, is contained in the Veds, which are affirmed to be coeval with the creation ! These

works are extremely voluminous ; and being written in the most elevated and metaphorical style, are, as may be well supposed, in many passages, seemingly confused and contradictory. Upwards of two thousand years ago, the great Vyasa, reflecting on the perpetual difficulty arising from these sources, composed with great discrimination a complete and compendious abstract of the whole ; and also reconciled those texts which appeared to stand at variance. This work he termed *the Vedant*, which, compounded of two Sanskrit words, signifies *the resolution of all the Veds*. It has continued to be most highly revered by all the Hindus ; and in place of the more diffuse arguments of the Veds, is always referred to as equal authority. But from its being concealed within the dark curtain of the Sanskrit language, and the Brahmins permitting themselves alone to interpret or even to touch any book of the kind, the Vedant, although perpetually quoted, is little known to the public ; and the practice of few Hindus indeed bears the least accordance with its precepts !

"In pursuance of my vindication, I have to the best of my abilities translated this hitherto unknown work, as well as an abridgment thereof into the Hindustani and Bengali languages, and distributed them, free of cost, among my own countrymen, as widely as circumstances have possibly allowed. The present is an endeavour to render an abridgment of the same into English, by which I expect to prove to my European friends, that the superstitious practices which deform the Hindu religion, have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates !

"I have observed that, both in their writings and conversation, many Europeans feel a wish to palliate and soften the features of Hindu idolatry ; and are inclined to inculcate, that all objects of worship are considered by their votaries as emblematical representations of the Supreme Divinity. If this were indeed the case I might perhaps be led into some examination of the subject ; but the truth is, the Hindus of the present day have no such views of the subject, but firmly believe in the real existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, who possess, in their own departments, full and independent power ; and to propitiate them, and not the true God, are temples erected, and ceremonies performed. There can be no doubt, however, and it is my whole design to prove, that every rite has its derivation from the allegorical adoration of the true Deity ; but at the present day, all this is forgotten ; and among many it is even heresy to mention it. I hope it will not be presumed, that I intend to establish the preference of my faith over that of other men. The result of controversy on such a subject, however multiplied, must be ever unsatisfactory. For the reasoning faculty, which leads men to certainty in things within its reach, produces no effect on questions beyond its comprehension. I do not more than assert that, if correct reasoning, and the dictates of common sense, induce the belief of a wise, uncreated being, who is the supporter and ruler of the boundless universe, we should also consider him the most powerful and supreme existence—far surpassing our powers of comprehension or description ! And although men of uncultivated minds, and even some learned individuals (but in this one point blinded by prejudice,) readily choose, as the object of their adoration, any thing which they can always see, and which they pretend to feel, the absurdity of such conduct is not thereby in the least degree diminished.

"My constant reflections on the inconvenient, or rather injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindu idolatry, which, more than any other Pagan worship, destroys the texture of society, together with compassion for my countrymen, have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error : and by making them acquainted

with their scriptures, enable them to contemplate, with true devotion, the unity and omnipresence of nature's God.

"By taking the path, which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahman, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantage depends upon the present system. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear; trusting that a day will arrive, when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice—perhaps acknowledged with gratitude. At any rate, whatever men may say, I cannot be deprived of this consolation; my motives are acceptable to that Being, who beholds in secret, and compensates openly."

After the publication of the Vedant, Rammohun printed, in Bengali and English, translations of the Kena Upanishad, one of the chapters of the Sama Veda, according to the gloss of the celebrated Sankaracharya, "establishing the unity and the sole omnipotence of the Supreme Being, and that He alone is the object of worship." The Upanishads constitute the least exceptionable portion of the Hindu scriptures. The Vedas consist of two portions, viz.: the *Karmakand* and *Gyankand*. The former inculcates the worship of the elements and the performance of rites and ceremonies. The latter, to which the Upanishads belong, treats of the existence and attributes of God. The one is the exoteric and the other the esoteric part of the Hindu religion. The object of his translating the Upanishad was to prove that the performance of the absurd rites and ceremonies inculcated by the Karmakand, and the celebration of the Pujahs inculcated by the Purans, far from being sanctioned by, is seemingly repugnant to what appeared to be the real spirit, not of the Vedas themselves, but of *the better and more rational parts of the Vedas*, viz. the *Upanishads*.

He endeavoured to show that *Adwaita*, or unity of the Deity, as contradistinguished from that of *Dwaita*, or plurality of gods, is the fundamental doctrine of the Vedantic system. How far he was correct in holding this opinion, or how far he succeeded in his object is a question which we mean not at present to handle. In the introduction to the Sama Upanishad he says, "this work will, I trust, by explaining to my countrymen the real spirit of the Hindu scriptures, which is but the declaration of the unity of God, tend in a great measure to correct the erroneous conceptions which have prevailed with regard to the doctrines they inculcate. It will also I hope tend to discriminate those parts of the Vedas which are to be interpreted in an allegorical sense, and consequently to correct those exceptionable practices which not only deprive Hindus in general of the common comforts of society, but also lead them frequently to self-destruction, or to the sacrifice of the lives of their friends and relatives."

In conformity with the plan he had proposed to himself of reasoning his countrymen out of their idolatry, by making them acquainted with the contents of the more rational parts of their own scriptures, he published a Bengali, and afterwards an English translation of the Kuth Upanishad of the Yajur Ved, and Mundak Upanishad of the Atharva Ved, and distributed copies of them as widely as possible.

Intense was the sensation which these publications created among the Hindus. Opinions, entirely subversive of the popular and established tenets of Hinduism, had been pronounced by Rammohun Roy in broad daylight. Liberties in thought and action had been fearlessly assumed both by him and his followers, which shocked the bigoted Pandits and the lazy ghee-fed Babus. The injurious effects of those customs and institutions, which had for ages marked the peculiar character of the Hindus, had been exposed to the wonderment of men taught to venerate them from their infancy. The Vedas and the Upanishads, which were sealed books to all but the privileged few, had been shewn to be decidedly opposed to the worship of the most popular deities, such as Kali and Durga, and Krishna and Shiva. The prerogative of the Brahmans to expound and study the scripture, had been set at nought. The great mass of the Hindus, whose belief in their creed was, so to speak, based on *hearsay*, had been called upon to examine for themselves, nay, invited to pronounce the mysteries and pregnant monosyllable Om. Who could therefore assign any limits to the lengths Rammohun might go? The Hindus looked with trembling anxiety on the results of this terrible innovation. The Kali Yug was at hand. In the *Baitokhanas* of the Babus, as well as in the Tols of the Pandits, the heresy of Rammohun Roy was the one great theme of conversation. Both the Brahman and the Sudra united in counteracting the efforts of the Reformer. The Nyayik, the Mimamsik Yogi, and the Puranic, who agree in nothing else,—who wage a perpetual polemical warfare among themselves,—who, at a marriage rite, or a shrad shabha, are invariably to be seen seated on a carpet apart from the rest of the company, and engaged in wrangling on knotty points, relieved only by a dip now and then into their snuff boxes;—all agreed to enlist themselves under the banner of opposition.

The publication of the *Kuth Upanishad*, as well as the application of the term "Reformer" to him by the Editor of the *India Gazette*, led to a controversy between him and Sankara Sastri, head English master in the College of Fort St. George Madras. The Sastri, while he admitted the fact contended

for by Rammohun, that the doctrine of unity, in a certain sense, was inculcated by the Puranic as well as the Vedantic systems, insisted that Rammohun had no claim to be considered as the "discoverer" of the doctrine. The controversialist, however, justified the idolatry of his countrymen and particularly the worship of the personified attributes of the Almighty, which he considered to have distinct and independent existence. "If a person," says he, reasoning from an analogy more plausible than correct, "be desirous to visit an earthly prince, he ought to be introduced in the first instance by his ministers, but not of himself to rush upon him at once, regardless of offending him. Should a man wish to ascend a flight of stairs, he ought to proceed, step by step, and not to leap up several at a time, so as to endanger the wounding of his legs. In like manner, the grace of God ought to be obtained by degrees, through the worship of his attributes." The indefatigable Rammohun soon published his reply. He disclaims in it the titles of "Reformer" and "Discoverer,"—justly observing that he was commonly stigmatized by his countrymen as an Innovator. With reference to the Divine Attributes, he shews, by ample quotations and excerpts from the Vedas, that the doctrine of their independent existence was obviously incompatible with the fundamental principles of the Vedantic system. Soon after, a Bhattachargjya of Calcutta appeared in the field. He published a letter in Bengali and English containing a fierce attack upon his opinions. It elicited a well-penned tract from him entitled, "second defence of the monotheistical system of the Vedas."

But the opposition of his countrymen to his opinions was not confined to literary warfare. A degree of persecution had been excited against him which it required no ordinary moral courage to brave. His name was coupled with obloquy. So utterly incapable were his countrymen of appreciating his labours, or rather so utterly blinded were they by downright bigotry, that they nicknamed him a *nastik* (atheist.) That he was an ungodly man, and aimed at the destruction of all religion, was what they firmly believed. He had been several times threatened with personal violence,—so much so, that he made it a point, whenever he went out, to have a kind of guard accompanying his carriage. That he should be called an atheist by the bigoted Hindus is by no means to be wondered at. We know that the charge of atheism, the highest in our opinion which one man can prefer against another, usually proceeds from men who are apt to identify mere theism with atheism. The words *scepticism*, *atheism*, or *infidelity*, as generally applied,

mean, when properly analysed, only a departure from national or popular religion. The Mahomedans call every body an infidel or an atheist who does not believe in the Alkoran. The educated native, who dares to disown the doctrines of Hinduism, is called by his idolatrous countrymen a *mlechha* and a *nastik*. Every nation on the face of the earth, and from the dawn of history to the present moment, has branded with the opprobrium of infidelity all those who, persuaded of the absurdities of the national and ancestral faith, embrace purer and more elevated views of religion.

That Rammohun Roy entertained the highest respect for the practical part of the Christian religion does not admit of dispute. No one could more thoroughly appreciate and venerate the code of morality inculcated in the Bible. That it was the purest, the most elevated, the most sublime code in the world, was cheerfully admitted by him. He had acquired the Hebrew and Greek languages in order to be able to read the scriptures of the Christians in the original. He had afterwards studied the Old Testament with a Jewish rabbi and the New Testament with some Christian divines. After having matured the fruits of his researches into the Christian and Hindu scriptures, he published in 1820, anonymously, his celebrated work, "The Precepts of Jesus the guide to Peace and Happiness." It consists principally of selections from the first three gospels. In the Preface to this work he says :—

"This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas, to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank, or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain, and death ; and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature ; and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

The publication of this work brought upon him an attack far more formidable than any he had encountered from his countrymen. In the first No. of the *Friend of India* (quarterly series) there appeared an elaborate and learned article, "Observations on certain ideas contained in the Introduction to the Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness." This elicited a reply from Rammohun, under the signature of "A Friend to Truth," in "An Appeal to the Christian Public." The Appeal led to a reply from the *Friend of India*, and to a second Appeal in Rammohun Roy's own name, which again called forth an attack upon him from the same journal. The

first two appeals had been printed at the Serampore Press, but the proprietor having expressed some conscientious scruples about printing the "Final Appeal," Rammohun forthwith purchased types, and set up the "Unitarian Press, Dharmatollah." His "Final Appeal," as well as all his subsequent works were printed at this press.

It was amidst the sensation occasioned amongst the European and the enlightened portion of the native community, by the publication of the appeals of Rammohun, and the counter-appeals of the "Friend," that Brojomohun Mujumdhur, a friend and disciple of the Hindu reformer, published an essay entitled, "Strictures on the Present System of Hindu Monotheism," in the Bengali language. We are inclined to believe, however, that it owed its paternity, at least in some degree, to an intellect superior to that of the apparent author; and our belief is strengthened by the fact of Rammohun's being in the habit of publishing his works either anonymously, or in the names of his friends. At all events it must have been published under the auspices of the Hindu reformer.

This brochure is evidently stamped with the impress of a strong mind. It is a clever and bold attack on Hinduism. It is "a masterly exposure," as Dr. Marshman in reviewing, justly characterized it, "of the absurdities of the Hindu system." All the arguments brought in support of Hindu idolatry are unanswerably refuted. The tomfooleries of the Hindu mode of worship are held up to merited ridicule and contempt. It displays a profound acquaintance with the Hindu Shastras. In depth of argumentation, energy of diction, and keenness of satire it is surpassed by few Bengali works. But independently of its merits, we hail it as the first production of the kind by a native in his own language. That in the heart of Calcutta, the very stronghold of wealthy bigotry, there should arise a respectable Hindu to expose the absurdities of Hinduism, was a cheering illustration of the progress of improvement, and an auspicious omen of good things to come.

Though the exertions of Rammohun Roy to subvert Hinduism and disseminate purer and more elevated notions of religion and morality had alienated from him the great mass of his countrymen, and brought down upon him not only unmerited obloquy, but a large amount of persecution;—yet it is comforting to know that they were appreciated by the thinking portion of the natives. The seceders from the ranks of Hinduism daily increased and joined his standard.

Several intelligent, respectable, and opulent natives, in whom we recognize some of the present leaders of the native



society, embraced his views. "The ground which I took," says he, in one of his letters before us, "in all my controversies was not of opposition to Brahmanism, but to a perversion of it; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmans was contrary to the practice of their ancestors and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey. Notwithstanding the violence of the opposition and resistance to my opinions, several highly respectable persons, both among my own relations and others, began to adopt the same sentiments." He soon became the leader of a sect, the basis of whose creed was the unity of Deity in opposition to polytheism. It was composed of men who had been taught to think boldly, and who had been strongly persuaded of the evils of that idolatry which had dwarfed the national mind. They therefore readily joined him in establishing a society for putting down that idolatry. The *Brahma Sumaj* was established in 1828. The Shabha holds weekly meetings on Wednesday evenings, when the Vedas are read and expounded, and discourses in Bengali are delivered. The subjects embraced by the discourses, relate to general principles in morals and religion. The meetings, "open to men of all persuasions," are now attended by considerable numbers. They always conclude with the singing of hymns composed by Rammohun Roy himself and his friends. The other means, adopted by the society for the realization of its object, are the preparation and publication of Bengali Tracts on moral and religious subjects and the reprinting of Sanskrit works on Vedantism.

The excitement, created by this organization, was proportioned to the magnitude of the change aimed at by its founder. That the veil of mystery, which had enshrouded from time immemorial, the more sacred portion of the Hindu scriptures should be unceremoniously torn open, and its contents revealed to the irreverent gaze of those who had been studiously precluded, by interested priestcraft, from even a superficial acquaintance with them—that the *Gâyatri* should be pronounced before not only the *sudra*, but the *mlechha*—that the *sudra* and the *mlechha* should be called upon to participate in the worship of *Brahma*;—this could not fail to shock the feelings of the Hindus and impel them at last to adopt some strenuous measures for counteracting the efforts of the *Brahma Dol*. They established the *Dharma Shabha*, with the avowed object of upholding Hinduism in all its integrity, and preserving its laws and institutions from the inroads of the *Brahma Shabha*. This corporation soon increased in numbers and in strength. The success which had attended its exertions showed that the

national character of the Hindus—pre-eminently distinguished by a spirit of exclusiveness and disunion, and an apathetic indifference to all but the animal wants of life,—had changed for once. The noise of theological controversy reverberated throughout the country. The Hindu community became divided into two great parties, the Brahma Shabha party and the Dharma Shabha party. The principles of these Shabhās carried on their warfare in every part of native society, in every Tol, in every Baitokhana, in every Dalan, in every Chondimundub, in every Zenana. Sometimes the bigotry and fanaticism of the Dharma party, seemed to triumph over the Vedantism of the Brahma Shabha. Sometimes the Brahma Gyanis seemed to carry every thing before them.

Though the influence, exercised' by the Dharma Shabha over the Hindus, was at one time all but omnipotent, yet we rejoice to know that it is now on the wane, and that the days of the Shabha itself are numbered. It has been rent in twain, and ceased to enlist the real sympathies of the Hindu public. Every educated and intelligent native would, we are sure, cordially participate in our wish for the immediate dissolution of a society, which preaches the doctrine of non-intercourse, and aims at the laceration of domestic and social ties. But the Shabha distinguished itself not only by its inquisitorial proceedings but by its opposition to every liberal measure. One of its first movements was, we believe, the presentation of a petition to Government *against* the abolition of the Suttee (Sati) rite, and one of its last movements has been the presentation of a similar petition against the Lexi Loci, in reference to the xi, xii and xiii clauses, emphatically called the *liberty of conscience clauses*,—abolishing that portion of the Hindu law which inflicts forfeiture of ancestral property on persons renouncing the Hindu or Mahommedan religion.

The Suttee rite, in the perpetuation of which the Dharma Shabha had been deeply interested, was one of the monster evils of this country. It had led thousands and tens of thousands of women to an untimely grave. Deluded by the hopes of perennial happiness, they performed the rite of *Shamaran*, i.e. burnt themselves alive with the bodies of their deceased husbands. The banks of the Bhagirathi exhibited for centuries the horrid spectacle of the *chullu* blazing fearfully, over the dead and the living! Rammohun Roy deeply felt for these infatuated victims of superstition. His heart bled at the horrors of *Shamaran* and *Anamaran*. He had always openly, and in no measured terms, denounced this inhuman and diabolical rite. He published in 1820, for general circulation, a

tract both in Bengali and English languages entitled, "A conference between an advocate for, and an opponent of, the practice of burning widows alive." This was followed by a second conference which he dedicated to the Marchioness of Hastings. The object of these publications was to show that the rite of Suttee, though tolerated by Hariit, Ungira, and other inferior authorities, was by no means clearly sanctioned by Manu, and decidedly opposed to the tenets of the Vedas. By excerpts from the principal Shastras, he proved that these appeared to assign greater merit to a life of purity and austerity on the part of the widows than to the performance of the *Shakamoran*.

The unanswerable arguments embodied in the "Conferences," silently paved the way for the abolition of this rite. Though the necessity of such abolition had been admitted by the Government as early as 1805, yet nothing was done towards it, because of the interference with the Hindu religion which it was supposed to involve.\*

The "Conferences" contributed to dispel this error; and towards the close of 1829, Lord William Bentinck—a name enshrined in the hearts of the natives—at once abolished a rite not only horrid and revolting but fraught with incalculable mischief. When the Dharma Shabha got up the remonstrance we have alluded to, Rammohun Roy, in spite of personal outrage, led a deputation who presented an address to the Governor-General, embodying the grateful acknowledgments of the enlightened portion of the native community for this "everlasting boon" conferred on their country. His indefatigable exertions in putting down this rite, as well as in elevating the females of this country from that state of intellectual abasement into which they are sunk, cannot be sufficiently lauded.

In the early part of 1830, an event occurred which signally illustrated his genuine liberality of sentiment. The Founder of the General Assembly (now Free Church) institution, on his arrival in this country, was introduced to him, and propounded those educational views which have since been so largely carried out in practice. Rammohun expressed his warmest approbation of them, declaring that all education ought to be based on religion, and that he saw no evil but much good likely to result to his countrymen from the teaching of the Christian

\* Mr. Secretary Dodswell, in writing to the Register of the Nizamut Adawlut, of the Suttee rite, says, "Should this practice be not grounded on any precept of their law, the Governor-General would hope that the custom, which at present prevails among Hindu women of burning themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands, might gradually but not immediately be altogether abolished."

Bible as a class book in schools. More than this, he practically assisted the Rev. Doctor, in every way in his power, in founding his proposed institution—reserved for the use of it the hall of the Brahma Shabha, then recently vacated for the one since occupied—attended daily for upwards of a month, and often afterwards, to encourage the boys and reconcile them to the reading of the Bible. He approved of the institution's being daily opened with prayer, and recommended the use of "the Lord's Prayer," as being, in his view, the most compendious, and at the same time, the most comprehensive form of prayer in any book or language. For these and other services we have often heard the Rev. Founder of the institution speak of Rammohun Roy with mingled emotions of affection, gratitude, and respect.

Rammohun Roy had cherished for some years a strong desire to visit Europe, and "obtain," as he says in one of his letters, "by personal observation a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion and political institutions." He longed especially to see the country to whose keeping the destinies of his own had been entrusted—the country, where philosophy, liberty, and science had achieved their proudest triumphs—the country of Lockes, of Bacons, of Newtons, of Hampdons, and of Watts.

The labors in which he was engaged, tended to postpone for some time the fulfilment of this desire. The success, however, with which they were afterwards crowned (as evidenced in the increase of his party and the spread of his views,) as well as the anticipated parliamentary discussion on the renewal of the Company's charter, induced him to make preparations for his visit. Another circumstance also favoured his design. The emperor of Delhi, considering himself entitled to the revenue of certain lands in the vicinity thereof, had applied to the Court of Directors. The subject had been considered by that body and afterward by the Board of Control : and it was determined that the Mogul received all that he originally agreed to accept, and all that he was entitled to, in law or equity. The emperor, resolved to try the experiment of an appeal to the king of England, had appointed Rammohun his ambassador, with full powers to manage the negotiation, and conferred on him by firman the title of "Rajah."

The announcement of Rammohun Roy's intention of visiting Europe—the land of the mlechas and beef-eaters—excited much speculation among his countrymen. Being incapable of understanding that enlightened curiosity and that disinterested philanthropy which prompted him to undertake the voyage, they

ascribed to him several unworthy motives. But the man who had braved their persecutions—who had triumphed over the formidable obstacles which threatened to neutralize his labors—who had set at defiance the thunders of the Dharma Shabha, and the fulminations of the Brahmins, was not to be deterred by the sneerings and howlings of his countrymen from the performance of a resolution he had deliberately adopted. On the 15th November 1830, the Rajah, accompanied by his adopted son Babu Rajaram Roy and two Hindu servants, Ramrutton Mukerjya and Ramhori Mukerjya, left his native land in the *Albion* bound for Liverpool. The particulars of the voyage have been thus graphically described by a fellow-traveller who is now among us, and who has been for many years connected with our periodical literature :—

“On ship-board Rammohun Roy took his meals in his own cabin, and at first suffered considerable inconvenience from the want of a separate fire place; having nothing but a common earthen *chula* on board. His servants too, fell desperately sea-sick (though, as if his ardour supported him against it, he himself never felt this malady at all) and took possession of his cabin, never moving from it, and making it as may be easily conceived, no enviable domicile; in fact, they compelled him to retreat to the lockers; but still the kindness of his nature would not allow him to remove them. The greater part of the day he read, chiefly, I believe, Sanskrit and Hebrew. In the forenoon and the evening he took an airing on deck, and always got involved in an animated discussion. After dinner, when the cloth was removed, and the desert on table, he would come out of his cabin also, and join in the conversation and take a glass of wine. He was always cheerful, and so won upon the esteem of all on board, that there was quite a competition who should pay him the most attention, and even the sailors seemed anxious to render him any little service in their power. In a gale of wind he would be upon deck, gazing at the foam-crested surges as they roared by the vessel, and admiring the sublimity of the scene. On one occasion I brought on deck the ‘Ocean Sketches,’\* and read to him the first piece, entitled ‘The Breeze:’

‘The distant haze, like clouds of silvery dust  
Now sparkles in the sun. The freshening breeze  
Whitens the liquid plaim; and like a steed  
With proud impatience fired, the glorious ship,  
Quick bounds exultant, and with rampant prow,  
Off flings the glittering foam. Around her wake,  
A radiant milky way, the sea-birds wave  
Their circling flight, or slowly sweeping wide  
O’er boundless ocean, graze with drooping wing  
The brightly crested waves. Each sudden surge,  
Up-dashed, appears a momentary tree,  
Fringed with the hoar frost of a wintry morn;  
And then, like blossoms from a breeze-stirred bough,  
The light spray strews the deep.  
How fitfully the feeble day-beams pierce

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\* By D. L. R.,—a signature too well known in our Indian Literature to require any further explication here.

The veil of heaven ! On yon far line of light,  
That like a range of breakers, streaks the main,  
The ocean swan—the snow-white Albatross,  
Gleams like a dazzling foam-flake in the sun !—  
Gaze upward—and behold, where parted clouds  
Disclose ethereal depths, its dark-hued mate  
Hangs motionless on arch-resembling wings,  
As though, 'twere painted on the sky's blue vault.  
Sprinkling the air, the speck-like petrels form  
A living shower ! A while their pinions gray  
Mingle scarce-seen among the misty clouds,  
Till suddenly their white breasts catch the light,  
And flash like silver stars !'

" He recognized at once the fidelity of this picture ; although not much given to poetical reading."

The *Albion* arrived at her destination on the 8th April 1831. The Rajah landed the same day at Liverpool and took up his lodging at one of the hotels there. His arrival in England, which he had long wished to visit and where his fame had preceded him, excited a considerable degree of interest. His arrival too was at a period of extraordinary political fermentation. The whole nation had been wrought up into a state of overpowering excitement. Reform was then the one great subject which agitated the whole country. Rammohun Roy became a zealous and enthusiastic advocate of it. He saw at once the bearings of the great national measure which was calculated, in his opinion, to "promote the welfare of England and her dependencies, nay of the whole world."

No sooner was the advent of the great Brahmin philosopher known in Liverpool than almost every man of distinction in the place hastened to call upon him. One of the first visits he received was from the three sons of the celebrated William Roscoe. They came, not merely on their own account, but to convey to him the "affectionate greeting" of their distinguished parent. Roscoe had not for years quitted his apartment—being troubled with a paralytic affection which incapacitated him from assuming any other than a recumbent posture. When Rammohun arrived he was confined to his death-bed, and was not allowed to receive any visit. He made an exception, however, in favour of Rammohun, with whom he had before corresponded. The interview was deeply interesting and affecting ; interesting, because an event which was the theme of their conversation, viz. Reform, was one to which both had looked forward as a consummation devoutly to be wished for, but as one of those contingencies which was scarcely within the range of early probability ; and affecting, because they felt that this cheering interchange of sympathies, this

delightful and unreserved expression of sentiments, must soon be terminated by the stern fiat of that dread tyrant under whose relentless grasp one of them seemed to be already writhing. This proved, as they had anticipated, their first and their last interview on this side of eternity. Rammohun Roy heard of Roscoe's death while residing in London.

This introduction to the historian of the Medici took place at the well-known house in Lodge-Lane ; and though there were none present at the interview except the two great men and one of Roscoe's sons, yet the room below was crowded with the gentility of Liverpool. Many and eager were the enquiries about the stranger's political and religious opinions—his habits, and his object in visiting England. They were hushed when he returned from the sick chamber, with agitated countenance and moistened eyes. As soon as he recovered from the effects of his interview, he reciprocated the cordial greetings of those around him, and got into a very interesting and animated discussion with some gentlemen. Thus it was that at Mr. Roscoe's house a Hindu was, for the first time in Great Britain, heard zealously and earnestly advocating civil and religious liberty throughout the world—and talking of the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*—the Whigs and Tories—Lord Grey and Reform.

The first public place he attended at Liverpool was Dr. Grundy's Unitarian Chapel. The sermon was, *apropos* to the occasion, in exposition of the duty of unlimited charity in our judgments of the creeds of other men, and of their principles of belief. He listened to it with the utmost attention, and afterwards expressed himself very much pleased with it. When the sermon was over, the scene that ensued was curious enough. The congregation, instead of dispersing, thronged up every avenue to get a near view of the great Brahmin philosopher ; and it was not till they had heard him address them in their own language and shaken hands with him, that they could be prevailed upon to allow him to return.

At Liverpool, Rammohun Roy got acquainted with Dr. Spurzheim. Though the great phrenologist and the great reformer met often, and were good friends, yet the latter never hesitated to laugh at the science of the former. The bump of good nature being however largely developed in Spurzheim, he used simply to observe when thus attacked, that if his friend would only study the facts on which phrenology was based, he would change his opinions. Spurzheim was very anxious to get a cast of the head of Rammohun Roy ; and though he was promised that he should be permitted to take one, yet the promise, we know not why, was not fulfilled. One of the

visits which Rammohun received in Liverpool is described with great *naïveté* by one of his friends, who was, we believe, present on the occasion :—

"While he was at Liverpool he received a call from a gentleman with whom he was much amused ; his visitor, a retired Indian officer of the old school, with a squat figure, a jolly face, and a conscious smile of self-satisfaction playing on his features, was much more gifted with good nature than good sense or good taste. As soon as he saw the Hindu philosopher, he began addressing him in that elegant dialect in which Europeans in this country make their coup d'essai in Eastern languages. *Ucha, toom Bengali, hum Bengali, toom Bengali*, well, *kysa hy Sahib ?* Then turning to the young Rajah, who was present, "Ah *Chukera (Chokra)*, well, *kitna burras ?*" (or rather *brass* as he made it) *kysa Mulk (Moolug) Utcha hy ?* and so on ; to all which Rammohun gracefully bowed. At length, the gallant officer was informed, that the gentleman he was addressing, spoke English as well as he did (in truth he spoke it much more correctly.) It appeared that he came as a delegate from no less a potentate than the mayor, who, fearful of compromising his dignity by calling himself, had deputed his friend to suggest the propriety of the distinguished stranger's calling upon this high civil functionary, and to hint that if he did, the honour would be acknowledged by an *invite* to a Lord Mayor's dinner ; and the intimation was delivered with an air of importance, which seemed to imply, "Think of that, Master Brooke." It happened, however, that the party he addressed, had not formed exactly the same lofty estimate of its importance as his visitor, and therefore declined the invitation with cold ingratitude ; and when the Major was gone, he vowed, using an emphatic English expression, that if the mayor wanted to see him, he might call upon him as his superiors had done, and as it seemed to me, that hospitality, propriety, and good feeling demanded ; but mayors are not always, it must be confessed, possessed of taste,—

—' Unless it be  
For calipash or calipee.'

And so our friend lost the opportunity of making his bow to the Mayor of Liverpool."

Rammohun Roy's stay in Liverpool was not long. As he travelled up to London he was delighted with observing the indubitable and living proofs of wealth, civilization and refinement which the country exhibited. The splendid villas, the smiling cottages with their well-trimmed gardens, the magnificent prospects, the railroads, the canals and the bridges ; all afforded a rich banquet to his eyes, and were eagerly recognized by him as the triumphs of that knowledge, that industry, that energy, that public spirit which had given England her pre-eminence among the nations of the earth, and the lack of which had rendered his own country the abode of misery and destitution. He stopped at Manchester to visit the great factories. The machinery, which seemed to live, and breathe, and move before him, attracted his attention and admiration ; but the scene that ensued at the great metropolis of manufacturing industry was curious and interesting. All the work people, men, women



and children, left work and rushed in crowds to see the "*great King of Ingee*." After shaking hands with many of the "*great unwashed*," he turned round and addressed them, "hoping they would all support the king and his ministers in obtaining reform." His appeal was cordially responded to with loud shouts of "the King and Reform for ever."

The Rajah arrived in London at night and was set down at a filthy inn in a filthy part of the town. He had intended to remain there till morning, but the "abominable odours" that regaled his olfactory nerves in the bedroom allotted to him necessitated him to leave. He ordered a coach and set off to the Adelphi Hotel where he arrived at 10 o'clock, P.M. When he had retired to rest, and it was nearly midnight, Bentham called at the hotel, and left a laconic and characteristic note for him:—"Jeremy Bentham to his friend Rammohun Roy." The visit of the utilitarian Philosopher to the Hindu Reformer was a compliment which the latter fully appreciated. It was indeed a higher distinction than his subsequent lionization by the British people. That Bentham—who had secluded himself as it were from the world—who had made it a point to refuse all invitations to the convivial board, in order that he might "consecrate," to quote his very words, "every moment of his life to the service of mankind"—should have left his hermitage, for the purpose of seeing Rammohun Roy, was an unequivocal proof of his admiration for this enlightened and extraordinary Hindu. They afterward met each other, and it must have been a very interesting sight to have seen these two great men engaged in conversation on the greatest-happiness principle, in reference to politics and morals, on the condition of the natives, and on the administration of the East India Company. "Rammohun Roy," said the venerable founder of the utilitarian school, "has cast off three hundred and thirty millions of gods and has learnt from us to embrace reason in the all-important field of religion." He became so great an admirer of him, that he addressed him as his "intensely-admired and dearly-beloved collaborateur in the service of mankind."

No sooner was his arrival in London announced, than many of the most distinguished men crowded to see him. He had scarcely got into his lodgings in Regent-Street when his door was besieged with carriages, from 11 in the morning till 4 in the afternoon. The urbanity of his manners and the suavity of his disposition, fascinated those with whom he came in contact; and the familiarity he discovered with every topic connected with the institutions, opinions, and religion of England, as well as his

liberal views on all subjects, astonished even those who were prepared to find in him an enlightened and extraordinary man.

The recognition of his official relation and title by the ministers afforded an indubitable evidence of the estimation in which he was held by them. When we remember how much the people of England are ordinarily disposed to lionize distinguished foreigners, we should not at all be surprised at the splendid reception he met with from them. He mixed with the first circles. He was courted by the rich and the powerful. Not only the ex-Judges, and ex-Councillors, but ex-Governors sought his friendship. Many of the "nabobs," whose *huzurs* did not condescend to take any notice of him in this country, and who would not have allowed him to wait upon them at their kacharies without being slipshod, were all eager to claim the honor of his acquaintance. Though many of the Earls and Marquisses and Dukes wanted only to lionize him, and turn him to account as an attraction at their *soirees*, yet there were several men who appreciated him, and sought his company with a view to acquire information on India. Among these were Lord Brougham, Sir W. Horton, Sir Henry Strachy and Sir Charles Forbes. With Lord Brougham, or rather with Henry Brougham,—for then this great man was known only as the bold and uncompromising advocate of popular education and the abolition of slavery—Rammohun Roy lived on terms of the closest and most confidential intimacy.

Not only the greatest men in the kingdom, but royalty itself delighted to do him honor. He was presented to the King by Sir J. C. Hobhouse, the then president of the Board of Control, and his Majesty assigned him a place at the Coronation among the ambassadors. On the opening of the London Bridge, he was invited by his Majesty to the dinner which was given in celebration of that event. The Court of Directors, though they refused to recognize his embassy and his title, treated him with honor. They entertained him at a public dinner on the 6th July, in the name of the Company at the London Tavern.

In accordance with the avowed object of his visit to Europe, he frequented every kind of assemblage, religious, political, literary, or social. He was to be seen in the drawing-room of the nobleman, as well as in the study of the humble man of letters—in parliament, listening to the impassioned eloquence of the champions of the Reform bill, as well as in the church, following the preacher in his sublime flights to eternity.

The charms of enlightened Female Society were highly

appreciated by the Rajah. The amiability of his manners, and the orientalism and deferential respect of his address, rendered him in return an especial favourite with the ladies. Though born in a country where the females, endungeoned in the Zenana, are sunk in the slough of ignorance and prejudice, yet he knew and felt that humanizing influence which is exercised by female society on European character. It is no wonder, therefore, that he was an ardent admirer of British females. "The particulars of my voyage," says he, "and travels will be found in a Journal which I intend to publish, together with whatever has appeared to me most worthy of remark and record, in regard to the intelligence, riches, power, manners, customs and especially the *female virtue and excellence existing in this country.*"

Besides the society of European females there was another society which he liked, viz. that of pious and enlightened clergymen. He had seen the generous and heroic sacrifices made by some of the Missionaries in his fatherland. He had witnessed their laudable exertions in promoting the moral and intellectual enlightenment of his countrymen. He had seen them take the lead in every thing that had a tendency to improve and elevate the native character. His intercourse with religious persons in Europe, increased therefore his esteem for a class of men who have done so much to benefit their fellow-beings. "If I were to settle with my family in Europe," he used to say, "I would never introduce them to any but religious persons, and from amongst them only would I select my friends; amongst them I find such kindness and friendship, that I feel as if surrounded by my own kindred."

It was not long before the discussion on the renewal of the charter came on in Parliament. Several individuals who had served under the Company, in their civil or military services, or resided in India as merchants or planters, were examined as witnesses. Rammohun Roy was also called upon to give his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

That his knowledge, experience, and patriotism entitled him to speak authoritatively on subjects connected with the government of his country, does not admit of a moment's question. His evidence has been since embodied in a volume entitled, "*Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India and of the General Character and Condition of its Native Inhabitants.*" His replies to the queries of the Select Committee not only demonstrate an acquaintance with the evils of his country, but contain several valuable sug-

gestions. They are not characterised by any unmeaning vituperation against the Indian Government, but breathe throughout a sincere and earnest wish to ameliorate the condition of his countrymen. They are distinguished, above all, by a deep and lively sympathy with the condition of those crushed and prostrate millions of India, known by the name of RYOTS.

The political creed of the Rajah was decidedly that of a liberal. But it did by no means border on ultra-radicalism. He was a reformer, but a moderate and judicious one. In his youth, he was violently opposed to the English Government. But as he saw more of it, and learnt to compare it with the Mahommedan Government, his strong aversion was converted into a warm admiration for its general character. He considered the conquest of this country by the English nation as a providential interposition, calculated to answer important ends in the economy of the moral world. Though he was fully cognizant of the complex organization of the Government, and of all the wrongs and grievances inseparable from its operation, yet he cheerfully and gratefully admitted the manifold blessings it conferred on his country; and was strongly of opinion that the English were better fitted to govern it than the natives themselves, and that the withdrawal of the former, under existing circumstances, supposing it were to take place, would prove a curse rather than a blessing.

Rammohun Roy was a bold and enthusiastic advocate of civil and religious liberty. He watched with intense anxiety its progress in Europe, and tried his best to contribute to its advancement in his own country. When the Spanish Constitution was established, he and his friend Dwarkanath Tagore, to celebrate the event, gave a *Burra Khana* to their European friends. He was a great friend of Mr. Buckingham's, and when Governor Adam signed the death warrant of the "Calcutta Journal," and banished its spirited and philanthropic Editor, he got up, it is well known, the memorable appeal to the King in Council for the liberty of free printing in India.

The influence which the Rajah obtained over the leaders of both the Whigs and Conservatives in England was extraordinary; and it was highly honorable to him that he rendered it subservient, not to his own aggrandisement, but to the political elevation of his country. We shall be able to judge of the extent of that influence, when we observe, that an urgent letter of his prevented the Conservatives from opposing one of the Indian Bills in the House of Lords; and we are sure that he would have carried many ameliorative measures with refer-

ence to this country, but for the influence of the Leadenhall magnates and the weakness of the ministry.

In the autumn of 1832, he paid a visit to France, where the reception he met with, was as splendid as in England. He was received by Louis Philippe with the highest consideration, and dined with his Majesty twice. Literary as well as political men vied with each other in testifying their regard for their extraordinary guest.

In the beginning of the year 1833, the Rajah returned to the hospitable mansion of Messrs. John and Joseph Hare, brothers of the late David Hare ; but he returned with a dilapidated constitution. He had suffered before from bilious attacks. They were aggravated by the climate of Europe, and induced a slight pulmonary affection. In this state he went to Bristol, in the early part of September, to spend a few weeks with Miss Castles, at Stapleton Grove, intending to proceed thence to Devonshire, there to pass the winter.

Nine days after his arrival, he was attacked with a fever. Drs. Pritchard and Carrick attended him. Medicine afforded him, however, only temporary relief. His fever returned with redoubled vigour, and swelled into what the native doctors would call *Bigar*. The delirium was succeeded by a stupor from which he never recovered, and he breathed his last at 25 minutes after 2 A.M. on the 27th September. He had a sort of consciousness that he was approaching his end. He conversed very little during his illness, but was observed to be often engaged in mental prayer. The intensity of his emotions, while thus occupied, was remarkably reflected by his expressive and transparent features.

Just before he had set out for Europe, the Rajah told his friends that, on his death, each sect, the Christian, the Hindu, and the Mahomedan would respectively claim him to be of their persuasion, but he expressly declared that he belonged to none of them. His prediction has been fully realized. No sooner did he depart this life, than the subject of his religious opinions became an apple of discord. A variety of speculations was hazarded by different parties. While some represented him to be a Hindu, others affirmed that he was a Christian. The church-of-England-party said, that he was attached to their church ; while the Unitarians claimed him for their own. The Vedantists represented him as literally a believer in their professed revelation ; while the Mussulmans contended that he was a follower of the son of Abdullah. We confess, however, that each of these sects had reason enough for wrenching him to its side. From his frequent attendance, while in England, at their

chapels, and his known bias to their doctrines, the unitarians had some sort of right to claim him. The especial patronage which he thought it proper to bestow on Vedantism, made it more than probable that he was a Vedantist. The profuse, though not altogether unmerited laudation he was in the habit of lavishing on the Mahommedan creed, was calculated to produce an impression that he was a believer in the Alkoran. But that Rammohun Roy was not a Mussulman in his creed, it requires no lengthened demonstration to prove. Neither was he an unitarian. We would go further and say,—though it may startle some of our readers who have been accustomed to identify Rammohun Roy with Vedantism,—that he was *not* a Vedantist. What then was he? This is not merely a curious, but an interesting and important problem, of which we shall attempt to give a solution, as the religious opinions of the Hindu Reformer appear to be still enveloped in mystery.

All speculations, as to his belief in the abstract truth of any religion, founded on his advocacy of certain doctrines connected with it, or his attendance at its place of worship, are obviously futile. For Rammohun Roy was a religious Benthamite, and estimated the different creeds existing in the world, not according to his notion of their truth, or falsehood, but his notion of their utility; according to their tendency, in his view, to promote the maximization of human happiness, and the minimization of human misery. His patronage, therefore, of any system of creed cannot be construed into a profession of it. He endeavoured to refine all gross and idolatrous systems into a system of pure monotheism. His works on Hindu Theology do not prove that he was a believer in the revelation of the Vedas, but that he aimed at engrafting a kind of universal unitarianism on it. But we have said that he was not an unitarian. To be sure not. At least, his unitarianism was essentially different from that of the Channings, the Carpenters, the Priestleys, and the Belshams. His was a sort of Catholic unitarianism. It was philosophical theism. It was Natural Religion. It was the religion of many of the ancient philosophers. His advocacy and support of the doctrines inculcated by religions which are in themselves diametrically opposed to each other, though it might apparently evidence his vacillation, was in fact the result of his religious utilitarianism; for we can confidently assert that, in reference to his religious belief, not the slightest change took place in his mind for the last fifty years of his life. From his first renunciation of Hindu idolatry, at the age of sixteen, to the last moment of his existence, he maintained his religious sentiments, whatever

they were, nearly unaltered. The real religious sentiments of the Hindu Reformer are embodied in a pamphlet, written in the most choice Persian, with an Arabic preface. Though printed in his lifetime and seen by some of his friends, yet it was not published until his death; for he gave it as his last injunction, on leaving his country for Europe, that it should be published after his departure from this world. This work, which is entitled *Tohufut-ul Mowahedeen*, or a Present to Unitarians, discloses his belief in the unity of the Deity, his infinite power and infinite goodness, and in the immortality of the soul. It breathes an uncompromising and inveterate hostility to idolatry in all its forms. While due meed of applause is given to the Mahomedan creed, for being based on what he considered as the great doctrine of unity, the prophetic pretensions of the avatar of Mecca are treated with merited ridicule and contempt.

From what has been said, it is obvious that Rammohun Roy was an eclectic philosopher. He was, according to our humble opinion, essentially a theo-philanthropist. To promote love to God, and love to man, agreeably to his own view of both, constituted the practical and most important part of his creed. He had a strong sentiment of natural religion. He was deeply impressed with the necessity and importance of religion to society. He had always cherished, and the longer he lived, became the more confirmed in the conviction, that religion was an ineradicable principle of our nature, and absolutely and indispensably necessary to the welfare of mankind. He had read history, and knew that a godless people could never be a great people. He knew that the social fabric would quake and be shattered to atoms, were the ideas of God, of immortality, of moral responsibility altogether obliterated from every mind. He knew that were men seriously to persuade themselves for a moment that there was no God—that their physical and mental organizations had been the work of chance—that the myriads of suns and planets with which immensity is peopled, had all fortuitously leaped into existence—that, instead of being destined to survive those suns and planets, they were the creatures of a day, and that death was the dissolution of their being—that crimes, perpetrated by them in darkness had no witness;—they would at once plunge into the slough of scepticism, and so relapse into primeval barbarism.

He deeply felt that the idea of God—the great first cause—the primitive and infinite intelligence—is the most sublime and comprehensive of all ideas. The development of this idea he considered to be the great end of education. He was strongly of opinion that the knowledge of God is superior to

every other. All other knowledge dwindles into nothingness before it. It is the source and criterion of man's elevation. It is the foundation of his happiness here and hereafter. To disseminate, therefore, such knowledge among his benighted countrymen, he considered as the object of his being here below.

Rammohun Roy, though he looked upon idolatry as a downright insult to the Supreme Being, and as necessarily and eternally a sin, cherished a stronger aversion towards scepticism. He loathed and abominated it as something worse than idolatry—as something more unnatural—as something more incompatible with the constitution of man.

It has been observed by a writer, who is largely quoted in the *Biographical Memoir* which we have placed at the head of this article that,—

“As he is advanced in age, he became more strongly impressed with the importance of religion to the welfare of society, and the pernicious effects of scepticism. In his younger years, his mind had been deeply struck with the evils of believing too much, and against that he directed all his energies: but, in his latter days, he began to feel that there was as much, if not greater danger in the tendency to believe too little. He often deplored the existence of a party which had sprung up in Calcutta, composed principally of imprudent young men, some of them possessing talent, who had avowed themselves sceptics in the widest sense of the term. He described it as partly composed of East Indians, partly of the Hindu youth who, from education, had learnt to reject their own faith without substituting any other. These he thought more deposed than the most bigoted Hindu, and their principles the bane of all mortality.”

This passage, evidently penned by one who knew the Rajah intimately, reads to us an awful lesson. The progress of circumstances, since his death, has clothed it with terrible import. The party, alluded to by the Rajah, is now a large and increasing party. The Hindu community is very much divided between those who worship Durga and Kali, and those who worship nothing—between those who believe in three hundred and thirty three millions of gods, and those who believe in none—those who think the world under the moral government of multitudinous powers, and those who deny all moral government. It is a humiliating but nevertheless an unquestionable fact, that many of those who call themselves educated natives seldom think of religion, and are known to manifest much indifference to it. We admit that they profess to believe in the existence of one God; but their belief, in nine cases out of ten, is not a living conviction, but a passive acquiescence in a truth forced on them. They oscillate between the creed they have renounced, and that which they profess. In theoretically renouncing the superstition of their fathers, and disembarassing their minds from



the fetters of that antiquated bigotry which still cleave to the great mass around them, they have not, we deeply regret to observe, embraced a purer and nobler religion. We confess, therefore, that there is some truth in the assertion made by even the best friends of India, that several of the educated natives are practical atheists. This practical atheism, however much we may deplore it, is regarded by men whose judgment is entitled to respect in such matters, as one of the natural and inevitable results of that system of education hitherto pursued by the Government—a system, which, though pregnant with results of the last importance to this country, is not sufficiently calculated to realize the great objects of education, inasmuch as it addresses itself more to the *head* than to the *heart*—to the *intellectual* than to the *moral* man. But intellectual cultivation is not identical with moral and religious cultivation. The one does not necessarily imply the other. That the development of our moral and religious feelings and affections cannot be effected by that of the mental faculties alone, is a truth which, though frequently repeated, does not appear to be sufficiently attended to by those, to whose keeping the interests of our youth are committed.

That Rammohun Roy should think the educated natives of his time, who had avowed themselves sceptics in the "widest sense of the term," as "more debased than the most bigoted Hindu, and their principle the bane of all morality," was quite natural and proper. He thought what Socrates and Plato,—what the sages of his own country, Vyas and Manu,—what, in later times, Bacon had thought—"I would rather believe," says the great apostle of inductive philosophy, "I would rather believe all the fables in the Legend and the Talmud and the Alkoran than that this universal frame is without a mind." It was, therefore, no wonder that the idolatry of the great mass of his countrymen was looked upon by him in a softer and more amiable light than the atheism of the *so-called* educated natives. Indeed, so alarming has been the progress of that atheism since his death, that a few Hindu gentlemen, impressed with the necessity and importance of counteracting its pernicious effects, have established a society which has been noticed more than once in this Review. The *Hindu Theophilanthropic Society* owes its existence, as mentioned in the preface to the 1st volume of its published discourses, "to a conviction irresistibly forcing itself upon every reflective mind, that the great work of India's Regeneration cannot be achieved without due attention to her moral and religious improvement."

It is evident that Rammohun Roy had to battle with both

idolatry and atheism. To wage a war of extermination against the one, and to check the incipient progress of the other, was the work, to the furtherance of which he devoted himself. To say that he had many endowments which eminently fitted him for it would be redundant. He was a man whose genius and energy, under happier circumstances, might have achieved a complete moral revolution among his countrymen. He was by nature one of those who lead, not one of those who follow—one of those who are in advance, not one of those who are behind their age.

Our opinion of Rammohun Roy has already been sufficiently explained. Rammohun Roy was emphatically a great man. His talents were not only varied and brilliant but of an eminently useful kind. He had a sound judgment, a large and disciplined mind. In variety of knowledge, in depth of reasoning, in correctness of taste, he was rivalled by none of his countrymen. Both intellectually and morally he would rank very high among his species. He had not only a strong intellect but a generous heart. No one was more strongly impressed with the conviction, that to do good to man, was among the chiefest of earthly duties and privileges. The golden maxim of doing to others as you would that they should do unto you, was frequently inculcated by him. The exercise of benevolence was associated by him with the greatest pleasure. To relieve the pains and to add to the pleasures of others was considered by him as a source of purest enjoyment. One winter day, as he was returning from his morning walk, he saw a poor sunburnt herb-seller—one of those men who daily cross the river with their basket-load of vegetables—who had alighted his burden from his head to take a little rest. Finding some difficulty in replacing it, as there was none to help him; Rammohun Roy generously gave his assistance and with his own hands helped the man to lift his load. We shall not surely be charged with using the language of exaggeration, if we declare that, among the philanthropists and reformers to whom alone the title of "Great,"—too often lavished on tyrants, heroes and conquerors, for building their aggrandisement on the prostration of their species,—should be confined and kept sacred, and who alone should monopolize all the places in the Temple of Fame,—a high place must unquestionably be assigned to Rammohun Roy. With an energy which set at nought the formidable resistance he encountered from the slaves of bigotry—with a perseverance which was unwearying—with a moral courage which triumphed over persecution—with a benevolence which was not exclusive but catholic—with a religious aspiration,

which was fervid and impassioned but not impulsive and fanatical—he laboured, according to the light and knowledge which he enjoyed, to liberate the Hindu mind from the tyranny of superstition, and to inoculate it with the elevating principles of a more rational faith.

The life of Rammohun Roy was commensurate with one of the most important and stirring periods in the annals of this country. It embraces the commencement of that great social and moral revolution through which she is now silently but surely passing. When Rammohun Roy was born, darkness—even the darkness of ignorance and superstition—brooded over his fatherland. When he died, the spirit of enquiry was abroad in high places, and was triumphantly exploding antiquated errors. He lived to see a line of demarkation, which, since his death, has been considerably deepened, strongly drawn among the Hindus between the enlightened few and the benighted many. Rammohun Roy was the author of a great religious schism, which is destined to spread and widen. He helped to break the crust of that rigid and unbroken superstition, which had braved the formidable attacks of the Buddhist, and the fierce persecution of the Mahomedan. No native had before been enlightened and bold enough to do any thing of the kind. He was the first who opened the eyes of his countrymen to the monstrous absurdities of their national creed. He was the first who thundered forth into their ears—which had been for ages accustomed to the invocation of *montras*, and hermetically sealed against all true religion—the great truth that, “*God is One and without a second.*” But, as yet, we have only seen the dawn of a better and more promising era. The number of those, upon whose taste and feelings, and sentiments, education has effectually told, is comparatively very limited. And even in their minds there is hitherto a strange mixture of light and darkness, truth and error. The great mass still grope in moral and intellectual night. But the light that is to travel eastward and westward, and northward and southward, has already begun to illumine the horizon. The days of Hinduism are therefore numbered. The time is coming (and oh, may it approach with lightning speed!) when the millions of Hindustan, who now exhibit a heart-rending spectacle of the prostitution of all that is sublime in religion and divine in worship, shall,—liberated from the thralldom of ignorance, and bigotry, and superstition,—learn to love, and obey, and adore the one, true, and living God!

## NOTES ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE HOOGLHY.

By J. C. MARSIIMAN, ESQ., C.S.I.

*Topographical Survey of the River Hooghly from Bandel to Garden Reach, exhibiting the Principal Buildings, Ghats, and Temples on both banks, executed in the year 1841; by Charles Joseph.*

WE now resume our brief notices of the places marked down in this map on the Right Bank of the Hooghly, which present any particular claim on the attention of the tourist. The first object which attracts notice is the large three story house, lying almost on the edge of the bank, which forms the residence of the superintendent of the Honourable Company's Botanical Garden. This noble establishment originated in the enlightened views of Colonel Alexander Kyd, more than half a century ago, and was designed for the collection of plants indigenous in the country, and for the introduction and acclimation of plants from foreign parts. The Garden which is very extensive, is laid out with much taste; but those who have had opportunities of examining similar establishments in England are of opinion that it is susceptible of some improvement in the matter of scientific distribution. It combines the attraction of a Botanic Garden with that of a Park, and is therefore the great lounge of the citizens of Calcutta. The magnificent banian trees which adorn it are the scene of many a merry picnic party on the numerous holidays which the Hindu calendar bestows on the community of the Presidency. It possesses a noble botanical library which has been enriched, from time to time, by the liberality of Government, and the donations of botanists in Europe and America. The annals of the Garden embrace the successive labors of Dr. Roxburgh, Dr. Buchanan, Dr. Wallich, and last, but not least, of the original genius and thoroughly accomplished botanist, the late William Griffith, whose premature death, at the age of thirty-four, has been a source of such deep lamentation to the scientific world. A noble monument to the memory of the founder, who died in 1793, stands in a conspicuous part of the Garden, and arrangements formed in order to open it, from various directions, to public view, have contributed not a little to the improvement of the grounds. Monuments have also been erected in the Garden to commemorate the services of Dr. Roxburgh and Dr. Jack. It is not unworthy of remark, that the Committee assembled during Lord William Bentinck's administration, to curtail the expenses of the public establishments, proposed that the salary of the superintendent should be reduced from 1,500 Rupees a month to 500 Rupees, on the death

of the existing incumbent ; but Dr. Wallich's constitutional stamina has hitherto baffled all financial calculations. Long may he live to enjoy the post with undiminished allowances, and whenever he is constrained to transfer the charge to a successor, may the Government be induced to reconsider a resolution which was adopted under the pressure of circumstances which have ceased to exist, and avoid the contempt of Europe, by endowing this pre-eminent scientific post with a salary not superior to that which crowns the wishes of a Deputy Collector. At the northern division of the Garden, there has long existed a Teak plantation, originally formed with the view of creating forest of that wood, so invaluable in ship-building, in this country, but it has proved an entire failure. The trees present a puny and exotic appearance, and after the lapse of half a century, are still unfit to be used as timber.

At the north of the Garden lies Bishop's College. The sudden appearance of its gothic turrets, and its green lawn, and its air of academical tranquillity, as the voyager ascends the Hooghly, rekindles in many a bosom those early associations which transport the mind back to the banks of the Cam or Isis. But the immediate succession of the port of Calcutta, with its forest of masts, and its tide of commercial life and animation, soon dispels these classical reflexions. It is the metropolis of India, the great mart of Asia, which now bursts on the view. This College is a monument of the zeal and public spirit of Bishop Middleton, the first prelate of the English Episcopal Church after India had been erected into a sec. The object of the institution was "the education of Christian youth in sacred knowledge, in sound learning, and in the principal languages used in this country in habits of piety and devotion to their calling, that they may be qualified to preach among the heathen." The importance of adopting this principle as the basis of missionary operations in India has not been practically exemplified or even fully recognized,\* by all the missionary bodies in the country ; by some it has been entirely repudiated. They have continued to import missionaries, year after year, from Europe, whom the climate periodically disables and sends back, to such an extent, that at the end of any given period, the actual number of labourers in the field, is found stationary, notwithstanding the constant accession of recruits from home. The sums of money expended by some of the missionary agencies of note in the outward and homeward voyages of missionaries, in ten years, would be found almost sufficient for the establishment of an institution, which should annually furnish treble the number of labourers in the country itself. Bishop's

College, though never worked up to its full power, has furnished so constant a succession of ministers, missionaries and school masters as to render the Society with which it is connected, to a certain extent independent of European resources. Whatever Society expects to produce a powerful and permanent impression on the superstition of the East must adopt the same plan, and make India rather than Europe its recruiting ground. The same truth applies with equal force to the department of education. If Government desires to produce an impression on the ignorance of India, instructors must be trained up in the country, and the dependence on England must be proportionately diminished. With Bishop's College is associated the name of one of the most profound scholars whose attention has ever been devoted to the pursuit of Oriental literature. We allude to its late Principal, Dr. Mill, whose attainments in the learned language of the East were only exceeded by the extent of his classical learning. His name is never mentioned by the native literati except in conjunction with those of Wilford and Jones, Colebrooke and Carey, Wilson and Yates.

Turning round the elbow of land which projects above Bishop's College, we obtain a noble view of the City and port of Calcutta ; and find ourselves approaching an elegant country residence, called Shalimar, where Sir John Royds, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court thirty years ago enjoyed his learned leisure, and the last tenant of which was Mr. Sutherland, the nephew of Mr. Colebrooke, from whom he imbibed that partiality for Sanskrit lore, to which the public is indebted for the translation of two learned treatises on law. Immediately above it lies the island of Seebpore, thrown up within the present century, which has so inconveniently narrowed the channel of the river. Immediately before us lie Albion Ghat, Albion Lodge, Albion Mills, all created by the energy of one of the most enterprising men in the annals of Indian improvement ; and one of the greatest benefactors of the country. We allude to William Jones, who is deserving of the same distinguished record as Watson, the father of ship-building, or Prinsep, the first cultivator of Indigo. He came out to India in the year 1800. For the first ten years of his Indian career we find him designated only as a mechanic, and we may therefore suppose that he was struggling with difficulties during this period, of monopoly and stagnation without any opportunity for the development of his abilities. In 1810, the Directory promotes him to a Manufacturer, and the next year he is put down as the proprietor of a Canvas manufactory at Howrah. It was there that he first established himself to any advantage, and to

his energy and example may be in a great measure attributed the prosperity of that suburb. For the canvas manufactory in India we are entirely indebted to his spirit of enterprise. It continued for some time exclusively in the hands of Europeans, and at first yielded a considerable return, but like almost every other manufacture in this country, it has passed into the hands of natives, and, wanting the benefit of European superintendence and honesty, has lost its repute; and the hopes which were once entertained of its superseding Europe canvas, have disappeared. When the expedition was about to be despatched in 1811 for the capture of Java, its departure is understood to have been impeded by the want of cartridge paper, and Mr. Jones came to the assistance of Government. His extraordinary mechanical skill enabled him to set up a little paper manufactory, from which he furnished all the paper that was requisite, and closed his new works as soon as the object of the expedition was accomplished. He was not encouraged to continue his exertions, for the Court of Directors had not then become alive to the importance of calling forth and improving the resources of the country. Down to that late period, India continued to be governed in a great measure upon the old colonial and selfish principle of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of administering a colony solely for the benefit of the mother country, and fostering improvements only as far as they tended to promote that object. The idea of governing the foreign possessions of Europe, and more especially those of England, on the enlarged principle of promoting their interest, though now reckoned among truisms, has been recognized and acted upon only within the present century.

Four or five years subsequently, Jones accidentally discovered the existence of coal in Burdwan, and with his characteristic ardour determined to open the mines. From that new spirit of enterprise which had then begun to manifest itself, he foresaw that it could not be long before the powerful agency of steam was introduced into India, and he resolved to accelerate its progress by providing a supply of fuel. It is chiefly in reference to our Indian coal, and in contemplating the vast benefit which Jones's labours have conferred on India, that his claim to the highest rank among her benefactors rests. At the end of less than thirty years, the coal fields which Jones was the first to work, produce *seventy thousand* tons annually, and supply fuel for 150 steam engines. His last public engagement was the building of Bishop's College, which he undertook in some measure from his desire to promote every object of public utility, but also because he aspired to the honour of erecting

the first Gothic edifice in India. That he should have ventured upon so difficult an undertaking and one so foreign to his previous pursuits, and that he should have so admirably succeeded in the execution of it, is of itself a sufficient demonstration of the lofty enterprise and genius of the man. His active and useful life was brought to an abrupt close in the month of September 1821, in consequence of a fever which he contracted while superintending the building : and which proved fatal in three days. Bishop Middleton, in his letters thus deeply lamented the loss of his invaluable assistance :

" In addition to other causes of solicitude, the Bishop at this time had a severe trial to endure in the loss of Mr. Jones, the gentleman with whom he had contracted for the building of the College, and who died towards the end of September 1821, after an illness of two or three days. Any interruption to this noble work would have weighed most heavily on his spirit : but the loss of the able and zealous contractor, by whom it was begun, was felt by him almost as a personal calamity. In the first place, it threatened him with all the trouble and perplexities of a fresh contract ; and, what was still worse, with the probability of great additional expense. Besides, he anticipated the greatest difficulty in finding a person at all equal to the task of completing the work in the same admirable style in which it had been commenced. " The buildings," he observes to Archdeacon Barnes,\* " are brought up to the level of the first floor of the second story : but more than half the masonry done, considering the vast mass of foundation. *It seems to be admitted that finer work was never seen in this country ;* and poor Jones was pleased with it himself. *He was all heart about his undertaking,* and was just beginning to see the effect produced. The grand entrance to the hall and chapel, a Gothic arch, seventeen feet high, and ten wide, is finished on the south side, and, very nearly so on the northern. I saw it a few evenings since, chiefly by flashes of lightning ; and, as unfinished buildings look like ruins, it reminded me of some ancient abbey gate. He has executed my idea admirably. But the chapel roof is the part in which he would have shewn himself to the best advantage ; and here is my perplexity : but the plan cannot now be altered. The frames of the chapel windows are in, and the skeleton of the great eastern window, twenty-three feet high, is, I hear, completed. It is something, certainly, that Jones lived to do so much. It will still be his monument !"

He was perfect master of the native language, which he spoke with as much facility and accuracy as if he had been born in the country. He was thoroughly acquainted with the habits, customs, and feelings of the natives, and was ever ready to assist those around him with his skill and advice, as well as with his purse. He came therefore at length to be known among the people as *Gooroo* Jones, or the teacher Jones. Like many other men of genius, he was incapable of saving a fortune out of the numerous lucrative schemes which he originated. They imparted a great impulse to national

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\* Dated October 5th, 1821.



improvement, and subsequently proved a source of no little wealth to others, but they brought little benefit to his family, to whom he bequeathed scarcely any thing beyond the high esteem and reputation which he had so richly earned.

There is little to notice in the villages of Seebpore, Howrah and Sulkca, the Southwark of Calcutta. The establishment of the Docks and a few manufactures, and of the Company's Salt Ware-houses, gives an air of life and activity to the place, but the number of European residents though not inconsiderable, is by no means proportioned to the vast population and wealth of Calcutta, of which it constitutes a suburb. Southwark enjoyed greater distinction as compared with the magnitude of London, three or four centuries ago, than Howrah does in this age of expansion and improvement, when viewed in connection with the commercial importance of Calcutta. But London had a bridge, and Calcutta has none ; and some have ventured to affirm that nature never intended it should have one ; that the engineering difficulties presented by the river are such as the skill of this age of engineering miracles is unable to overcome. The map before us has parallel lines dotted down below the Salt Golah for a Steam Ferry which was projected some years ago. But it has experienced the fate of too many of our metropolitan schemes. A Company was formed, and funds were raised, and boats ordered from England, but owing to the miscalculation and mismanagement of the Agents, the boats cost more than double the capital, and were eventually sold to pay the manufactures at home, and the shareholders were stripped of all their donations, besides incurring the derision of society, for having begun a scheme in the hope of twenty-five per cent., which so speedily ended in total bankruptcy. When the apparatus which had been brought out from England for the bridge was for sale at half its original cost, it was expected that Government would have come forward and purchased it, and thus have given us the benefit of an invention, by which two hundred lives a year would have been saved. But an officer of the Engineers on whose judgment great reliance was placed, declared the plan impracticable, and the opportunity was allowed to be lost. A bridge over the river would fill our Borough with houses and residents, and prove of incalculable benefit to Calcutta ; but, nearly a century after this city has become the metropolis of a mighty empire ; in the middle of the nineteenth century, when scientific skill has reached the highest degree of perfection, and at a time when India yields a revenue of Twenty millions sterling a year, the City of Palaces enjoys no better

means of conveyance to the opposite bank than the native ferry boat, as ricketty and unsafe as that which was in use in the country when the *Ramayan* was penned. As our Government in India is the greatest anomaly of modern times, so, as if to preserve the character of consistency, it presents a variety of minor anomalies, of which none is greater than the contrast between its imperial revenues, and the wretched means of conveyance still employed both by land and at the ferries. At what period of the present century Calcutta is destined to obtain the benefit of a bridge, it would be difficult to divine; there is, perhaps, little expectation of this blessing till some *one* man in a commanding official position, shall adopt it as his hobby, and combat all antagonist influences with that spirit of indomitable ardor, which appears so necessary to the accomplishment of all schemes of improvement. It would be a foul calumny on the age, to suppose that with our present perfection of means and appliances, a bridge over the Hooghly, capable of withstanding the "freshes" of the river or the "bore" from the sea, is an absolute impracticability. Meanwhile, a greater and more formidable undertaking is to be immediately attempted, which will call into requisition all the resources of the Engineer's skill, to counteract inundations, and cross mountains and span rivers,—we allude to the Calcutta and Mirzapore Railway, the terminus of which it was originally proposed to fix at Howrah. It appears certain that the terminus will now be established in the heart of Calcutta; but if a bridge should be thrown over the river at or near Howrah, for this object, a new impulse of improvement will be given to our borough.

There are several extensive manufactories opposite Calcutta, but the prosperity of the town of Howrah depends chiefly on its dock-yards and ship-building establishments. In our notice of the left bank of the river we stated, that they were finally removed from Calcutta about twenty-five years ago, but a dock had been established at Sulkea, by Mr. Bacon, as early as the year 1796, and the *Orpheus* frigate was the first hauled into it. With the exception of the Government docks at Kidderpore, all such establishments are now very properly confined to the right bank of the river. In this brief notice of the docks, we must not omit to mention the establishment created by Mr. Reeves, the ship-builder, a man of great enterprise, who has recently enlarged it so as to accommodate our magnificent steamers, the largest vessels which have ever come up to Calcutta. Recent experience has shewn that the convenience of docks sufficiently capacious for such vessels was quite

as essential to the permanence and punctuality of a regular monthly communication with England, as the establishment of the vessels themselves. The Lower Orphan School was formerly located in Howrah, but the appearance of opthalmia among its wards induced Government to carry the establishment across the river to Allipore more than twenty years ago. Howrah has three Churches and Chapels, one of the Church of England, one connected with the Church of Rome, and one belonging to the Baptist denomination.

Above Howrah is the village of Ghoosory, without any thing to attract attention, but two or three manufactories, and a little Hindu shrine on the banks of the river in which, "by no very lawful junction of the arts," some Native architect has preposterously attached a Grecian portico to a Hindu temple of Shiva. The architectural anomalies of the native builders in the edifices entrusted to them by their wealthy fellow countrymen would fill a chapter. There is a constant endeavour among them to imitate the buildings erected in and about Calcutta by European architects; but as they have not the slightest idea of architectural proprieties, we see them constantly confounding the various orders, giving a rich freeze to a Doric pillar, inserting a large and highly elaborate window in low and narrow buildings, and disgracing the art of Palladio in every conceivable form. Although the buildings thus erected by them are a vast improvement on the miserable cabins in which the richest natives were formerly content to live, and the large window of three feet and a half by seven is a most agreeable exchange in this sultry climate for the little opening in the shape of a cow's mouth,—called from that circumstance the *Gomukhi*,—which formerly disfigured their baronial residences, yet they offend the eye by the total absence of all taste and simplicity, and by the vicious exuberance of ornament. The whole reach of the river from the point of Ghoosory to the village of Bali is singularly uninteresting, and offers no ancient associations or modern improvements to attract attention. While the opposite bank of the river, comprising Cossipore and Barnagore, presents a lively scene of manufacturing and engineering industry, and is gradually becoming studded with elegant villas, the right bank does not contain a single European or civilized residence. It has a wild and almost jungly appearance, which is diversified only by stacks of timber and brick, or tile-kilns, quite unworthy of the approach to a great metropolis. The erection of a bridge at Calcutta would soon correct this appearance, and adorn the bank with country houses, and green sloping banks, and render

it the counterpart of its neighbour on the opposite side of the river.

We pause at the village of Bali, which was a place of note long before a European vessel had ascended the Hooghly. We have evidence of its existence three centuries ago in the old poem of Kobi Kunkun, one of the earliest productions now extant in the Bengali language. It was one of the eight places which furnished Bengal with an almanack before the art of printing was introduced into the country. These almanacks were much fuller, and of far greater interest and importance than the old almanacks in England, which originated in the days of judicial astrology, and have been continued from Partridge to More, till cast into the shade by the light of modern improvement. An almanack, is indispensable to a Hindu. He is obliged to refer to one in almost every transaction of life, because it is so entirely regulated by astronomical conjunctions and the "influence of the heavenly intelligencies." It teaches him how to time the innumerable affairs of ordinary life so as not only to avoid inauspicious conjunctures, but to seize upon the precise moment when the aspect of the stars and planets is most propitious. If any man would learn how Hinduism interferes with every movement in life, however trivial—constantly reminding its votary of something to be done or something to be forborne—let him consult the almanack. These annuals are drawn up by the brahmans who have some smattering of Indian astronomy, and are deeply versed in the mysteries of astrology. In addition to the superstitious notices which formed the staple of the old almanacks, those of the present day give a variety of useful information of a secular character, such as the schedule of stamp duties, the rates of postage, and the like. The almanacks of Bali have lost their credit, and that which is now published at a native press in Serampore, has risen into vogue, and commands a circulation of more than four thousand copies a year.

Bali, however, is still one of the most orthodox and holy towns in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. It is said to contain no fewer than a thousand families of brahmans, many of whom prefer living in a state of primitive simplicity, like the sages of Hindu hagiography, on the scanty produce of their fields and orchards, to attending the feasts and festivals of their wealthy fellow countrymen, and accepting the wages of mendicancy. It used to be affirmed that some of the most exclusive and sanctified brahmans of Bali who stood around the scaffold on which Nundkumar was judicially murdered by Sir Elijah

Impey, were so struck with horror at the sight, that they ran down to the river, and having washed out the pollution of this spectacle in the sacred stream, embarked for their own village, and vowed never again to set foot in a city which had witnessed the execution of one of the twice-born. On the northern extremity of the village, stand two small temples, the singular architecture of which attracted the notice of Bishop Heber. It is at this place that the Bali Khal or creek, turns off from the river and runs up into the country. Over this creek one of the largest and most beautiful suspension bridges was erected during the course of the present year by Captain Goodwyn of the Engineers, but an untoward accident, originating in some error or misapprehension of the subordinates, prostrated it into the water, just as it had been completed. The confidence of the Engineer in the soundness of the principle on which it was erected has induced him to adopt the same principle in its reconstruction, and it is expected to be opened to the public at the beginning of the present year. There is no bridge in Bengal of so bold and magnificent a character, or which stands in a more picturesque situation. The traffic which crosses this little creek, on the high road between Howrah and Benares, is so great that the produce of the ferry exceeds 3,000 Rupees a year. Within the last six years very extensive sugar factories have been built on its southern bank, which give it a pleasing air of manufacturing activity. Indeed, no place for twenty miles above Calcutta exhibits so much bustle and animation. The anchorage at the mouth of the creek and a little way farther up is particularly safe, and the great, unwieldy, and heavily laden vessels from the Upper Provinces which are unable to make Calcutta with the tide, generally anchor here. The vessels with valuable freight which leave Calcutta for the Upper Provinces with every tide, usually make this their first stage, after having cleared the port.

Passing by the two next uninteresting hamlets we come to Connugur, a populous and wealthy village, the family residence of many natives who have amassed, or are amassing, wealth in Calcutta. The most prominent object in it is the series of twelve temples and the noble landing stairs on the banks of the river erected at the expense of Baboo Hurusoonder Dutt. A stone's throw to the north of them a careful observer will perceive the remains of an ancient but now dilapidated dock. The only vestige which remains of it is the solid pillars of the gates, which continue to resist the ravages of the current; but the excavation of the dock may be distinctly traced within.

The premises are surrounded with a wall, and the title deeds are of a date anterior to the establishment of British authority in Bengal. Just above this spot, along the village of Rishera, the bank describes a curve, and the anchorage is sheltered from storms. It was here that the Danish vessels sometimes anchored instead of coming up to Serampore, and there is some reason to believe, that the dock which we have alluded to, had some reference to this anchorage, though no mention of it appears in the records of Serampore. A few brick-built houses are to be seen in the village of Rishera, which is evidently losing the wealth and importance it once enjoyed. At the northern extremity of this village stands a factory which has existed for half a century, and passed successively through the hands of various European houses of business into those of its late possessor, Bissumbhur Sen. It was one of the oldest and most profitable chintz manufactories in the country, having been established not long after Mr. Prinsep had introduced the art. With the decay, or rather the extinction, of our trade in piece-goods, which the produce of English looms has so entirely superseded, the manufacture of chintz cloths has dwindled almost to nothing. None but the coarsest and cheapest chintz are now prepared, and only for the most indigent class of society. But in its stead a very extensive business in the printing of silk handkerchiefs has grown up, and those who were formerly employed on our cotton cloths, now find remunerating employment in printing bandannos. The house and grounds now belong to the family of Bissumbhur Sen, who affords an example of the large fortunes which the vast traffic of the country and especially of Calcutta, combined with the confidence our institutions inspire, enables natives to accumulate in the space of a single life. This man begun his career upon eight or ten Rupees a month, and before his death had created a large fortune of some two hundred thousand pounds, out of nothing, by dint of economy, skill and perseverance. A dozen such instances of prosperity within the last twenty-five years might be pointed out, and they may be regarded as an index of the prosperity of the country, of which the accumulation of capital is one of the most unequivocal tokens. It is not unworthy of remark, that all the colossal fortunes which were made before the close of the last century, were of official origin, and grew out of the oriental process of converting power into money. In that period, more than half a dozen natives are known to have amassed a million sterling by the plunder of the State and the oppression of its subjects. Those days of official peculation have happily ceased. Within the last quarter of a century, we believe, not more than

two or three natives are admitted to have accumulated a sum above ten lakhs,—or a whole plumb—in the public service. A lakh or two is at present the utmost limit to which a native, who enjoys and abuses the confidence of an easy Judge, Magistrate or Collector, can expect to attain. On the other hand, the fortunes made by commercial enterprise in Calcutta, and the larger towns at this Presidency, and which are brought into notice year after year, are continuous, as well as magnificent.

Adjoining the factory we have Rishera House. Perhaps no place presents more of the appearance of an English country seat than this mansion, as it is viewed on coming down the river, with its green velvet lawn and venerable trees, which may almost be mistaken for the oaks of a park: it has always been a favorite retreat with Calcutta residents. It is surrounded by a brick wall, the western portion of which is lined with a row of ancient mango trees, one of which excites great admiration for the boldness and grandeur of its branches. The tradition runs that the trees were planted by Mrs. Hastings, when she and Warren Hastings made this villa their temporary residence. A little higher up is the village of Muhesh, written by Mr. Joseph, Moyse. It extends from the upper creek at Rishera to Bullbupore on the confines of Serampore, and is one of the most ancient villages in this part of the country. There is evidence that it was in existence three centuries ago, and that it stood, where it now does, on the banks of the river. Indeed, in this brief notice of the banks of the river from Calcutta to Hooghly, it would be improper to overlook the fact that, while villages above that town which are known to have lain on the banks of the river at the commencement of the Mogul dynasty, are now in some cases four or five miles distant from it, every village within the tract embraced by the map, appears from the itinerary on which we have drawn for our information, to stand precisely where it stood three centuries ago, on the immediate bank of the river. This leads us to the conclusion that there has been scarcely any material change in its current within these limits during this long period. The village of Muhesh has nothing to distinguish it in appearance from any other village. All its houses are buried amid the foliage of trees, many of them of great antiquity; and its very existence is revealed to the tourist only as he wanders through it. But it has a peculiar attraction to the natives throughout Bengal on account of its Temple of Jugunnath, which enjoys greater celebrity than any other abode of the "lord of the world," after the parent shrine at Poori. It may fairly claim an antiquity of three hundred years. The present proprietors have been in possession of the

image for seven generations. The popular legend, which is universally believed by a people as much given to credulity as the most superstitious nation in Europe, is, that the god Jugunnath stopped and bathed at Muhesh, on his way to Poori, where he dined. To commemorate this event, a grand festival is held on the full moon in the month Joisti, which falls in May, and occasionally in June. On that high occasion the image is brought out of the temple, wrapped in broadcloth, and hoisted up on a brick-built stage raised about seven feet from the ground. Just at the time when the conjunction of the planets indicates the most auspicious moment, the officiating priest pours the water of the sacred Ganges on its head from a silver *kulsi*, or water-pot. The ground before the stage is a large open area, which is densely crowded with devotees at this festival, a hundred and fifty thousand of whom have been known to assemble at one time in front of the image. As the water descends upon the head of the consecrated log, one long and deafening shout arises from that vast multitude, making the welkin ring; the hands of the worshippers are at the same moment lifted up and clapped together,—and the density of the crowd, the forest of hands, the shouts and the clapping, combine to give an idea of superstitious enthusiasm which is rarely presented in any other scene.

About fifteen years ago, this bathing festival was rendered memorable by a singular event. If the reader turns to Joseph's map, he will discover a little village noted down to the north of Serampore, of the name of Sharafully. It is distinguished from other villages only by the residence of the Zemindar or Rajah, who is usually called after its name. The Rajah, who is of the writer caste, is descended from one of the most ancient and respected families in Bengal, the well-known designation of which is *Sudra muni*, or the jewel of Sudras. The original seat of the family was at Patoolee, a few miles distant from Cutwa, and we find the Zemindary of Patoolee marked down in the rent-roll of the Mogul viceroys as paying a revenue of 52,000 Rupees a year. We may therefore conclude that this was one of the Zemindary families which arose into note about the close of the seventeenth century. The principle which had been established a century before by the emperor Akbar, of admitting no middle men between the cultivator and the State, began at that period to be relaxed, and those who had been appointed to collect the land tax aimed at making the office hereditary in their families, and were in a state of transition from collectors of revenue to landholders. The Zemindary system appears to have been brought to maturity by Moorshed



Kooly Khan, the greatest of the Mahommedan viceroys of Bengal,—Aly Verdi Khan, perhaps, excepted. Moorshed Kooly found it more convenient to apply the revenue screw to a limited number of large landholders than to a million of tenants. The modes in which he exacted the public revenue from unwilling Zemindars are too well known to need recounting. On some occasions he caused them to be dragged through a pond filled with ordure ; and this contrivance for obtaining the Government dues, however inodorous, was generally found successful in unlocking their hoards. It happened that a brahman Zemindar had thus fallen into arrears and was about to be consigned to this paradise, as the pond was called in derision, when Munohur Roy, the Zemindar of Patoolce, stepped forward and paid off the whole debt. The Nabob was so much gratified with this act of generosity, that he conferred on him the title of *Sudra muni*, or the “jewel of Sudras,” a name which the family has retained for nearly a century and a half. For several generations they vindicated their claim to this distinction by their liberal donations to various shrines, and it is said that few temples of any note can be found in the country which have not received some tokens of their devotion and bounty. They were great benefactors to the establishment of Jugunnath, which owes its most productive endowments to their munificence. Partly from this cause, and partly because the ground on which the temple is erected is within the estate of the Rajah, the annual ceremony of bathing the image was invariably postponed till the principal member of the family arrived, and issued orders for its performance. The late Rajah Hurrishcunder, who was fully alive to the honor which this distinction conferred on his family, in the midst of a hundred thousand of his fellow countrymen assembled from all parts of the country, usually rode to the shrine on horseback, with half a dozen outriders, and a long array of followers.

Within the last thirty or forty years, a family in Serampore of the Telee caste has arisen from utter insignificance to great wealth, by establishing one of the under-monopolies of Salt, which have grown out of the great monopoly of the Company. There are still living one or two of the ancient residents of the town who can remember the time when the grandfather proceeded to market with a basket of thread on his head, and was happy to earn four or five Rupees a month by the sale of it. Although on one or two occasions they have exhibited the arrogance of upstarts, yet it is but just to acknowledge that, generally speaking, they have endeavoured to weaken the feeling

of envy which their elevation could not fail to create, by peaceful, just, and moderate conduct. In the course of time, the large estates of the Sharafully Rajah were subjected to a partition, and a portion of them was allotted to a branch of the family now seated at Bali. Of this division a part had been mortgaged to this Telce family. In this country, as well as in England, the possessions of ancient families who are strangers to the principles of economy, are constantly passing into the hands of new men who have risen to wealth in the course of trade. The mortgage was duly foreclosed, and the *parvenu* fairly became landholders, and entered on possession of a portion of the land which forms the endowment of Jugunnath. It will of course be understood, that in spite of all the consideration which their wealth confers on them, they are regarded by the community as infinitely inferior in distinction to the time-honoured family of Sharafully. In fact, the difference between the two families may be compared to that which subsisted in popular estimation between Glossen, the purchaser of Ellangowan, and the historical Bertrams. In an evil hour, the Telces determined to arrogate to themselves the honour of giving orders for the bathing of Jugunnath; and, having obtained the concurrence of the priests by offers which were irresistible, the head of the family proceeded with due pomp to the stage, and the image was bathed at his command, and the crowd began to disperse. The late Rajah Hurrishunder, as he advanced with his cavalcade, met the retiring multitude, and his indignation may be more easily conceived than described when he learned that the son of the hawker of thread had thus invaded the ancient prerogatives of his family. He rode up in haste to the temple, caused the chief priests to be bound and conveyed a distance of five miles to his own residence and there subjected them, for three days, to every possible indignity, short of actual violence. The intercession of the neighbouring Zemindars and of the most wealthy men in Serampore, succeeded at length in softening his resentment, and they were liberated on the promise of never repeating the transgression, or paying the slightest attention to the new men; a promise which they have since held sacred.

The present temple of Jugunnath was built by the family of the Mulliks of Calcutta. The car, one of the largest in Bengal, was the gift of the Boses. About eight or ten years ago, the old car was found to be unsafe by reason of decay and the ravages of the white-ants. These tiny and yet most formidable enemies seem to be utterly destitute of all respect for things sacred, for in the last few years they have attacked

with equal presumption the organ of St. Andrew's Church, and the carriage of Jugunnath. The head of this family—of the Boses, not of the white-ants—accordingly, caused a new car to be constructed at his own expense. And here we must not forget to notice the token of improved feeling which was exhibited on this occasion. The old car was covered with figures, not only of an indecent but of a most infamous character, such as the Police even in England, where we have neither moral nor medical police, would not tolerate for an instant. This had always been a source of great regret to all the Europeans in the neighbourhood. For the festival of Jugunnath, which lasts eight days, and presents the attraction of a fair, is also the period of a general jail delivery for all the respectable females in a circle of more than thirty miles. On this occasion they are allowed to come abroad and see life; to visit the shrine, and present their offering. They usually make a few purchases at the fair, and seldom neglect to walk round the car, and examine its pictures. It was distressing to see females of respectability, on one of the very few occasions when they were allowed to move beyond the walls of their own prisons, gazing on representations of so detestable a character. But although the pictures with which the new car is covered have little pretension to modesty, and are calculated, if not designed, like every other Hindu exhibition, to minister to a prurient imagination, they are not so revolting to the feelings as those which made the old car a public nuisance.

Two or three weeks after the bathing festival, the image of Jugunnath is placed upon his car, three or four hours before sunset, and drawn by means of hawsers by the crowd of worshippers a distance of about a mile to the vicinity of the temple of Radhabullub, on the confines of Serampore, to which the image is conveyed. During the eight days in which the two gods reside together, the shrine is crowded, day and night with devotees, chiefly of the female sex, who come from a considerable distance to see them in each other's company. This visit of Jugunnath to his fellow-god is a mere conventional arrangement, originating in the avarice of the priests. The rule in reference to his journey is simply that he shall be lodged in some house near the car, and if possible, in the temple of some brother divinity. It was supposed that the presence of both images under the same roof would form a great attraction to the public, and fill the purses of the brahmans; and the respective proprietors came to an understanding to divide the profits. About fifteen years ago, the priesthood of Radhabullub's temple manifested a

desire to withhold a due share of the offerings from their brethren of Jugunnath's temple, and they, in their turn, retaliated by conveying their idol to a private lodging. But the offerings at Radhabullub's shrine were found to suffer so considerably by the loss of this attraction, that the priesthood of both temples, after a good deal of huckstering, agreed to renew the old arrangement, and it has continued in force ever since. It is generally supposed that the offerings during the eight days of the festival amount to about 2,000 Rupees, but they are not equally distributed over this period, for some days are found to be more profitable than others. The gifts of each day are separately farmed out to some one connected with the temple, in the mercenary spirit which pervades every Hindu institution. The farmer appoints his own officials to collect them, and he is sometimes a gainer, but always a loser on a day of unexpected rain.

Immediately above the village of Muhesh stands that of Bulbupore, which grew up around the image and temple of Radhabullub, to which we have already alluded. Every shrine of any note in India has some miraculous legend attached to it with the design of attracting the confidence of the people. It is believed that about eight generations ago, Roodru Pundit, who was related to a family of distinction at Chatra, a mile to the west of Serampore, was reproved by his unele for having presumed to score the sacrificial vessels of the domestic idol, on which he forsook the family mansion, and retired to Bullubpore, which was then a *forest*, where he began a series of religious austerities, in the hope of one day being able to possess an image and temple of his own. The gods are never indifferent to such acts of devotedness, and Radhabullub himself is said to have appeared to him in the form of a religious mendicant, and given him instructions to proceed to Gour, the capital of Bengal, and obtain a slab of stone which adorned the doorway of the Viceroy's private room, and construct an image out of it. He proceeded to that city and found that the prime minister and favorite of the Viceroy was a devoted Hindu. To him he announced the revelation he had received, and was assured, that no effort should be spared to obey the commands of the god. Soon after, the stone began to emit drops of water, and by a singular coincidence, the Viceroy himself happened to pass by at the time. The minister pointed out the circumstance, and asserted that the drops thus distilled were the tears of the stone, and that no time should be lost in delivering the palace from so inauspicious an omen, by the removal of this object. Permission was immediately given to this effect, and Roodru was

blessed with the gratification of his wishes. But he was greatly perplexed about the means of removing this treasure, when the god again appeared, and directed him to return forthwith to Bullubpore, and there await in patience the arrival of the stone. Soon after he had reached his village, it was miraculously conveyed to the river side, and floated down the stream of its own accord to the landing stairs at Bullubpore, where the devotee was in the habit of bathing. Superstition presents the same aspect in all ages, and in all countries, and not only makes the same demand on the credulity of its victims, but adopts nearly the same mode of securing it. The legend of the image which fell down from Jupiter; of the Santa Casa, which was carried by supernatural power from Palestine to Dalmatia, and from Dalmatia to Loretto, and of the stone which floated from Gour to Bullubpore, belong to three different and independent systems of superstition, yet we find the contrivances employed in each case to give a miraculous sanctity to a shrine, and draw forth the homage and gifts of devotees, precisely the same.

Roodru set to work immediately on the stone, and by the aid of the sculptor obtained an image which is much celebrated for its beauty. The mysterious origin of the image soon attracted worshippers, and the proprietor was enabled from their gifts to construct the temple which forms one of the most prominent objects at the entrance of Serampore from the south. In process of time, the encroachments of the river brought the temple within the limits of three hundred feet of the edge of the water, and it became necessary to seek some other abode for the god, because no brahman is allowed to receive a professional gift or meal within that distance of the sacred stream. It is in reference to this injunction of the Shastras that wealthy natives guard against erecting their houses on the immediate banks of the river. The forsaken temple was subsequently purchased by the Reverend David Brown, and the image was removed to another spot, a quarter of a mile inland, where a more magnificent temple was built at the expense of the wealthy family of the Mulliks of Calcutta, whose religious liberality has almost obliterated the remembrance of the low caste to which they belong. The splendor of Radhabullub's establishment is, however, of more recent origin than the celebrity of the image. The Rajah Nubukissen of Calcutta, the Munshi of Clive, and the first native who rose to wealth and distinction after the birth of the British empire in India, took a great fancy to this god. When he was called to perform the funeral obsequies of his mother, he employed the great influence he enjoyed in the country, to convey to his own residence in the metropolis, the three images to which Ugru-

deep, Churda and Bullubpore owe their distinction. They were carried down to the river on a stage, on the shoulders of brahmans—for it would be an act of sacrilege for any but the twice-born to touch an image, inhabited by the spirit of the gods;—and were conveyed from the ghat in Calcutta to the Rajah's residence on the same sacerdotal shoulders. Soon after, he dismissed two of the images, but retained that of Radhabul-lub for a twelve month, and exhibited a strong indisposition to part with it. He offered large sums of money to the priests—according to popular report, to the extent of 10, or 12,000 Rupees for permission to keep it; but they refused to part with the heirloom of their family. They importuned him for its restoration, time after time, but without success. An appeal to the Courts of Law would at once have secured its return, but such a proceeding would have reflected dishonour on them throughout the country. At length, they threatened the Rajah and his family with a more fearful calamity than a law suit in the Supreme Court,—with the curse of the brahmans. These menaces are said to have reached the Rajah's wife, who besought him to send away an image which was likely to prove so inauspicious to the family, and he was persuaded to relinquish it. At the same time, he gave the most substantial proofs of his generosity to its proprietors by endowing them with the village of Bullubpore, which is supposed to yield them an annual income of about 800 Rupees a year. The patronage of so distinguished a character as Rajah Nubukissen tended greatly to increase the popularity of the shrine, and it is now one of the most wealthy in this part of the country.

We now enter the town of Serampore, which, after having been in the hands of the Danes for ninety years, has just been transferred to the English. Within this brief period, is comprised the history of the rise, progress and consolidation of the greatest colonial empire the world has ever seen. Within nine months after the Danish Agent had erected his flag in Serampore, the factory of the English in Calcutta was plundered by the Nabob; their establishments throughout the country were broken up, and every hope of their regaining a footing in Bengal, was apparently extinguished. In the last year in which the Danish flag floats over Serampore, the British Government is engaged in hostilities with the Government of Lahore, which will probably end in the annexation of the Punjab and Cashmere to its empire, and give us a postal road from one extremity of it to the other, of not less than two thousand three hundred miles in length. The Danes originally established their trade in Bengal in the year 1698, and paid 30,000 Rs. in ten annual

instalments for their firman, which was granted them by the Prince Azim-ud-din, the grandson of the Emperor Arungzebe. In 1753, we find Mr. Soetman, the chief of the Danish establishment, residing at Chandernagore, where the vessels consigned to him unloaded their cargoes. The return cargo was shipped from that town, as the property of the Governor, M. de Lejrit, though not without many disputes with the Nabob's custom house officers, who doubtless had some suspicions of the ownership of the goods. The Danish factors therefore felt the necessity of obtaining a settlement which they might call their own in Bengal, and they opened a negotiation with the Nabob, through the well-known Monsr. Law, the French Agent at Cossimbazar, who enjoyed pre-eminent influence at the Moorshedabad durbar. The letters which he wrote in April and the two succeeding months of 1755, were lately in existence at Tranquebar, and would doubtless throw much light on the politics of the Moorshedabad Court at this interesting period. There were no public posts in Bengal at that time; and Mr. Law's letter of the 30th July announcing that he had succeeded in obtaining a *perwanna* for the erection of a factory at Serampore, was twelve days in reaching Chandernagore.

Mr. Law himself arrived with that document on the 6th of September, together with an order on the Fouzdar of Hooghly to deliver possession, but a month elapsed before the arrangements with this important personage could be completed. Old Soetman's records say, "we went to Ackna and Serampore on the 7th October 1755, to take possession of our ground with the necessary ceremonies, but the whole day passed in disputes, and we were obliged to go there again." They were entitled by the Viceregal firman to the occupation of sixty bigahs of ground. They preferred taking three bigahs in Serampore and fifty-seven in Ackna; because "no ship could lay at Ackna, though a good factory might be built there on a large open spot of ground." They discovered that if they took the whole quantity in Serampore, they would have been obliged to purchase all the houses which stood in it, of the value of 10 or 12,000 Rupees. This shows that the village was of some mark even before a European settlement was established in it. Soetman, therefore, contented himself with the river frontage, and the secure anchorage before it. On the 8th of October 1755, the Danish flag was hoisted at Serampore and four peons were appointed to guard it. The expenses incurred at the Durbar in obtaining the firman, in presents to the three Nabobs, and in the purchase of the ground from the proprietors, had amounted to a lakh and sixty thousand Rupees, £16,000. The

factory however advanced slowly. It was seven weeks before the factor appointed a Gomasta, "in which he followed the example of the other nations in Bengal," and he was a person of the *Catmah*, or weaver caste. On the 15th of December, Ziegenbalk, the second in command, remeasured the ground, and it was resolved to surround the factory with a mud fence and a straw roof, to protect it during the rains. Most opportunely, some one at this time offered to enter the Danish service on 40 Rs. a month, to superintend the building of the factory and the fencing of the ground, if he was honored with the rank and title of Lieutenant; whereupon Soetman and Ziegenbalk passed an order in Council, that "if he could not be prevailed on to serve for less, he should have 40 Rs., but without a free house or lights." It was just at this juncture that the young Nabob, Seraj-ud-dowlah passed down with 50,000 men on the opposite bank, breathing vengeance on the English for having fortified Calcutta and given protection to Kissendass. He sent across the water to order Soetman to join the army with all his troops, cavalry, infantry and artillery; to which the Governor replied, that he had neither horse, foot, or guns, but was living in a miserable mud hut, with only two or three servants.

The settlement grew and flourished under the predominance of European influence in Bengal, and participated in that security for property which the establishment of the English Government had introduced. It was also greatly assisted by the capital of the servants of the English East India Company. They had formerly been permitted to remit their fortunes to England by bills from the local authorities on the Court of Directors; but this permission was found to afford such great facilities to the Government of Bengal for borrowing money, the payment of which the Court was expected to provide for at home, that it was very wisely withdrawn. The British officers were therefore constrained to make their remittances through the foreign factories, and this accession of capital gave a new impulse to their commercial enterprises. At the close of the American war, England was involved in hostilities with the three maritime nations of North America, France and Holland, and English vessels were exposed to the attacks of privateers, and English trade subjected to very heavy insurances. These were the golden days of Serampore commerce. Before the close of that war, no fewer than twenty-two ships, mostly of three masts, and amounting in the aggregate to more than ten thousand tons, cleared out from the port, in the short space of nine months. This trade, though eminently profitable to the



Danish East India Company, was perhaps still more advantageous to their factors, who, while in the receipt of salaries not exceeding two hundred Rupees a month, drank champagne at 80 Rupees a dozen, and in a few years returned to Denmark with large fortunes. The late John Palmer, of Calcutta, usually styled the prince of merchants, was the Agent of the Danish Company, and has repeatedly assured us, that he has sat, day after day, in the godowns at Serampore, counting and weighing out goods, and that he seldom realized less than a lakh of Rupees a year.

The first interruption which the trade of Serampore received after a course of uninterrupted prosperity for forty-five years, was in the year 1801, when, in consequence of hostilities between England and Denmark, it was sequestered by the English authorities. But it was restored almost immediately after, at the peace of Amiens, and the loss was rapidly repaired. For five years after it throve beyond all former example. As the Bay swarmed with French privateers, and insurances had risen almost to a prohibitory rate, the merchants of Calcutta eagerly availed themselves of the neutral flag of Denmark, and obtained Danish papers and a Danish commander for their vessels as a protection against the privateers which infested the Sand Heads. English vessels fell into the hands of the French by the dozen, and were carried to the Isle of France and confiscated. It was currently reported, and never contradicted, that some of the Calcutta merchants despatched vessels under Danish colors to that island, and purchased their own cargoes at a reduced rate, and brought them back to be sold in Calcutta. In 1808, the sun of Danish prosperity set for ever in Bengal, after it had shone for a little more than half a century. England robbed Denmark of her fleet at Copenhagen, and a detachment of British troops crossed over from Barrackpore and took possession of the town, and of the well-filled store-houses of Serampore, while the Hon. Captain George Elliot, the son of the Governor-General, Lord Minto, sent up the boats of the *Modeste* frigate, which he commanded, and seized on three rich vessels lying in the harbour. From the blow thus inflicted, the Danish East India Company never recovered. Serampore was restored after the pacification of Europe in 1815, but the Company was on the verge of bankruptcy. The traffic in country piece-goods, which had been the staple of Danish commerce, had begun to yield to the rivalry of English manufactures, and a short time after the restoration of the town, the products of English power looms, completely extinguished the trade in Indian goods. Since 1815, one vessel, and one vessel alone, has visited the port.

For the last thirty years the settlement has been maintained only by draining the home treasure. The King of Denmark has at length yielded to the wishes of his people and disposed of possessions which entailed a heavy expense ; and Serampore and Tranquebar were at the beginning of the last year transferred to the British Government for the sum of twelve lakhs of Rupees, 120,000*l.*, and on the 11th of October 1845, just ninety years and three days after Soetman had first hoisted the Danish flag in this town, it was taken down, and the English colors hoisted in its stead.

The celebrity of the town through the Christian world, arises from its having been the residence of the Serampore Missionaries. It appears that about the year 1796 or '97, two Moravian Missionaries settled in it, and acquired a knowledge of the native language, and gave Christian instruction to all who resorted to them ; but they never went out among the people, and their labours soon ceased. On the 13th of October 1799 four Baptist Missionaries, who had arrived in the *Criterion*, an American vessel, and had neither friend nor acquaintance to receive them in Calcutta, proceeded to Serampore by the advice of their kind commander, Capt. Wickes, and took lodgings at the hotel, which was then in a very flourishing state. Their intention was to join Dr. Carey in the district of Malda, and pursue their Missionary labours in that neighbourhood. The Editors of the Calcutta journals, at that period, had probably never heard of the existence of such a denomination as the Baptist, and therefore announced that four *Papist* Missionaries had arrived in Bengal. Just at this period the emissaries of Buonaparte were known to be in the country in the guise of Roman Catholic priests, collecting political and military information. It used to be affirmed at the time, that Mr. Pitt, having discovered the intention of the French to send an engineer officer on this errand to India, had contrived to obtain his portrait, and transmitted it to Lord Wellesley, who on the arrival of the agent in Calcutta sent for him, and enquired whether he recognized the likeness, and on his confessing the object which had brought him out immediately ordered him to quit the country. We cannot vouch for the truth of this anecdote, but it was generally believed at the time, and may serve to explain the vigilance which the British Government was obliged to exercise at this season of political danger.

When Lord Wellesley's eye caught the announcement that four *Papist* missionaries had arrived in a foreign vessel, and had proceeded direct to the foreign settlement of Serampore without so much as landing in Calcutta, he concluded that their mission

was connected with the machinations of the French Government. The Commander of the vessel in which they had arrived was therefore summoned to the Police, and ordered to enter without delay into an engagement to take them back, on pain of not being allowed to discharge his cargo. In this dilemma, the Missionaries applied to the Rev. David Brown, who enjoyed the confidence of the Governor-General, and who explained the error to his Lordship, and assured him that Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward, and their two colleagues were not French spies, but Dissenting Missionaries; and the embargo on the vessel was immediately removed. But their journey into the country to join Dr. Carey was effectually arrested. At that period, no European was permitted to proceed into the interior without a pass. The rule was not rigidly enforced, and many resided in various parts of the country, under what used to be termed the "tacit permission" of Government, being liable, however, at any moment to deportation when they began to give trouble. The mistrust which the Government servants entertained of all Missionary efforts, and the notoriety which the arrival of the Missionaries had obtained in official circles, convinced them that their movements would be watched, and that it would be unsafe for them to leave Serampore for Mudnabatty without a pass; and Lord Wellesley refused to grant this, or to permit the establishment of a Press beyond the limits of the metropolis. This was in strict conformity with the spirit of the age, and the instructions of the Directors, and did not, we believe, originate in any personal feeling of hostility to Missionary efforts. Perhaps Lord Wellesley, knowing, as he well did, the dread with which the authorities at home regarded the establishment of Missions in India, was not altogether displeased to find the Missionaries settled under the safeguard of a foreign flag, and beyond the reach of British interference. During the remaining five years of his administration, though they were known to be in the habit of preaching and distributing tracts and Scriptures in the British territories, he offered no interruption to their labors, and was not deterred from conferring on the senior Missionary, Dr. Carey, an important post under Government, from the fact of his being a Missionary.

A few weeks after they had thus been constrained to take up their abode in Serampore, they were joined by Dr. Carey, when he and Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward commenced the establishment known throughout the Christian world as the "Serampore Mission," and which subsisted as a separate and independent agency for the diffusion of Christian truth in India till the death of the last of the number, Dr. Marshman,

in 1837. As soon as they had determined to make Serampore the scene of their labours, the local authorities offered them every encouragement, and reported the establishment of the Mission to the Court of Denmark, which had for more than a century enjoyed the distinction of fostering Christian Missions in the East. His Majesty, Frederick the VI, was pleased to take the institution under his own especial protection, and to direct the public functionaries to afford the Missionaries every support. While Lord Wellesley continued at the head of the Indian administration, no opportunity was afforded them of appreciating the value of this protection; but no sooner had he quitted India than the British Government began to take umbrage at the labours of the Missionaries, which on the arrival of Lord Minto was increased into the most active hostility. The Governor of Serampore was ordered to withdraw his protection from them, and to send them and their Press to Calcutta, that they might be within reach of the British authorities. He informed Lord Minto that they were under the immediate patronage of the Danish Crown, and that it was impossible for him to disregard the positive orders of his own sovereign. The most strenuous efforts were made by the British Government to shake his resolution; but he continued manfully to resist all importunity, and was at length gratified with the information that the surrender of the Missionaries and of the Press was dispensed with. It is due to the memory of Lord Minto to state that he became gradually reconciled to the prosecution of Missionary labours in Bengal, and endeavoured by personal kindness to obliterate the remembrance of the official severity he had manifested when he was new to his office, and listened to the advice of those in India who were anxious to persuade him that the salvation of the British empire around him depended on the banishment of the Serampore Missionaries.

It would be foreign to the design of this article, to enter into any detail of the labours, the devotion, the liberality and the sufferings of the three men whose remains now repose in the same hallowed ground in the Mission cemetery at Serampore, together with those of their highly gifted and affectionate associate, Mr. Mack. No burying ground in India is consecrated with four such tombs. But as we have touched on the singular circumstances connected with the origin of their establishment, we shall be forgiven for making a slight allusion to the scarcely less remarkable circumstances which marked its close. The three illustrious men, who had thus devoted the energies of their life to the work of evangelizing the heathen, devoted to this object also the pecuniary result of their labor, instead of enriching

their families. We speak greatly within the mark when we state that they were enabled, by the blessing of God on their labors, to devote more than fifty thousand pounds sterling to the Mission which they had established. Next to the success of their labors, the object which they held most dear, was the independent prosecution of them. A gradual change of circumstances, however, at length curtailed their incomes, and they found themselves constrained to solicit the assistance of friends in England for the support of their Missions. For other departments of labor they had always received support from home. Mr Ward died in 1823; Dr. Carey in 1834. In 1837, Dr. Marshman's iron constitution began to break up, and the gloomy prospects of the Mission weighed heavily on his spirits. The stations which he and his colleague had been instrumental in planting, required an outlay of more than 2,000 Rupees a month; the laborers stationed in them were three months in arrears, and their missionary utility was crippled by their pecuniary embarrassments. At the beginning of 1837, the late Mr. Mack was deputed to England to endeavor to recruit the finances of the Mission. He found its warmest friends disheartened and lukewarm. Its firmest and most wealthy supporter, Mr. Samuel Hope of Liverpool, was removed by death in that year, and the sums which, out of a fortune of between two and three hundred thousand pounds sterling, he had generously advanced to the good cause at Serampore in that spirit of affectionate confidence which subsisted between him and the Missionaries, were rigidly demanded by his representatives. Despairing of success in the object of his mission, Mr. Mack was constrained to open a negotiation with the Baptist Missionary Society, on the basis of transferring the whole missionary establishment to their management. While these arrangements were under discussion, Dr. Marshman was gradually sinking into his grave. Day after day did he anxiously enquire whether the mail had arrived, with tidings of Mr. Mack's success; but no mail came. It happened that the mails of July and August of that year, were unaccountably delayed, and arrived in conjunction with those of September. The intelligence, therefore, of the commencement, progress and conclusion of Mr. Mack's negotiations reached Calcutta just twelve hours after Dr. Marshman's spirit had been joined to those of his beloved colleagues, who had preceded him to their eternal reward; and he was thus happily spared the anguish of hearing, in the last moments of his earthly existence, that the Mission to which for thirty-seven years he had consecrated health, strength, time and fortune, had passed from Serampore. It was buried in his sepulchre.

There is a peculiar interest attached to the place which was the scene of their holy and disinterested labours. A feeling of solemnity pervades the mind in contemplating the spot where the first Missionary press was established; the first version of the Scriptures in the languages of this Presidency, and the first tract in the language of Bengal was printed, and the first vernacular school opened; the first converted Hindu baptized;—and the first steam engine, ever seen in India, set up, in order to manufacture paper for the printing of the Sacred Scriptures. The botanic garden in which Dr. Carey took such delight, and which he stocked with plants collected from all parts of the world, is kept up with the most affectionate veneration for his memory. The Chapel, consecrated by the ministrations of the Serampore Missionaries, has been recently repaired and improved, and the plain, simple old pulpit, in which they and their associate Mr. Mack preached for forty-five years, is still preserved in the place where it so long stood. The College which they erected from the proceeds of their own labour at an expense of a lakh and a half of Rupees, after having fallen into abeyance through the failure of the houses of business in Calcutta, in which its fund had been unhappily deposited, and from the removal by death of its chief supporters both in England and in India, is now undergoing repair, and arrangements are in progress in connection with the Baptist Missionary Society, which it is hoped will result in carrying out to the fullest extent the comprehensive views of its founders.

We must not forget in this brief reference to Serampore, to notice that the Revd. David Brown, the Senior Chaplain on the Bengal establishment, made it his favorite residence soon after he was appointed Provost of the College of Fort William in Calcutta. He purchased a house on the banks of the river at the southern extremity of the town, and gradually acquired possession of a large extent of ground, to which he gave the appearance of a park. Here, at Aldeen House, he spent all the time he could spare from his official avocations in Calcutta. The deep interest which he took in the spiritual improvement of India, combined with a conformity of religious views and feelings, produced a close intimacy between him and the Serampore Missionaries. For many years, the plans which they devised for the spread of general knowledge and evangelical truth through the country, were discussed with the utmost frankness and confidence at Aldeen House, and scarcely any important measure was adopted, in the severe trials which the Missionaries were called to undergo during the first twelve

years of their settlement, without the valuable advice of Mr. Brown. A few years after he had taken up his abode in Serampore, Mr. Martyn and Mr Corrie arrived from England as Chaplains on the establishment, and came up to reside with him, and took a lively interest in the various conferences which were held at his house in the spirit of a total oblivion of all denominational differences. The Rev. Dr. Buchanan was also a frequent visitor at Aldeen, and it was there that the rough sketch of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, which he embodied and published in a separate pamphlet on his arrival in England, was repeatedly brought under discussion. It was at one of these friendly meetings that Dr. Marshman asked him where he expected to obtain funds for the endowment of the establishment; on which he replied, that the temple lands would eventually answer for the churches, and the Brahman's lands for the ministers, to which Dr. Marshman replied with deep emphasis: "You will never, never obtain them, Dr. Buchanan." The temple of Radhaballub, which we have alluded to as having been abandoned when the river had approached too near to allow brahmans to receive gifts with a safe conscience, was purchased by Mr. Brown and fitted up for a dwelling. In the centre compartment where the image once stood, an organ was placed, and the dome which once resounded with the songs of idolatry, echoed with the praises of the living and true God, and His son Jesus Christ. As yet, Puseyism was not born. The feeling which animated Brown and Martyn and Corrie, was that enlarged spirit of Christian liberality which imparted such lustre to the character of Newton and Scott. They rejoiced in holding fellowship with Carey, and Marshman and Ward; and often did the three ministers of the Established Church meet their three Dissenting brethren around the same altar, and their mingled prayers and praises ascended in unison to Him, whose most earnest and repeated command when on earth was, that his disciples should love one another. But the place consecrated by these holy associations was but lately turned into a rum manufactory, and the brand which its casks bore was that of the "Pagoda Distillery!"

Serampore contains three places of Christian worship. The Mission Chapel, to which we have already alluded, was part of the building purchased in 1800 by Dr. Carey and his associates, and was till lately surrounded with private rooms. It was subsequently repaired, and covered with an iron roof, which has given it a light and elegant appearance. A Roman Catholic Chapel was originally erected in 1764, but it was found too small for the increasing community. It was therefore taken

down in 1776, when the present handsome edifice was erected in its stead at an expense of 13,386 Rupees, from subscriptions raised partly in Serampore but chiefly in Calcutta, under the auspices of a family which stood foremost in wealth and liberality half a century ago, but had apparently become extinct,—we allude to that of the Baretts. Adjoining the Catholic Church, a Convent has been erected within the last three or four years. The establishment consists of two nuns and two assistants. The Lutheran Church was built by public subscriptions through the exertions of Colonel Bie, and completed in 1805, at an expense of 18,500 Rupees. Of this sum 1,000 Rupees was contributed by the Marquis of Wellesley, who is said to have remarked at the time, that nothing was wanting to Barrackpore Park, but the distant view of a steeple. The sum of 8,000 Rupees was collected in Calcutta, and the remainder in Serampore and Denmark. No service has ever been performed in it by a Danish clergyman, in consequence of the capture of the town by the English soon after its erection, and the small body of Danes resident in it subsequently to the restoration of the town. The services have been gratuitously conducted by the Serampore Missionaries and their colleague Mr. Mack, during the long period of thirty-seven years. The Church has a lofty steeple, which is surmounted by a globe and cross; but this circumstance did not prevent Dr. Carey and his associates preaching in it for years, though they would doubtless have objected to the erection of such a symbol in any edifice built under their own immediate direction. It has also the rudiments of an altar,—but its orientation. The only property belonging to the Church consists of a pair of large silver candlesticks presented in 1803 by Mrs. Schow. According to the usual custom, these candles were placed on the altar, for six months, when the Church was covered with the insignia of mourning on the death of the late King, and regularly lighted up during the hours of divine service; but as this exhibition of lighted candles in the day on such an occasion, was in conformity with national usage, and not connected with superstitious associations, the late Mr. Mack raised no manner of objection to their introduction, nor were they found to weaken the effect of his admirable discourses.

Immediately above the town of Serampore lies the village of Chatra, which presents no object of interest. A little to the west of it is the village of Shawrafully, remarkable only as the family residence of the Rajah of whom we have already spoken. The late head of the family, Hurrishchunder, was



greatly distinguished by the spirit of his enterprises, and his religious liberality. For nearly a century there had been a large and flourishing market at the neighbouring village of Buddybati, which yielded a considerable revenue to its proprietors. He determined to erect a rival market in its vicinity on his own ground, and to draw off its traffic. He commenced with establishing an image of the goddess of Kali, under the name of Nistarini, or "Kali the deliverer." He set the pundits to search the Shastras for the precise form of the idol, and collected the most renowned sculptors from all parts of the country, and by the united labours of the pundits and sculptors, obtained an image which is celebrated among the natives for its symmetry and beauty. So large was the sum expended in the preparation of the image and the construction of its temple, that it is popularly estimated at more than 10,000 Rupees. After the completion of the shrine, he spared no expense to establish the market, in which he at length succeeded. It has become a source of great emolument to his family for he himself died soon after, leaving two widows with directions for each of them to adopt a son. This has been done and the two minor Rajahs will soon attain their majority, and succeed to an estate, which, during their nonage, has been cleared of the encumbrances with which the uncalculating expenditure of Hurishchunder had saddled it. Ashootosh Deb, the son of the well-known Ramdoolol Deb, the millionaire of his day, and himself a wealthy and influential citizen of Calcutta, lately endeavoured to break up this new market and establish one on his own property, but his efforts have proved entirely abortive.

Adjoining the village of Shawrafully, lies Buddybati, or the residence of the Mediciners, so called from the number of families of the medical caste which it formerly contained. The present native head of the Calcutta Medical College, comes from this village. Until it was supplanted by the rival market to which we have just reverted, the market of Buddybati was the largest in the vicinity of Calcutta, to the establishment of which city, indeed, it may be said to owe its chief importance. There are two market days in the week; and as it adjoins the great road leading to Singoor and Dwarhatta, and which was till lately the great thoroughfare to Benares, the produce of the numerous gardens and orchards with which each side of that high road is adorned for miles inland, are poured into these markets, and conveyed by more than a hundred boats to Calcutta, which depends on them for a very large portion of its vegetable supplies. The map notices a temple of Bhudra Kali, which, though an ancient establishment, is not much in

vogue. There is, however, another sacred place in its neighbourhood, which is held in great veneration, especially by Hindus who reside at a distance from it. It is called Nimai-tirth's Ghat. In popular estimation, whatever place a Muhapurush, or man renowned for his religious merit, has honored with his presence, is deemed a tirth, or holy place. Chitunya, the great modern heresiarch as he is considered by the orthodox, though revered as an incarnation of the deity by his own followers, rested at this ghat on his journey to Jugunnath, P'oori in Orissa, and reposed under a Nim tree, which produces no flowers fit to be offered to the gods. He performed an act of mental devotion in which he expressed a desire for some sacrificial flower, when the tree instantly presented him with a *vulvu* flower. We may here observe that if we were to proceed from shrine to shrine in this land of superstition, we should invariably find that every place of sanctity or renown, has its local legend of some miraculous occurrence, and that the superstitions of Europe and of the East, present in this respect, likewise, a very palpable coincidence. The ghat, notwithstanding its supernatural myth, has no peculiar attraction for those who live on the banks of the holy Ganges, the great stream of sanctity, which affords the means of religious merit to all who may dip themselves in it, through the whole course of its current; but the people of Orissa, who come up in large numbers to the great festival at Tribeny, about thirty miles higher up the river, never fail to pay their devotions at this shrine.

The next stage brings us to the village and heath of Champdani, once as much dreaded for scenes of robbery and murder as Hounslow or Bagshot, but which the traveller may now cross with perfect confidence. The place is marked down as Mr. W. Storm's factory. The estate was conferred as rent-free tenure on Sir Eyre Coote by the Nabob of Moorshedabad, and the title-deeds are still in the possession of the native family to whom the lands have come by purchase. It lies exactly opposite the village of Pultah, where Regiments proceeding from Barrackpore and Calcutta to the Upper Provinces, or from them to the neighbourhood of the Presidency, cross the river. It may serve to demonstrate the snail-like pace of internal improvements in Bengal, to state, that this is the only horse ferry within thirty miles of Calcutta. On the ghat stand three or four monuments erected to the memory of travellers who have here completed the journey of life; but their names and connections have long since perished in this land of pilgrimage and change.

Immediately to the north of this ghat is the French Garden of Giretty, about one third the extent of the Barrackpore

Park. If there be any one place in Bengal, after Gour with its ruined palaces and mosques, which presents an air of the most melancholy desolation, heightened by the remembrance of its former beauty and cheerfulness, it is this country house of the French Governors of Chandernagore. Whether we pass it from the river side, or look upon it from the road, it wears the appearance of the thickest jungle of the Soonderbuns, where the imagination pictures to itself the foot-marks of the tiger and the wild deer. At the northern extremity of the grounds are the remains of its once splendid mansion, which has become so entirely dilapidated as to be scarcely even picturesque. In this house, seventy years ago, were assembled the beauty and fashion of Chinsurah, Chandernagore, Scrampore and Calcutta. The walls of the saloon, which was thirty-six feet in height and of proportionate width and length, were adorned with paintings, and when in all its splendour, and filled with company, must have carried back the mind to some of the public rooms in the Chateau of Versailles. Here the Governor of Chandernagore entertained Clive and Verelst and Hastings and Sir W. Jones, with a degree of magnificence little inferior to that exhibited in the old Government House in Calcutta. The long alley of magnificent trees to the north of the house was formerly filled with the carriages of guests to the number, it is said, of more than fifty. Captain Stavorinus tells us, that on the 22nd of February 1770, the Dutch paid a national visit to the French Governor, and as these visits were accompanied with much ceremony, when the guest was received at the chief factory, the Dutch Director preferred paying it at the country seat of Giretty. The party set off from Chinsurah at four o'clock, in six carriages, and reached the chateau at six, where they were received at the bottom of the steps and conducted into a large saloon, in which the principal ladies and gentlemen of Chandernagore were assembled. At seven, the Dutch guests were invited to witness a play, in a slight building, which had been erected for the purpose. The play was over at ten, when they were led into a large room, in which a hundred ladies and gentlemen sat down to an elegant supper. The party broke up at one, and returned to Chinsurah.

The next town on the map, is Bhuddeshur, the greatest mart between Culua and Calcutta. The numerous brick-built dwellings and warehouses with which it is filled, have been erected within the present century, and there are many who can remember the time, when it was a place of no commercial importance and contained only a few thatched store rooms. It is the great granary of the metropolis, and of the country for twenty miles round it. It derives its name from a celebrated

image of Shiva, the origin of which lies in unfathomable antiquity. All the shrines throughout the country, such as Tarukeshur, Bhubuneshur, Bydenath, with many others, the establishment of which is beyond the memory of man, and of which no record is known to exist, are styled *Swayumbhu*, or the self-existent. They are believed to have come into existence without human instrumentality; and they possess this peculiarity, that they may be touched by the hands of Sudras without being polluted, and without the necessity of re-consecration. The image at Bhuddeshur is of this number. It is chiefly popular with the female sex, and is visited by Hindu ladies of the first respectability in a circle of ten or a dozen miles. It is an act of great religious merit to refresh the head of the image in the burning month of May with an effusion of cold-water; and women may be seen day after day at the shrine, pouring water on it, from a silver or earthen water-pot. This act of devotion is accompanied with offerings to the temple, and a gift to the officiating priest, which varies from four annas to two Rupees, according to the means of the devotee. Vows are also made to the god at Bhuddeshur, for the attainment of every variety of object; for deliverance from present difficulties, impending distress, for the acquisition of husband, wives, children, wealth or honor; and the vow is paid by offering a hundred thousand leaves of Shiva's favorite tree, the *vilon* to his stone representative. Ten millions of leaves would always be more grateful to the deity, and more advantageous to the interests of the devotee; but where can this number of leaves be obtained? The vows of the faithful are therefore in general limited to the more moderate figure.

Chandernagore stands next on the map. At what precise period it was first established, we have not been able to ascertain; but we find it mentioned as a French settlement in 1700. It appears to have made little progress for more than a quarter of a century after that year. Its prosperity dates from the arrival of Mons. Dupleix, the most enlightened and energetic administrator the French have ever had in India. The boldness and vigour with which he prosecuted his commercial enterprises in this country, gave an extraordinary impulse to the prosperity of Chandernagore; and during his incumbency more than two thousand brick houses were erected in it. In 1740, while Calcutta was in a state of comparative insignificance, Chandernagore had risen to great opulence and splendor under his influence. It was in the mansion on the banks of the river, on the site of which stands the present Government House, that he contemplated the establishment of a French power in this country, and determined himself to lay the foundation of it;

but Providence had otherwise determined the destiny of India. In the year 1742, upon the first irruption of the Mahrattas into Bengal, tacit permission was given to surround the European factories on the banks of the Hooghly with fortifications. Both the French and the English availed themselves of this permission, and put their settlements in a state of defence : but it was done by the English in the little spirit of counting house economy ; by the French in the spirit of political ambition ; in the one case to protect the godowns from plunder ; in the other, to repel the most formidable attack that might be made by the native powers. Hence, while Calcutta was found unable to stand for two days the assault of so contemptible a rabble as the Viceroy's army, it required all the resources of European strategy, and the assistance of three men of war, besides a large land force to reduce Chandernagore. It is certain that if the infuriated Nabob had turned his arms against the French settlement, he would have been obliged ignominiously to raise the siege, and would probably have been pursued by the French to his own capital ; and the foundation might then have been laid of a French monarchy in Bengal.

The capture of Chandernagore by Lord Clive, who was resolved to extinguish all European influence in Bengal except that which he himself directed, inflicted a blow on the prosperity of the French from which they never recovered. The palmy days of Chandernagore extended only from the arrival of Dupleix to its capture by the English during a period of little more than thirty years. As the star of England rose on the horizon of India, that of the French declined. We have had no means of access to the records of Chandernagore, but from the reports of travellers who visited it between the peace of 1763, and the commencement of the French revolution in 1793, it would appear that every effort to restore its former splendor proved unsuccessful. The aim of the French was the establishment of a political power in India, and when that object was defeated by the genius of Clive, and all their dreams of ambition were destroyed, they sunk into comparative insignificance, and were far outstripped in the race of commercial enterprise by their plodding neighbours, the Dutch. In 1793, Chandernagore was captured by the English, and though it was restored twenty-two years after, it has since that time existed as a French establishment without any object, political or commercial, and the only advantage it confers on the parent state consists in the patronage of an overgrown establishment. While the affairs of Serampore have been managed with great ease by two Danish civilians, the administration of Chandernagore embraces no fewer than ten European officers,

The same anomaly is visible on the Coast, in the settlement of Pondicherry, which contains an establishment of officers altogether disproportioned to the size of the territory, or the requisitions of public duty. The settlement of Chandernagore is now supported from the three hundred chests of opium, which the French receive from the British Government on the condition of not engaging in the manufacture of that article—for which they enjoy no facilities. This privilege was restored to them at the Congress of Vienna through the forethought of Talleyrand ; but a privilege of the same nature, though not to the same extent, which the Danes had enjoyed before the war was lost through the ignorance or supineness of their Minister.

Chandernagore has two Catholic Churches. The fine old Church of St. Louis, on which four pieces of cannon were mounted in the siege of the town in 1757, was demolished during its progress. A magazine in the rear of it was afterwards fitted up for a Church, and in it, we believe, divine service is still performed. In the year 1726, the Italians who had long before established a Mission at Agra, built a Church on the banks of the river at Chandernagore, with a dome for the roof ; and it continues to this day in a state of complete preservation, demonstrating how easy it would be to construct public edifices, which should resist the effects of the climate, and the depredations of white-ants, by simply avoiding the use of wood on which both time and the ants make so rapid and fatal an impression in India.

Of the history of Chandernagore during the eventful period of the French Revolution of 1792 and 1793 we have never been able to obtain any consistent account, and there may, therefore, be some little discrepancy in the reports which have been handed down. But it is generally understood that the infection of revolutionary principles extended even to this distant possession of France. The French populace of Chandernagore determined to enact on a small scale the proceedings of Paris, and revolutionize the Government. When they had succeeded in obtaining possession of the public authority, the Governor fled to his country house at Giretty. When it was announced that the mob of Paris had proceeded to Versailles and conducted the King as a prisoner to the capital, the mob of Chandernagore are said to have gone to Giretty, and brought back the Governor in triumph to the town, where he was subjected to much indignity. He was at length released from his dangerous position by the aid of the English Government, who sent a party of soldiers and put down the revolution. Soon after, the town was taken formal possession of, on the declaration of hostilities in Europe.

The Dutch settlement of Chinsurah lies within three miles of Chandernagore. There is no intermediate object of interest except the field on which Col. Forde defeated the troops of the Dutch, and nipped in the bud the projects of ambition in which they had begun to indulge. The circumstances are so well known, that a very brief reference to them will serve the object of this sketch. The Nabob Meer Jaffir, who owed the enjoyment of his master's throne to the English, became anxious to throw off their yoke, and encouraged the Dutch to import troops, and to attempt the establishment of a counter-influence in Bengal. A large fleet arrived from Batavia, consisting of seven ships, three of thirty-six guns, three of twenty-six, and one of sixteen, with 1,100 troops, European and Malay. It was given out that the armament was intended for the Dutch settlements on the Coromandel Coast, but had been *obliged* to run up the Hooghly. It was impossible for a man of Clive's penetration to mistake its object. He was not ignorant of the feeling or the intrigues of the Nabob. The Dutch had hitherto confined themselves strictly to mercantile undertakings. Their commercial privileges were not curtailed by the establishment of British authority in Bengal; on the contrary, the transfer of political influence to a European nation of approved good faith, with whom the Dutch were on terms of amity, was likely to prove beneficial to their trade. It was clear to the mind of Clive that their object was to take advantage of the breaking up of the Mahomedan power, and endeavour to supplant the English in Bengal. Although he had no such absolute proof of these designs as to justify him in the bold measure he determined to pursue, yet we, at this time of day, have the clearest evidence of the fact, in the journal of one of their own officers, Stavorinus, who writes, "The Dutch began to trade in Bengal as early as the commencement of the last century; they were always the first in opulence and importance, till the English became the rulers of the country in the last revolution; and perhaps they would still have been so, had the well-planned, but badly executed attempt, made as before-mentioned, during the administration of the Governor-General Mossel in 1759, succeeded to our wishes." The two nations were at peace, and Clive clearly had no right to prevent the progress of Dutch ships and Dutch troops to their own settlement. But he did not fail to perceive that the presence of a large foreign force, in the vicinity of Calcutta, composed in a great measure of European soldiers, and commanded by European officers, would not fail to disturb the dependence of the Nabob on the English, and kindle hopes of ambition which would have been to him a source of great embarrassment. He determined to defeat the projects of the

Dutch at the risk of his own commission. He was accustomed to affirm that an Indian Governor must always act with a halter about his neck, and in this instance, he exemplified his own assertion. During a period of profound peace, he captured the Dutch vessels proceeding up the river, and sent Col. Forde to attack the Dutch army, and prevent its reaching Chinsurah. Forde, who seemed to feel the halter already chaffing his neck, demanded the Governor's written authority for an act so inconsistent with the law of nations. Clive, to whom the note of demand was addressed, received it when playing at cards. Without quitting the table he wrote an answer in pencil—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the Order of Council to-morrow." There is nothing greater than this in all Livy. Forde met and discomfited the Dutch, and Dutch ambition was quenched by the daring genius of Clive, as that of the French had previously been.

Of the origin of Chinsurah we have been able to obtain no account, but one of the escutcheons in the Church refers to a Governor who died in 1665. Fort Gustavus, before it was entirely demolished eighteen years ago, bore the date of 1687 on its northern, and 1692 on its southern gate. It must therefore have been a century and a half old when it was levelled with the ground. The beams of this edifice, which were of the largest scantling and equal in size to two of our modern beams, were found to be as sound as the day they were inserted into the building. They were of Java teak, and had been sent up from Batavia. It may not be unimportant thus to place on record the fact, that teak has been found to resist the humidity of the climate and the attacks of white-ants for a hundred and fifty years. The garden of the Government House was tastefully laid out, and adorned with statuary. The statues have long since disappeared, and the walk in the alley of trees is now trod only by British soldiers.

The Dutch grew and flourished in India, as they had done in Europe, by their steady perseverance in mercantile pursuits, from which they appear to have been diverted on only one occasion, when in 1757 the successes of Clive revealed the weakness of the Mahomedan government, which they had been accustomed to regard with feelings of awe, and to conciliate with humiliating gifts, and gave them hopes of being able to establish a political power. But Col. Forde cured them of all such ambition. We think the period between 1770 and 1780 may be regarded as that in which their trade had attained its most palmy state. At an earlier period, the charge of the Dutch settlements in Bengal appears to have greatly exceeded the profits. A large and useless military force was entertained, and the agents of the Company plundered them in the most



flagrant manner. Their conduct is thus described in a letter from the superior authorities at Batavia : "For a series of years, a succession of Directors in Bengal have been guilty of the greatest enormities, and the foulest dishonesty ; they have looked upon the Company's effects confided to them, as a booty thrown open to their depredations ; they have most shamefully and arbitrarily falsified the invoice-prices ; they have violated, in the most disgraceful manner, all our orders and regulations with regard to the purchase of goods, without paying the least attention to their oaths and duty."

At a subsequent period the Military and Naval establishments in Bengal were reduced to ten artillery men, sixty-nine seamen and marines and forty-eight soldiers, including officers, and seven surgeons and assistants. At the same time, we find that there were sixty-four civilians, and two ecclesiastical functionaries. Great and successful efforts were made to repress the spirit of speculation which had grown up in the administration. It appears that the chief profit of the Company was derived, not so much from its exports to Europe, as from the trade in opium to Java. Eight hundred chests of the drug were annually obtained at the Patna agency and shipped to Batavia, from whence it was distributed through the Archipelago and possibly sent on to China. Each chest contained 125 lbs. and cost the Company between 7 and 800 Rupees, including freight, insurance and other charges. The chest sold at Batavia for about 1,250 Rs. ; and the clear profit on the investment of the year was about four lakhs of Rupees.

The settlement of Chinsurah was subordinate to that of Batavia, and all vacancies were filled up by the public authorities of that place, the local Council being permitted only to nominate to officiating appointments. The Government consisted of a Governor or Director, and seven members of Council, five of whom had a right to vote, as well as to advise, while two had no other privilege than that of advising. The chief was obliged to submit all matters of importance to the consideration of his Council, and to be guided by the voice of the majority ; but as its members were dependent on him for their emoluments, the check of the Council was more nominal than real. Although the official salary of the Chief Director was exceedingly small, his perquisites were very extensive. Mr. Vernet stated the annual expenses of his household at 36,000 Rs. which was considered moderate, in comparison with those of his predecessors, some of whom expended not less than a lakh of Rupees a year, a sum equal to that which the English President at Calcutta was supposed to disburse in his domestic establishment. Though only the head of a commercial factory he maintained no little

state. He was the only person in the settlement who enjoyed the privilege of being carried "in a palankeen, sitting on a chair:" this kind of vehicle is now completely extinct. When he rode through the town, the natives were obliged in some places to play on their instruments of music. He was preceded by *chobdars*, or attendants armed with a staff entirely covered with silver, while the inferior members of Council were allowed chobdars with only half-mounted staves. The members of Council were styled senior merchants, as in the English service; and each one had some distinct department of business entrusted to him. The fiscal, or sheriff, who was also the mayor of the town, had the rank of a senior, with the pay of a junior merchant; but in those days, the emoluments of one who united in his person the powers of Judge and Magistrate, made his mere pay a matter of indifference. He had authority to punish by flogging at a stake, or by fines, and the fines appear to have been appropriated to his own use. We are even told that he sometimes fined wealthy banians 20,000 Rs. for the most trifling offence, and tied them up to a post and whipped them till it was paid. It will be readily supposed that the fiscal was the most important person in the town. "The Indians," says Stavorinus, "stand more in awe of him on account of his office than of the Director," just as in our own administration the Magistrate is more regarded by the people than the Commissioner.

Chinsurah is described in 1770 as requiring three quarters of an hour to walk around it. The houses were built, like all other houses of the period, without flues, and the lower floor was almost level with the ground, and of course so completely saturated with humidity that we cease to wonder at the extraordinary mortality of the times. Glass windows were unknown; frames of twisted cane were used in their stead. "Glass," says our authority, "would be very uncomfortable in the great heats which prevail for nine months of the year." This was before punkas had been invented,—and for them we are indebted to the ingenuity of a Dutch Governor who first brought them into use, at the close of the last century. Glass windows are now essential, not so much to Indian comfort, as to Indian existence. Without them we should be unable to exclude the cold air in winter, or the hot wind in the summer. In this age of modern luxury, the only mode of keeping a house cool, is to close all the glass windows, darken the rooms, and set the punkas in motion. The Church at Chinsurah which stands immediately above the ghat at the entrance of the town from the south, was the joint gift of Mr. Sichterman and Mr. Vernet. Sichterman erected the steeple, with a chime clock in 1744, and Vernet added the Church twenty-four years afterwards; thus reminding us of the

popular remark that the Frenchman invented the frill, and the Englishman added the shirt. But the Dutch appear to have been very indifferent in matters of religion. For many years after the Church was erected, there was no clergyman; service was performed by a *Ziekentrooster* or "comforter of the sick," who was not in holy orders. When children were to be christened, the Dutch were obliged to send for a clergyman from Calcutta, "who was liberally paid for his trouble."

The earliest Christian Church in Chinsurah was built by the Armenians in the year 1695, and it was also the first Church ever erected in Bengal, by that once powerful body who united political negotiations with their mercantile enterprises, and enjoyed such extensive influence throughout the east. In the Church at Chinsurah, there is, or there was an epitaph over the tomb of Johannes Marcar, the son of the founder, in which this influence is proudly commemorated: "Here lies interred the famous Kharib—or foreigner Coja Johannes, the son of Marcar, an Armenian, from Julpha, of the country of Shosh. He was a great merchant, honoured with the favor of kings and viceroys. He travelled north, south, east and west, and died at Hooghly, in Hindustan, 7th November 1697." The Catholic chapel was completed in 1740, chiefly from funds bequeathed to that object by Mrs. Sebastian Shaw.

The most interesting object at present in Chinsurah is the College, usually denominated the Hooghly College, one of the largest and most efficient educational establishments under the patronage of the state in India. It owes its origin to the munificence of a Mahommedan gentleman, Mahommed Moshin, who left large funds for an embara, or place of Mussulman worship, and an institution of public instruction. Of the sum annually derived from the estates and the public securities which he left for these objects, more than fifty thousand rupees are devoted to the expenses of the College, the average attendance of students in which is about five hundred, while the number borne on the list is about six hundred. This institution, in which education is carried to as high a pitch as in any public College in India, has contributed to diffuse a thirst for knowledge, not only throughout the Hooghly district, but greatly beyond its limits, and has thus paved the way for the establishment of other institutions at a greater distance from the metropolis. It is held in a splendid mansion, originally erected by one of the French generals who accumulated large fortunes in the Mahratta service, but which was purchased by the Committee of Public Instruction some-time back for a sum greatly inferior to the original cost.

Chinsurah derives considerable interest from its having been the residence of two distinguished characters in the history of

Indian benevolence, Kiernander and Weston. Kiernander, who arrived in Calcutta soon after its re-capture and re-establishment, was received with the highest distinction by Col. Clive, and the other members of Government. Though he had been stripped of every thing at Cuddalore by Lally, and landed in Calcutta with scarcely a farthing, he soon rose to affluence through the undertakings on which he entered for his own support, in the days in which every thing which a man of spirit touched, turned to gold. From the proceeds of his own labor, he erected the Old Church, at an expense of 60,000 Rupees, and founded a Mission School for two hundred and fifty children on his own ground. He was overtaken by misfortune in 1786. His liberality had exceeded his means, and the sheriff's seal was affixed to his property, and even on the Church he had erected. Strange to say, it was appraised at only 10,000 Rupees and an auctioneering establishment, possibly that of Tulloh and Co., which has been in its vicinity for more than half a century—already contemplated the purchase of it, when one gentleman, either Mr. W. Chambers or Mr. Charles Grant,—stepped forward, and paid down the money. After his misfortunes, Kiernander retired to Chinsurah, and offered his services to the Dutch, and was appointed Chaplain to the settlement by Mr. Titsing, the Director. In July 1795, Chinsurah was captured by the English, and Kiernander became a Dutch prisoner of war and, as such, received a small pittance of fifty Rupees a month, which was all he now possessed for his subsistence, though not equal to a fifth of the interest of the money he had expended on pious and charitable objects. He closed his chequered career at Calcutta in April 1799 at the age of eighty-eight, after a residence of more than sixty years in India. The other individual to whom we allude was Charles Weston, an East Indian gentleman, the son of the Recorder of the Mayor's Court, who was born in Calcutta in 1731, and was the friend and associate of Holwell, and carried arms under him, as a militia man, at the siege of the Old Fort in 1756. He amassed a large fortune by his commercial speculations, and eventually retired to Chinsurah, where, on the first day of each month, he distributed the sum of sixteen hundred Rupees, "with his own venerable hand," to a large body of the poor and the unfortunate, whom his liberality had attracted to him.

We obtain an interesting view of the state of the Dutch factory of Chinsurah, and the footing on which it stood in reference to the English Government of Bengal, as well as of the manners of the times, from Stavorinus's narrative of the official visit paid by the Dutch Director to the English President in 1770.

Though that writer is by no means an authority in matters beyond the sphere of his knowledge,—as, for instance, when he tells us that the Vedas were originally written in Persian, and that Patna was ninety miles above Chinsurah,—yet there is no reason to question his credibility relative to transactions in which he himself bore a part. The visit he describes was intended as a compliment to Mr. Cartier, who had just assumed the Government of Calcutta. The Dutch Director embarked at four o'clock in the afternoon at Chinsurah in company with eight persons. The garrison was drawn up on the occasion in two lines, and a detachment consisting of an officer and twenty-four privates, accompanied the Director, to serve as his body-guard. He embarked in the "Company's great budgerow," in the large room of which thirty-six people could sit down to table. A salute of twenty-one guns announced his departure from his own settlement. Each individual in his suite had his own private budgerow; there were also two vessels used as kitchens, or cook-boats, and two as "storeships," to carry the provisions, for this long voyage from Chinsurah to Calcutta, besides those in which the body-guard was embarked. The whole fleet consisted of no fewer than *thirty-three* vessels. It reached Chitpore at seven the next morning, where the party awaited the arrival of the deputation sent from the English Government to receive the Director, and which consisted of Mr. Russel, the second in command, and several other functionaries. On his arrival, the Dutch gentlemen went on shore, and, after breakfasting at his garden-house, proceeded to town in five carriages sent by the Governor, and at ten o'clock alighted at the house prepared for their reception. It stood next to the old Government House, and had recently been purchased by Mahommed Reza Khan, for a lakh and twenty thousand Rupees. It contained many roomy apartments, and was hung with damask silk, and fitted up in the European style. In the area before the house stood a company of eighty sepoy's commanded by a European officer, and they continued to act as guard of honor as long as the Dutch Director continued in the settlement. As soon as Mr. Cartier heard of his arrival, he proceeded to pay his respects, accompanied by all the members of Council. The Director said that the object of his visit was to congratulate the Governor on his appointment, and added, as "a particular compliment, that he hoped Mr. Cartier would so well manage matters as to be able to return to Europe in a few years; to which that gentleman replied with a smile." This visit of ceremony lasted an hour. The Governor and Council then departed, and, within half an hour, the Dutch Director proceeded to return the visit, and remained three quarters of an hour, *At*

*half past twelve* he again went to Government House to dinner, where he found a table of sixty or seventy covers laid out in a large and airy saloon. Half the guests consisted of military officers for whom we are told the Government kept open house every-day. When the cloth was removed, a hookah was placed *on the table* before each one of the company, which they smoked for half an hour : they then rose from table and retired to their respective dwellings.

At six in the evening, Mr. Cartier waited on the Dutch Director and conducted him to his country-seat at Belvidere, about two Dutch miles from Calcutta, where he was entertained with an excellent concert performed by amateurs, and an elegant supper. At midnight he returned to his residence in town. The next morning at nine, Mr. Cartier again waited on him with an invitation to a grand ball which was to be given that evening at the Court House. The ball was opened by Mrs. Cartier and the Dutch Director. The company was very numerous, and "all were magnificently attired, especially the ladies, who were decked with a profusion of jewels." A collation was served in an adjoining room, and the assembly did not break up before the following morning. The next afternoon at half past three, the Dutch Director took his leave of the Governor of Calcutta and returned with his suite to the fleet at Chitpore in the Governor's coaches, accompanied by the same gentlemen who had been deputed to welcome him, and escorted by six of the Governor's life-guards. The Director was saluted on his departure from Calcutta, as he had been on his arrival, with nineteen guns from the ramparts of Fort William. The visit cost him a thousand Rupees in *buris*, or vails to the Governor's servants. The fleet weighed anchor with the flood tide, and reached Giretty early the next morning where the party were received by Mr. Chevalier and breakfasted with him. At nine o'clock—the breakfast in those days of formality and etiquette seems to have been rather early—they rode from Giretty to Chandernagore, and after paying some visits, proceeded to Chinsurah, where all the members of Council were in attendance to honor the return of their chief, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from Fort Gustavus.

The fort, from which these salutes were fired has ceased to exist. The Dutch, finding their settlements in India, a mere burden on their finances, after they had ceased to be valuable as factories, very wisely resolved to dispose of them ; and the British Government was not displeased with an opportunity of being relieved from the extravagant and profligate expenditure incurred by their servants on the island of Sumatra. An exchange accordingly took place twenty years ago ;

the Dutch were left in undivided possession of the island, and the English received Malacca and Chinsurah, together with the subordinate factories, in lieu of Fort Marlborough and its costly dependencies. The old Fort and Government House at Chinsurah were soon after demolished to make room for a splendid range of barracks capable of accommodating a thousand men, and no token remains to tell that the settlement once belonged to the Dutch, but the escutcheons of the Governors which still continue to adorn the walls of the Church.

Immediately above Chinsurah, and closely adjoining it, we have the town of Hooghly. In a note attached to the 6th Section of Stewart's History of Bengal, we find it stated "as a circumstance worthy of remark, that the name of Hooghly is never mentioned in Faria de Souza's History of the Portuguese, although he acknowledges that they lost a large town in Bengal in the year 1633, but which he calls Golin." But the identity of Golin and Hooghly is settled beyond controversy by an inscription in the Church at Bandel in which the neighbouring convent of Ugolym, is distinctly mentioned. Hooghly owed its celebrity to the Portuguese, before whose time it was probably an inconsiderable village. They are stated to have established a factory and built a fort there in 1599; and in the same year, the Missionaries of the order of St. Augustin founded the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, and the Church of Miserecordia. The Portuguese settlement appears to have risen rapidly to great magnificence. In 1631, it was besieged by the whole Mogul army of Bengal, which, however, the Governor Michael Rodrigues was enabled to repel for three months and a half, and the town is said to have eventually fallen into the hands of the Mahommedans through the treachery of a deserter. The fortifications were undermined, and the Mogul troops rushed in as soon as the mine was sprung, and subjected the place to indiscriminate plunder. It appears that, at the time, there were no fewer than sixty-four large vessels, fifty-seven grabs, and two hundred sloops anchored off the town, of which it is said that only three escaped. All the property afloat or ashore was of course confiscated. The pictures and images which adorned the Churches and had given such great offence to the Mahommedan emperor, were taken down and destroyed. A thousand Portuguese fell in the siege, and four thousand were made prisoners, of whom all the priests, and five hundred of the handsomest boys and girls are stated to have been sent to the Imperial Court of Agra. The extent of the calamity may serve to shew the extent of power and prosperity which the Portuguese had once attained in Bengal. But we are much disposed to doubt the accuracy

of the date given of the origin of the settlement. It appears scarcely credible that an establishment could have grown up to such extraordinary magnitude, in so short a period as thirty years. Neither does it appear probable that the foundation of a great Cathedral should be laid in the very first year of a new settlement. It appears safer to assign an earlier date than 1599 for its commencement, and there is reason to infer that it must have been formed soon after the first expedition of the Portuguese to Bengal in 1537, when nine vessels entered the Ganges.

Hooghly, having thus come into the possession of the Mahomedans, was established as the royal Port of Bengal; and Salgong, after fifteen hundred years of commercial splendor, was abandoned. The public offices were removed from it; the importance which it had enjoyed from the time when the Romans ruled the world, was extinguished; and it gradually sunk down into an insignificant village, and is now known only as the residence of a few native paper-makers. It was soon after Hooghly had become the Port of Western Bengal, and the residence of the Mogul officers, that the other European nations began to establish factories in it. The Dutch, the French, and the English continued to trade to it, till they were enabled to obtain settlements of their own; after which it began rapidly to decline. It was however of sufficient importance in the days of Clive to induce him to attack it after the re-capture of Calcutta; and he obtained much booty there. This calamity gave the death-blow to its prosperity and consequence. On the establishment of Calcutta as the seat of Government, all the public offices of Hooghly were withdrawn, and since that period, only one circumstance has occurred to rescue its name from oblivion. It was at Hooghly that the first press ever established at this presidency was set up; and there in 1778, the first book was printed in Bengal,—the Bengali Grammar of Halhed, from Bengali types,—the punches of which were cut with his own hands by Mr., afterwards Sir Charles Wilkins. But such an event, the harbinger of civilization and improvement, is of itself enough to immortalise any place, even though all its political and commercial greatness should be entirely forgotten. We bring these rambling notices to a close, by stating that the last place mentioned in Joseph's map is Bandel,—known at present only by its Convent, in which there are no nuns, but which is the oldest Christian Church in existence in Bengal. It was erected in the year in which Queen Elizabeth sanctioned the establishment of that East India Company which now occupies the throne of the Great Mogul—in 1599.

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# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

## CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Nos. I—VI. Vol. I.

MAY—DECEMBER, 1844-45.

*"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."*—MILTON.

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3. *Jenkins's Report on the territories of the Rajah of Nagpore.* Calcutta, 1827.
4. *History of the Mahrattas, by James Grant Duff, Esq., Captain, 1st or Grenadier Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, and late Resident at Satara.* Longman, London, 1826.
5. *The Bengal and Agra Gazetteer for 1841 and 1842.*

SCARCELY more than a twelvemonth has passed since our pages contained a brief outline of the leading events of the last few years in the Punjab, and furnished a catalogue of atrocities which to many readers, especially to those in Europe, may have appeared unduly coloured and exaggerated. It is difficult to understand how any country can escape absolute depopulation when scourged by such calamities, and we shrink with horror from the details of individual suffering involved in these wholesale butcheries. There is, however, a pertinacious vitality in *mankind*, that rallies from the most tremendous slaughter of *men*. The Sikhs are not the only people

" Whose morning dawn was with blood o'erspread,  
Their evening-fall was a bloody red ;  
Their groans were heard on the mountain swarth ;  
There was blood in the heavens and blood on the earth."

Such is the train of thought suggested by perusing the works, the titles of which stand at the head of this article. Before using them as authorities it will be only courteous briefly to introduce the authors and our readers to each other.

We have disinterred from the back shelves of our library, the worm-eaten pages of Jenkins's and Elphinstone's valuable reports. Such state documents are too little read. They afford better lessons of Indian statesmanship than half the more pretending publications of the day. Grant Duff's volumes should be in the hands of all who desire acquaintance with the Mahrattas. He lived among them for years, understood their peculiar character, and, without any pretension to commanding talent, seems to us to have combined the chief qualifications

necessary to a good Political Agent. He was industrious, impartial, and benevolent. He was not, moreover, a mere book-worm. He studied men and manners in the camp, the cabinet, and in the peasant's field, as well as in the dusty records of his office. He examined the past that he might understand the present ; and such we consider to be the duty of every Indian official who would not be led by the nose by his assistants, European or native. Research of this kind has, however, its besetting dangers : it tempts men to become mere devourers of indistinct manuscripts, and it is apt to lure them into the wide waste of speculation, where, mounted on the hobby of some favourite theory, they challenge and combat the strongest evidence that will not take the road they themselves have chosen. Grant Duff escaped these temptations : he was eminently practical. His book is written with the candour and gentlemanliness of the accomplished soldier, combined with the kindliness to be expected from a disciple of Mount Stewart Elphinstone. If the minute details of some portions of the Mahratta history in some measure fatigue the reader, he is rewarded by the fullest information on the character of a very peculiar people, too generally believed to be as the Sikhs, a modern sect, or, like the Pindarees, to have been mere bands of marauders, instead of being one of the oldest races of the Indian peninsula. The record of that portion of Mahratta history that came under Grant Duff's personal observations, appears to us to possess the rare merit of thorough impartiality. Each topic and individual is treated manfully but courteously. Truth was his grand object. He sank no point by which it might be ascertained or illustrated ; but, while doing so, he uniformly treated his opponents with unassuming candour. Elphinstone's statements both in his history and official report, agree with those of Grant Duff. Rushton's *Gazetteer* is a treasury of information to those who can separate the wheat from the chaff ; but the winnowing is rather a formidable task. We should gladly welcome another series, more leisurely compiled than those for 1841 and 1842. Our Government offices teem with records which, under moderately judicious editorship, would incalculably enrich such a work.

Besides the above authors we have gleaned information relative to the Mahrattas from other writers, who advert to them directly or indirectly. Mill's notice of them is singularly meagre and unsatisfactory, and not always accurate. Gleig evidently *means* to follow Duff, but occasionally embellishes his authority in a way that might have passed in " the Subaltern," but is unbecoming in an historian. Wilkes and Orme throw much light on those portions of Mahratta history which they treat of ; and the same may be said of " Scott's Dakhan. "

"Waring's History of the Mahrattas" makes much pretension, which is very scantily fulfilled. We have been more edified and amused by Mr. Tone's seventy-six modest pages than by Waring's quarto. "Broughton's Mahratta Camp" is unpretending and interesting, and brings before us Mahratta manners and Sindhia's Court. Hamilton's notices of the Mahratta country in his *Gazetteer* are extremely valuable. Sutherland's brief sketches are excellent. The Mahrattas and their country were little known when Rennell wrote; his notices are therefore scanty and inaccurate.

This enumeration of authorities, at the outset, will excuse us from perpetual references. With their assistance, we now proceed to offer to our readers a brief sketch of early Mahratta history, down to the time when the several states of Poona, Berar, Baroda, Gwalior, and Indore branched off; when, following the diminished fortunes of the junior branch of the Satara family at Kolapoor, we shall hastily glance at the recent military operations in that and the Sawunt-waree country.

Maharashtra, or the country of the Mahrattas, is, according to Hindu geographers, one of the five principal divisions of the Deccan,\* or, country south of the Narbadda and Mahanaddi rivers. The limits of Maharashtra are variously given: Mahomedans seldom troubled themselves about geographical questions, and it was long after they had overrun the different provinces of India, before they enquired respecting their original divisions. Mahrattas, indeed, are seldom mentioned by Mahomedan writers until the deeds of Shahjee, and his son Sivajee, brought their countrymen prominently to notice. When the historian Ferishtah alludes to the Mahrattas he calls them "the Hindus," "the Bergis," meaning by the first appellation the population, generally, in contradistinction to their Moslem conquerors; by the second, designating them marauders.†

Two points of the Mahratta history have, however, been

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\* The Deccan of the Hindus comprised the whole Peninsula south of the Narbadda and Mahanaddi, but Europeans have adopted the Mahomedan definition, and limit it to Telingana, Gondwana, and that portion of Maharashtra above the Western Ghats, being generally the country between the Narbadda and Kistna rivers.

† Mr. Elphinstone states, at page 457, volume 2 of his History of India, "the word Mahrattas first occurs in Ferishtah, in the transactions of the year A. D. 1485, and is not then applied in a general sense." This is an error. It strikes us, we have repeatedly seen them mentioned at earlier dates. By a hasty reference we have now found three such references. A. D. 1342, Ferishtah, as translated by Dow, says, "He at the same time conferred the government of Doulutabad and of the country of the *Mahrattors* upon Cuttulech, his preceptor." Page 289, volume 1. Again, at two places, in page 320 of the same volume, "Sirvaddon, Chief of the Mahrattors" is mentioned. In Scott's translation of Ferishtah's History of the Deccan, among other inmates of "Feroze Shaw's Zenana," in A. D. 1398, as noted, "Rajpootces, Bengalces, Guzratecs, Telinganecs, *Maharattas*,"



recovered by the mazes of antiquity. Ptolemy tells us that, in the second century there was a large city called Tagara, one of the principal marts of the Deccan, or country of the south, well known to the Greeks, and frequented by Egyptian merchants, 250 years before Christ. Its exact position has been the subject of controversy. Mr. Elphinstone considers that the site has yet to be ascertained, while Grant Duff places it on the Godavery, about fifty miles below Pyetan,—supposed to have been the Paithana of Ptolemy. Learned natives recognise the name of Tagara, and Grant Duff alludes to ancient deeds of grants of land engraved on copper plates, styling its monarch "the Chief of the Chiefs of Tagara." The second fact is, that a conquering sovereign, by the name Salivahan, whose era begins A. D. 77, and is the one now ordinarily used in the Deccan, ruled in the Mahratta country. He is said to have subdued the famous Vikramaditya, king of Malwa, but this could not have been the case as there are 135 years between their eras. The capital of Salivahan is recorded to have been at Pyetan on the Godavery.

The foregoing seem to be the only facts that can be gleaned from the mass of legendary accounts regarding Maharashtra, and its many petty independent states, antecedent to the inroad of the Mahommedans, under Alla-ud-deen, in the year of our Lord 1294. At this time, Jadow Ram-deo Rao was king, rajah, or mayhap only "chief of the chiefs." He was at least sovereign of an extensive country, though there were at the time several other chiefs in Maharashtra independent of his authority. Jadow Ram-deo Rao ruled at Deogurh, the modern Doulutabad. His conquerors, astonished at his wealth and power, styled him King of the Deccan. The plunder of his capital supplied Alla-ud-deen with the wealth which enabled him to usurp the throne of Delhi.

To make our subsequent historical details intelligible, it will be requisite briefly to describe the position and features of the Mahratta country. Mr. Elphinstone's History of India gives the following boundaries of Maharashtra :—On the north, the Sautpoora range of hills, from Naundode, near Baroach, on the western coast, to the source of the Wurda river. On the east the Wurda river, which, taking a south-easterly course, joins the Wyne Gunga, south-west of Chanda. On the south the boundary is a waving line, running past Beder and Kolapoor to Goa; while the western limit is the line of coast from Goa to Damaun, and thence inland to Naundode.

The trapezium enclosed within this outline, covers about one hundred thousand square miles, and is estimated to contain between six and seven millions of inhabitants. Some portions

of the country are thickly inhabited, but large tracts are desolate, or very thinly peopled, giving as the average of the whole, scarcely above sixty to the square mile.\* The most marked feature of the country, whose boundaries we have defined, is the Syhadree range of mountains, commonly called the Ghats. They run along the western coast of India, at an average distance of thirty-seven miles from the sea: their summits are from three to five thousand feet in height, rising abruptly from the west, and supporting a table-land which averages three thousand feet above the sea, and slopes gradually towards the east. This range divides Maharashtra into three great tracts, the Concan, the Concan-Ghat-Mahta, and the Desh (Des), or country to the eastward of the high-lands. The Concan is that portion of the country which lies between the Syhadree mountains and the sea, and extends in a long narrow strip from the river Taptec, at Surat, to the Portuguese town of Goa. This division varies in breadth from twenty-five to fifty miles, and contains about twenty thousand square miles, or one-fifth of all Maharashtra. The Concan is a very rugged country, "interspersed with huge mountains and thick jungles; intersected by rivers and numberless rivulets." Some portions, however, especially near the coast, are remarkably fertile. Towards the Ghats the country is wild and picturesque in the extreme, the jungle verdure there is perpetual, and vegetation most luxuriant.

The table-land above the passes is called the Concan-Ghat-Mahta, or Concan above the Ghats. The highest part of the Syhadree range is that which immediately faces the Concan. The breadth of this chain of mountains is about twenty or twenty-five miles, including the space from the summit of the ridge facing the Concan, to the termination of the branches on the east side; the whole intervening space being designated Concan-Ghat-Mahta.† The area will thus be equal to rather

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\* Mr. Tone, who was an officer in the service of the Peishwa, says, "I believe it may be safely asserted that through the whole country (Bengal and Behar excepted) one acre in fifty is not cultivated." He wrote in 1818, and doubtless alluded to the country around Poona where he had served; but even there, and distracted as the Peishwa's territory had been, we consider his statement to be above the mark. The Satara and Poona lands now bear a far different aspect; indeed, wherever British influence extends, and common care and intelligence is exerted, the change is soon extraordinary. We have, in more than one quarter, seen cultivation doubled, nay trebled, in a single year.

† The general elevation of the Bombay Sanatorium in that portion of the Syhadree range called the Muhabaleshwar hills is 4,500 feet above the sea; the highest summit is 4,700; the height above the subjacent country in the Concan, is 4,000 feet, and above the general level of the Deccan, at its eastern base, 2,300 feet. The average breadth of the table-land on which the settlement has been established is eleven miles and a half, and the average length, eleven miles.

more than half that of the Concan. The whole tract from Joonere to Kolapoor is fairly populated, and the valleys are well cultivated. The people are hardy and patient, and under Sivajee made excellent soldiers. The Mawulees (or Mahratta inhabitants of a portion of the table-land and valleys called the Mawuls) were the main instruments of his rise. North of Joonere, the valleys are less cultivated, and are occupied by Bheels and Coolies who were all plunderers, but many of whom have been reclaimed. The summits of the hills are frequently crowned with huge basaltic rocks, forming natural fortresses of great strength. Many of them have been improved by art, and from the earliest times these mountain fortresses have been considered among the strongest in India. Mr. Tone says, "I have counted, in a day's march through Candeish, nearly twenty fortresses, all in sight, in different directions." Often as the majority of these places have changed hands, they have seldom been taken by main force. Many contain springs of pure water; all have reservoirs, and, in native warfare, their weak garrisons could defy powerful armies. Gold or stratagem, treachery, famine or a *coup-de-main* usually gained them; it was reserved for the British to carry by storm in open day such places as Panalla, Samungurh, and Manogurh. The third great division of Maharashtra is the Desh, or Des, being the open country eastward from the foot of the Ghat-Mahta. The Desh is by no means an unvaried level, but becomes less broken as it recedes easterly. It is intersected by four chains of mountains running east and west. The Sautpoora, Chandore, Ahmednugur, and Mahdeo hills; the first being the northern boundary of Maharashtra, the last lying to the north of Satara. The general aspect therefore of the Mahratta country is hilly. The valleys are well watered, but indifferently cultivated. Five great rivers, the Narbadda, the Taptee, the Godavery, the Deema, and the Kistna permeate the country.

The mass of the inhabitants are Hindus\* separated, as elsewhere in India, into the four great classes, but as usual, innumerably subdivided. The Brahmans have long almost monopolised all civil and military offices; though while thus secularly employed, they forfeit the veneration evinced towards those who devote their lives to spiritual concerns. They com-

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\* "The Hindus" are too generally considered, or rather talked and written of, as one race, much as half-enlightened Indians believe all Feringhis (Franks) to be one people: their ignorance may be excused, but Englishmen should understand that, between the Hindu of Tanjore, Mysore, Bengal, Oude, Maharashtra and Rajputana, there is quite as much difference in language, customs, forms and features as obtains between Russians, Germans, French, Spaniards, Italians and Englishmen.

menced as servants; they now command in almost every Mahratta Durbar. The name of Mahratta is applicable to all the inhabitants, but Grant Duff states that "amongst themselves a Mahratta Brahman will carefully distinguish himself from a Mahratta. That term, though extended to the Koonbees, or cultivators, is, in strictness, confined to the military families of the country, many of whom claim a doubtful but not improbable descent from the Rajputs." He might have added that all over India the Mahratta chiefs are considered to be Sudras of the three great divisions, husbandmen, shepherds, and cowherds. Mahratta women are well treated; those of rank are generally veiled, but it is little if any disgrace for them to appear uncovered. Scott Waring witnessed the wife of the Peishwa, Bajee Rao, practising her horse; and Mr. Tone says, at page 9, "I can affirm having seen the daughter of a Prince making bread with her own hands, and otherwise employed in the ordinary business of domestic housewifery." Widows usually perform Sutee with the bodies of their husbands, unless when they have infant children, or are themselves called to govern, which has so often happened of late at every Mahratta court. In such cases the veil is, in a great measure, relinquished. The widow having then to counsel with men, and even to go into battle, forgets that she is a woman. Within an area of 100,000 square miles, there must doubtless be great variety of form and feature, but the Mahrattas generally may be considered small, active, well-made men. For Hindus their features are coarse. They are hardy, persevering, and abstemious. The cultivators and shepherds are frugal, patient and industrious, and possess as many good qualities as can be expected from a people whose country has for centuries been a battle-field. They have the cunning incidental to their condition; to a race who have long lived on the defensive, who have been accustomed to be squeezed, and who have learnt to pay nothing that could not be enforced. The notions of Mahratta chiefs and soldiers are, for Indians, peculiar. They have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajput, Sikh, Jat or Patan, and little of their apathy or want of worldly wisdom. The Mahratta considers plunder and profit to be the object of war; for this he will undergo fatigue, privation and danger, but he has no notion of endangering or sacrificing his life on a mere punctilio. Mr. Elphinstone, after strikingly shewing the points of difference between the sentiments of Mahratta and the Rajput, affecting even the outward appearance of the two nations, remarks, "there is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajput; and something vulgar in that

"of the most distinguished Mahratta. The Rajput is the most worthy antagonist; the Mahratta the most formidable enemy; for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them, or supply their place by stratagem, activity, and perseverance."

The village system prevailed in great purity in Maharashtra; all the accessible land in the country was portioned off into villages, the boundaries of which were defined. The arable land was divided into fields, and every field was *named* and registered. The majority of the cultivators were hereditary occupants (meerasdars), who could not be ejected as long as they regularly paid the assessment on their fields. The Government servants in charge of circles of villages were called Deshmukhs, and their accountants Deshpandyas; the first answering to the Talukdar or Zemindar, the second to the Canungo of Hindustan. There were also a class of farmers of the revenue called Khotes. One or other of the above would occasionally take advantage of circumstances, and usurp the lands over which they had been appointed mere Collectors. During a period of anarchy, and under native rule, such persons effected in Maharashtra what in a time of peace, and under a British Government, was deliberately accomplished in Bengal; shewing that hasty, though well-intentioned legislation may affect the rights and welfare of a people even as much as the worst tyranny. Every village was a miniature commonwealth. Each had its establishment of officials. The Patell, or headman, was usually a Sudra; he held an office nearly corresponding to the Punch, Mokudum, or Lumberdar of the N. W. Provinces. He superintended the cultivation and managed the police. Disputes that he could not adjust were referred to a punchayet of "the inhabitants best acquainted with the circumstances." The Patell's clerk was termed Koolkurnee; he was usually a Brahman, though occasionally as, in Hindustan, of any other caste. His office corresponded to that of Patwaree, or record-keeper.\* There was likewise the Mhar, or Dher, being the Goreit, Bolahar or Dowaha, that is, the scout guide and watchman of the village. Then there were the handicraftsmen and others, few of whom are now found as public servants in villages under British administration, but who are all over India recognised as remnants of the primitive village system, and used to be paid by land assignments. Though in the Concan, as in Bengal, the Khotes,

\* The Patell and Koolkurnee are terms introduced by the Mussulmans. The original Hindu appellation of the former was Gaora, or, if the village manager, Gramadekaree; the Kalkarni was designated Gramlekak.

or farmers of the revenue, and the Pergunnah chiefs have generally transmitted their office to their sons, and superseded the village maliks; in the Ghat Mahta, each village has still its Patell and Koolkurnees.

Ten years ago Colonel Sutherland pronounced the Berar (Nagpore) and Satara Governments, the best native administrations in India, implying that their demands were the lightest on the cultivator. The injunction of the Shaster, that the Prince should only take one-sixth of the crop, is every where disregarded; where payments are in kind, three times that amount, or half the crop, is more usually exacted; it is a lenient administration that demands only one-third from irrigated and good lands, and one-fourth from dry and poor soils. As elsewhere, there are other petty but vexatious cesses, and the customs system among the Mahrattas, as in other parts of India, is a fruitful source of annoyance to traders, yielding little corresponding profit to the rulers. The cultivators are divided into two great classes, Meerasdars, or hereditary occupants, with certain proprietary rights, and Ooprees or tenants-at-will. "All property, or shares of hereditary right in land, or in the district and village establishments, termed under the ancient Hindu Governments, *writtee*, is now best known throughout the Mahratta country, by the name of *wutun*; and the holder of any such enjoys, what is considered very respectable, the appellation of *wutundar*." Vol. I. p. 43, *Grant Duff*. So much are rural honours valued, that the fractional portions of the office of Patell were often sold at high prices; each holder of a portion designating himself Patell. When the monarch of an empire, Sindhia clung to what he called his hereditary Patellship.

Of the nine\* existing Mahratta States, none, except Sawunt-waree, a petty chiefship, can claim any antiquity

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- \* They are 1. Gwalior or Sindhia's Country.  
2. Indore or Holkar's ditto.  
3. Berar or Bhonsla of Nagpore.  
4. Baroda or Ghaekwar.  
5. Satara or the lineal descendants of Sivajee's son Sumbajee.  
6. Kolapoor or the lineal of Sivajee's second son Rajah Ram.  
7. Dhar.  
8. Dewas, are petty chiefships held by two of the oldest of the Mahratta families "the Powars."  
9. Sawunt-waree,—properly Waree, a small state dependant on Beejapore, the chiefs of which are called Desaee, Desmukh, or Sawunt, hence, Sawunt-waree.

There are also many Jagirdars, more or less powerful, some holding direct from the British Government, others depending on Satara, Kolapoor, &c.

Absorbed into the British Territory—

1. Poona, or the Peishwa's Principality.
2. Tanjore, or the territory of Venkajee, brother of Sivajee.

Satara ranks from 1664. Kolapoor, from a younger branch of Sivajee's family that separated in the year 1729. The rest are formed from later acquisitions granted to Military Commanders, chiefly by the Peishwa, to be held in subordination to the Empire, but which never paid allegiance to Satara, and a very brief one to Poona. All the principalities, except Satara, Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree, are beyond the limits of Maharashtra; and except about Nagpore, where there are a few Mahrattas, the ruling classes in those countries are as much foreigners as are the Mahomedans in Oude, or the English in Calcutta.

With this brief general sketch we now proceed to our historical notice. In the year 1294 Alla-ud-deen, the Governor of Oude and nephew of the Khiljee king of Delhi, Jelal-ud-deen, without asking the sanction of his uncle, moved across the mountains and forests of the Vindhya range, and, after a toilsome and dangerous march of 700 miles through hostile countries, reached the El Dorado of Deogurh. His force consisted only of 8,000 men, a small army for so formidable an undertaking, but as large a one as its bold leader could have fed on such a route. Ramdeo Rao Jadow, the Mahratta prince of Deogurh, negotiated terms, but his son broke the treaty, and drew on his country doubly severe terms. Large cessions of territory were made, and the victor carried back with him the accumulated treasures of centuries. Thus enriched, Alla-ud-deen returned to Delhi, only to assassinate his uncle, and seize the imperial throne. During the reign of Alla-ud-deen almost all Maharashtra was subdued, but on his death the Mahrattas recovered the greater part of their territory, and endeavoured to regain Deogurh.

Its Mussulman garrison was, however, relieved by the Emperor Mubarik, who took the Mahratta leader Hirpal Deo, prisoner, and caused him to be flayed alive. Several insurrections occurred. The Emperor Mahomed Tughluk, among other wild schemes, endeavoured to remove all the inhabitants of Delhi to Deogurh, the name of which place he changed to Doulutabad, intending to make it the seat of Empire. He had partially executed his merciless design when the Deccan fell from his hands, to be recovered after nearly four hundred years by Aurungzebe, only to remain a nominal appendage of the Mogul Empire for less than the term of a single life, and then to be for ever rent from the Delhi throne.\*

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\* Aurungzebe only completed the conquest of the Deccan in the year 1687, and Nizam-ul-Mulk became independent in 1723. Thus the Moguls had a troubled and exhausting occupancy of thirty-six years in reward for centuries of exertion and incalculable expenditure of life and treasure.

The rebellion of the fugitive nobles,—who, in the year 1344, fearing the royal treachery, rose on their guards, slew them, fled to Doulutabad, and there, electing one of their own number, a simple commander of a thousand horse, as their king, raised the standard of rebellion,—belongs to the record of the Mahommedan empire in the South ; but without a brief notice of the circumstance the Mahratta history would be unintelligible. The rebels agreed on a plan of warfare which has ever been the favourite one in the Mahratta country. A portion of the allied force under the new King, Nazir-ud-deen, defended Doulutabad, while the other chiefs acted on the communications and supplies of the besiegers. The Emperor divided his force accordingly, and himself prosecuting the siege, he sent a strong force against the field detachments.

The Delhi Empire never was at peace. It was especially troubled during Mahomed Tughluk's reign ; and now, when he had nearly reduced Doulutabad, he was urgently called away by an insurrection in the North. The confederates emboldened by his departure gained courage ; they were joined by many Mahratta chiefs, and, under Zuffir Khan, one of their own ablest leaders, gave the Imperial general battle, slew him and gained a great victory. Nazir-ud-deen came out from Doulutabad to meet his victorious army, but observing the influence that Zuffir Khan had obtained, wisely resigned the throne in his favour. Zuffir Khan had originally been the slave of a Brahman, who treated him kindly and foretold his future rise. The new king changed his own name to Alla-ud-deen Husein Kangoh Brahmani, in gratitude to his old master, whom he appointed his treasurer. Thus originated the name of the Brahmani dynasty.

Alla-ud-deen commenced his reign in the year 1347. His rise was mainly caused by the succours afforded by the native (Mahratta) chiefs to whom he was not ungrateful. His dynasty lasted about 150 years. Maharashtra was, at his accession, divided into petty principalities. Every holder of an inaccessible hill or deep jungle was a ploygar, literally a rebel. The new sovereign subdued the weak among those in the plains, and conciliated others by grants of lands, or by the confirmation of their possessions. By such means he made himself master of almost all Maharashtra, except part of the Concan-Ghat-Mahta, which his successors did not succeed in conquering until a century later. During this period there were several insurrections, but chiefly induced by Mahommedan officers. The Mahratta chiefs were generally faithful.

In 1396 the terrible famine designated " the Durga Dewee"



commenced, and lasted for twelve years, depopulating large tracts, and leaving traces of its effects for forty years after. The inhabitants of whole districts were swept away; village land-marks were lost; their boundaries were forgotten, and, when the periodical rains returned, and endeavours were made to restore cultivation, the whole country was discovered to be in one mass of disorder. The polygars had increased in all directions; the hill forts formerly reduced by the Mahommedans, and abandoned in the great dearth, were now held by banditti, who infested the country and destroyed the returning hopes of those who had escaped nature's terrible calamity. Great efforts were made during successive years to repeople the villages and to reduce the hill forts. No rent was demanded for lands during the first year of fresh occupation, and only a tobra (horsebag) full of grain for each bigah during the second year. But little was effected until, by a systematic plan, the robber forts were reduced throughout the Syhadree range. An able commander by name Mullik-ul-tijar had great success. He subdued the whole Ghat-Mahta, and carried his arms into the still unconquered part of the Concan. He besieged and obliged a rajah, whose surname was Sirkay, to surrender, insisting on his embracing Islamism. The Mahratta consented, but deluded the Moslem into a previous expedition against the Rajah of Kondan, whom he designated his hereditary enemy. A detachment of 7,000 Mahommedans started under the immediate orders of their commander, and, guided by Sirkay, as to an assured victory, were led into an ambuscade and every man massacred. The Deccances, Hindu and Moslem, have always been noted for such wiles of warfare.

Mahommed Shah, the second Brahmani monarch, divided his kingdom into four turufs (or quarters), to each of which he appointed a Governor, or turufdar; but as the empire extended by conquests from the rajahs of Telingana, Beejanugur, Orissa and the Concan, it was found necessary further to sub-divide the management of the country, separating each of the former divisions into two. Several arrangements were also made with a view of securing the fidelity of the local governors, but they all failed. Mahommedans can conquer, they cannot retain. There seems to be something in their creed and customs opposed to permanency and to good government. The sub-division into eight governments took place in the year 1478, and only eleven years afterwards, Adil Khan, the governor of Beejapoor, the founder of the Adil Shahee dynasty, declared his independence: soon after, four other Chiefs assumed the purple. Only

three\* of these states, formed from the extinction of the Brahmani dynasty, were in existence when the Mahrattas rose into notice. The revolutions in the several Mahomedan states of the Deccan all aided the eventual emancipation of the original inhabitants. The majority of the forts, especially in unhealthy parts of the country, were held by Mahrattas, sometimes as hired soldiers of the Mahomedan government, but more frequently as jaghirdars and hereditary defenders of the soil. In all times of weakness or of tumult these garrisons called Gurhkuris made their own terms; they either threw off the yoke altogether, or joined the party or pretender that offered the best terms. Deshmukhs, Dessaes and other rural chiefs also, whether they acquired authority by birth, or as Collectors of revenue, or as military leaders holding lands in wild and secluded quarters, all made their harvest of Mahomedan dissensions and of Moslem pride and ignorance. From these Chiefs are descended the present "Mankurees," literally great men, many of whom, though reduced to poverty, claim superiority to the present mushroom monarchs of their race, and pay them very unwilling homage.

Except the Sawunt-waree family and the Powars of Dhar and Dewas, the princes of the present day are men of yesterday, descended at best from petty village officers. The Holkars were shepherds, and Mulhar Rao, the first leader of the name, for years grazed his uncle's sheep in Candeish. The Sindhias were of a higher, though broken family, so that Ranoojee, the modern head of the clan, served the second Peishwa as a common Bargir, and report says, even carried his slippers. Damajee Ghaekwar and Pursojee Bhonslay were stirring leaders who rose from the ranks and occupied and bequeathed to their descendants the countries they were sent to plunder or to manage. Ballajee Wishwannah Bhutt, the first Peishwa, was hereditary accountant of a village in the Concan, and was originally employed as a common revenue Karkoon or clerk. The family of Powar were Deshmukhs of Phultun in the sixteenth century; and the Sawunts were, even earlier, Dessaes or Deshmukhs of their present country of Waree, near Goa, and rose into importance, under the kings of Beejapoor during the war with the Portuguese.† Bhonslay

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\* The Beejapoor, or Adil Shahee,  
Ahmednugur, or Nizam Shahee,  
Golcondah, or Kootub Shahee.

† Hamilton erroneously dates their origin from the time of Sambajee the son of Sivajee.

was the original name not only of the Waree family, but of the respective founders of the Berar (Nagpore), Satara and Kolapoor houses, though only the two latter were related to each other. We will now briefly trace the history of their common ancestors.

Babjee Bhonslay was hereditary patell of several villages near Doulutabad. He had two sons, the elder named Mallojee, the younger Wittojee. Mallojee Bhonslay was an active, stirring soldier, and was employed under the banner of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, a Mahratta chief of rank in the Beejapoor service. Mallojee having been for several years childless, engaged the services of a celebrated Mahomedan saint in his favor. A fine boy was in due time born, and, in gratitude to the saint was called after him, "Shah," with the adjunct of respect, "jee." Thus in the year 1593 was born Shahjee the father of Sivajee. Mallojee by an act of extraordinary impudence, took advantage of a jocose speech of his leader Jadow Rao on the occasion of the Hooli saturnalia, and procured the unwilling acquiescence of that Chief to his daughter Jeejee's betrothal to his son Shahjee. Mallojee's opportune discovery of a large quantity of treasure reconciled Jadow Rao, and enabled him to purchase the rank of Commander of 5,000 horse, with the titles of Rajah, from the weak and venal court of Ahmednugur, upon which the nuptials between the young couple were celebrated. Mallojee's good fortune was attributed to the auspices of the goddess Bhowanee, who prophesied that one of Mallojee's race should become a king, re-establish Maharashtra, protect Brahmans, and the temples of the gods; and that his posterity should reign for twenty-seven generations. With his new title, Mallojee received charge of the forts of Sewneree and Chakun, and of the Pergunnahs of Poona and Sopa.

The Deccan monarchies were at this time constantly assailed by the Moguls. The Mahratta chiefs played their own game during these contentions. As a specimen of the times and of the value that was attached to their alliance, we may mention that Shahjee's father-in-law, Jadow Rao, having deserted the Ahmednugur standard in the year 1621, was rewarded by the Emperor Jehangir with the rank and authority of Commander of 15,000 horse. He did not long enjoy his honors. Nine years afterwards he desired to return to his allegiance, was inveigled into a conference within the walls of Doulutabad, and there murdered. On this, his widow, a woman of masculine habits, with her followers and many of her connexions, for ever abandoned the cause of the Nizam-shahee monarchs.

Shahjee, who had now succeeded his father and was recognised as a bold and able leader, followed the example of his mother-in-law and received the rank of a Commander of 5,000 horse with a suitable jaghir. He was, however, soon disgusted, and offered his services to the Beejapoor Government to act against the Moguls who were then effecting the conquest of the Ahmednugur state. His offer was accepted, and he soon obtained the distinction of being considered the most active and dangerous enemy of the Imperial arms. Doulutabad however fell to the Moguls; its minister became a pensioner, and its monarch a prisoner. Shahjee did not lose courage. He proclaimed another prince, assumed the management of the remaining Ahmednugur territory, and soon recovered a great portion of what had been lost. In the year 1635, Shah Jehan was at length excited by the audacity of Shahjee to make a great effort to reduce both him and his supporters. An overwhelming force, in four divisions, moved against them, and the Deccanees were beaten at all points. The Beejapoor king then agreed to pay a tribute of twenty lakhs of pagodas; and, the forts of Shahjee being captured, he petitioned for re-admittance into the Imperial service. This was refused, but he was told that he might enter that of Beejapoor.

In the year 1627 Sivajee had been born in the fort of Sewneree, close to the town of Joonere, fifty miles north of Poona. Three years afterwards, to the great displeasure of Jeejee Bye and her friends, Shahjee married a second wife, Tuka Bye Mohitey, by whom he had a son called Venkajee. He had a third son, Suntajee, whose mother was a dancing girl.

In the year 1637, the Beejapoor Government entrusted Shahjee with the post of the second in command of an expedition into the Carnatic. On his departure, he left his family and his Poona Jaghir in charge of a Brahman named Dadajee Konedeo. The Agent was an able revenue officer and a faithful servant. He recovered the broken districts, encouraged agriculture, and by good management, greatly increased the prosperity of his charge. Shahjee's services in the Carnatic obtained for him a grant of several of the valleys called the Mawuls of Concan-Ghat Mahta in the neighbourhood of Poona; these he likewise placed under the Brahman's care. Dadajee found their hardy and simple inhabitants in the utmost penury, scarcely clothed, and barely able to defend their wretched huts from the wild beasts of the forest which daily increased on them. He took many of the Mawulees into his service, gave advances of seed grain to others, and by

demanding no rents for nine years, and then establishing very light assessments, recovered a considerable portion of country. It is pleasant to find in the dark catalogue of India Rulers an occasional Dadajee Konedeo. Would that there were more such as he among our own ranks! Men who lived for their duty, for the improvement of their respective charges, and not simply for the accumulation (even though it be honestly,) of so many thousand Rupees to take with them to Europe.

The men of business in Maharashtra were Brahmans. It was no part of the duty of a soldier to bend to the work of a scribe. Dadajee gave his master's son a good education, according to the notions of the times and the country. Sivajee could never sign his name, but he was an excellent horseman and marksman. He could use the matchlock as well as the bow, and was master of the different kinds of swords and dagger used in the Deccan. He was also instructed in the rules and observances of his caste and in the popular parts of Hindu mythology. He loved to hear the "Kuthas," or tales, in verse or prose, of the gods and heroes of antiquity; he delighted in martial exercises, and he hated the Mahommedans, as Hannibal hated the Romans. While a mere boy he joined some plundering bands in the Concan-Ghat-Mahta; and taking a fancy to the rude Mawulees, was often absent for whole days with parties of them, on plundering and hunting excursions. He thus became familiar with the defiles and paths of the rugged country around Poona, and attached to himself the most daring of the wild inhabitants. He marked the positions of the strongholds in his neighbourhood, and early determined to seize one of them. As peace now existed with the Moguls, and the Bccjapoor army was employed in the Carnatic, the hill forts, generally neglected, were guarded even more slenderly than usual. Sivajee took advantage of this neglect: he bribed the Killadar of Torna, near Poona, to yield the place to him, and then wrote to the Beejapoor court, offering increased rent for the surrounding district, and protesting that he had nothing in view, but his sovereign's advantage. His statement being backed by liberal bribes to the courtiers, he was allowed for several years to pursue his own schemes unmolested. Treasure was found at Torna; and its discovery of course attributed to Bhowanee, the tutelar goddess of Sivajee's family. Arms and ammunition were purchased, and within three miles of Torna he erected, on the mountain of Morbudh, the fortress of Rajgurh.

Sivajee now advanced step by step; one stronghold after another fell into his hands, and with them the command of the

circumjacent territory. These continued successes at length alarmed the weak Beejapoor monarch, who could however hit upon no better expedient for reducing the rebel son, than to decoy and imprison the loyal father, then usefully employed in the Deccan. Bajee Ghorepuray, another jaghirdar, was the tool chosen for this act of treachery : he invited Shahjee to his house, and then had him seized. It was sufficiently well known that he was guiltless of any connexion with Sivajee ; but it was believed that the son, whom the royal arms could not reduce, might be brought to yield, if the torture and imprisonment of his father was the alternative. Shahjee was accordingly confined in a stone dungeon, the door of which was built up, and he was informed that the single remaining aperture should be closed if his son did not submit within a certain period. For four years Shahjee remained a prisoner, and eventually owed his release to disturbances in the Carnatic and to the king's fear that Sivajee, who had opened communications with the Emperor Shah-Jehan, would offer his allegiance to the Moguls. On releasing his prisoner, the king permitted him to return to the Carnatic, first binding him not to avenge himself on Bajee Ghorepuray. Shahjee agreed to the terms. He verbally complied with all the demands made on him, but he did not forget that his brother of the faith had invited him to his house, and there seized his guest and delivered him to Moslem bonds. He was therefore no sooner clear of the toils than he wrote to Sivajee, "If you are my son, punish Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole." This is the only record of communication between the father and son during many years. Well did Sivajee execute the vindictive order. He watched Ghorepuray's movements until the year 1661, when, finding a fitting opportunity, he pounced upon his victim, slew him and many of his family, and plundered and burnt their village. Shahjee was loud in acknowledgment of the pious deed, and soon after, came from the Carnatic to visit his son, and thank him in person for his filial conduct.

During his father's incarceration, Sivajee had been comparatively quiet, but no sooner was Shahjee released, than his son successfully resumed his unscrupulous efforts for effecting the conquest of the entire Ghat Mahta and Concan. At this time (1656,) Prince Auiungzebe was his father's viceroy in the Deccan, and was entering on those intrigues with the celebrated Meer Joomleh, the minister of Golcondah, which led to the direct interference of the Moguls in that state ; and which ended in the entire reduction of Golcondah, and the admittance of Meer Joomleh into the Mogul service.

The Mahommedan power in the Deccan was fast approaching its close, but the wily, and occasionally sagacious Aurungzebe, little thought that, while undermining and gradually absorbing the Mussulman principalities there, he was only clearing the field for a more powerful rival,—that he was preparing the way for “a people of fierce countenance,” whose banner, within thirty years of his own death, should wave over the walls of Delhi, and whose leaders should soon after be levying contributions from Lahore to Tanjore.

Beejapoor was at this juncture, in the throes of dissolution ; it had lately very narrowly escaped the clutches of Aurungzebe, and was distracted by a factious and treacherous nobility, under the weak administration of an infant king. An effort was, however, now made to put down the insurrection of Sivajee ; a large force was collected, and Afzool Khan, an officer of high rank, appointed to the command. He was a bold but arrogant man, and boasted, at taking leave, that he would bring back the rebel in chains to the footstool of the throne. Afzool Khan, however, knew the strength of the country in which he was employed and gladly listened to the humble messages of Sivajee, who, affecting only to desire peace, disclaimed all thought of opposing so great a personage as the Khan. The Moslem was deluded, and sent Puntajee Gopinat, a brahman in his employ, to arrange with Sivajee the terms of the Mahratta's submission. The envoy was received with all honor, and Sivajee conducted himself during the first interview with great humility. During the ensuing night, the rebel leader secretly visited his guest's quarters, and, addressing him as his spiritual superior, appealed to him as a brahman, in favor of his own cause, which he stated to be that of the Hindus generally. Sivajee urged that he had been called on by the goddess Bhowanee, herself, to protect brahmans and kine, to punish the violators of temples and to resist the enemies of religion. These arguments were seconded by large promises, and the interview ended in Puntajee's entering into a scheme for assassinating his master. Accordingly, the brahman returned to the Mogul camp to report that Sivajee was in great alarm and ready to surrender, if he could only receive a guarantee of his personal safety from the mouth of the Beejapoor commander. The deluded Khan fell into the snare. The place appointed for the meeting was a space, cleared for the occasion, at the foot of the fort of Pertabgurh. One road through the jungle was cleared ; all other avenues were closed. A force was told off to attack the Beejapoor main army, when, the death of Afzool Khan should be announced, by a signal of

five guns from Pertabgurh. Parties were also so disposed as to cut off whatever escort might accompany the victim. Two persons only were let into the secret of the dark deed about to be perpetrated.

Sivajee prepared for the death grapple, as for a religious though desperate deed. Having performed his ablutions, he placed his head at his mother's feet and besought her blessing. Then, attiring himself with a steel chain cap and hauberk under his turban and cotton gown, he concealed a bichwa, or crooked dagger, under his right sleeve, and placing on the fingers of his left hand a wagnuk,\* he leisurely proceeded down the hill to the interview. Fifteen hundred troops escorted Afzool Khan; but he was requested by the traitor Puntojee to halt them, when within a few hundred yards of the base of the hill, lest Sivajee should be alarmed and decline the interview. The Khan accordingly advanced armed simply with his sword, and attended only by a single soldier. Sivajee, too, was accompanied by one attendant, and as he approached the place of interview, repeatedly halted as if in alarm. To give him confidence, the traitor brahman begged that Afzool Khan's follower might fall back. The chiefs then advanced and being introduced by Puntojee, gave each other the usual oriental embrace.† Sivajee, while his right arm was round the Khan's neck, with the left, struck the wagnuk into his bowels. Afzool Khan feeling himself wounded, pushed the assassin from him, and attacked him sword in hand. The chain armour of Sivajee resisted the blow, and, before the Khan's single attendant could step up to his support, the chief was slain, and his brave servant, refusing quarter, shared his fate. The signal was forthwith given; the ambuscades rushed out, few of the escort escaped and it was only through especial orders, sent by Sivajee, that the slaughter of the main body of the enemy ceased.

The success of this abominable scheme established Sivajee's power: the plunder of the Beejapoor army provided him with military equipments as well as with treasure; and the fame of the exploit encouraged his friends and terrified his foes. He fulfilled his promise to the traitor Puntojee Gopinat, who received the stipulated reward and afterwards rose to high rank.

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\* A steel instrument with three crooked blades, like tiger's claws, made to fit on the fore and little finger.

† How unchanged are Asiatics. Nearly three thousand years ago "Joab said to Amasa, Art thou in health my brother?" and Joab took Amasa by the beard, "with the right hand, to kiss him, but Amasa took no heed to the sword that was in Joab's hand; so he smote him therewith in the fifth rib, and shed out his bowels to the ground," 2 Sam. xx. 9, 10. Joab's weapon must have been something like a wagnuk.



in the Mahratta service. A hundred years afterwards the descendant of Puntojee paid the penalty of his ancestor's perfidy on the very spot where the traitor brahman had betrayed the confiding Beejapoori.

Another effort was however soon made against Sivajee. A force, twice the strength of that lately sent under Afzool Khan, was employed under Seedee Johur. Sivajee's light troops devastated the enemy's country while he threw himself into the fort of Panalla. The Seedee prosecuted the siege for four months, during the worst season of the year. The post was still tenable, but all the approaches to it were occupied, and Sivajee felt the error he had committed in thus allowing himself to be encaged. But, treacherous himself, he knew whom he could trust. He asked for terms and proceeded, slightly attended, to one of the enemy's batteries to negotiate a surrender. He thus threw the Seedee off his guard, and during the ensuing night, descended the hill, at the head of a chosen band of Mawulees, passed the besieger's posts and was well on his march to the fort of Rangna before his flight was observed. When the fact was ascertained, he was sharply pursued, and was overtaken at a defile within six miles of the fortress. He left a party of his Mawuls under command of Bajee Purvoo, who had formerly been his enemy, with orders to hold the pass until a signal from the Fort of Ragna announced his own safety. The orders were obeyed, the post was held, but at the cost of the life of the generous Purvoo. Sivajee himself thus escaped, but many of his forts were captured, and the Mahrattas would have suffered more severely, but for the court intrigues that caused the removal of the brave Seedee from the command of the invading army. This was however an expiring effort on the part of the Beejapoor Government; the revulsion expedited its own fall; while Sivajee, bending to the storm he could not brave, quickly recovered his temporary losses and was soon again in the field with fresh strength.

At this time (1662), the Sawunts, or lords, of Waree offered, if supported by the Court, to reduce the rebel, but they were soon abandoned by their weak paramount and the whole of their own territory was subdued by Sivajee who, however, restored their Deshmukhee rights, and by his judicious treatment soon attached them warmly to his cause. He occupied Sawunt-waree with his own troops, and drew their infantry to fight his battles in distant quarters. Sivajee was now master of a long line of sea coast. He built ships and commanded an advantageous treaty from the already degenerate Portuguese of Goa, who supplied him with guns

and naval stores. The successful rebel had now become a powerful Prince. Through his father's timely mediation, he was admitted to treat with the Beejapoor minister, and was recognised as master of a tract of country more than 250 miles in length, averaging 50 miles in breadth and in parts extending 100 miles eastward from the sea. He also had at command a devoted army of not less than 50,000 foot and 7,000 horse.

Being at peace with Beejapoor, Sivajee next turned his arms against the Moguls. For a time the Mahrattas were unsuccessful; many forts fell into the hands of the enemy, who established their camp at Poona. Sivajee was not slow to take advantage of their position, and to use his own knowledge of its localities. Understanding that the Mogul commander, Shaisteh Khan, occupied the very house in which he had himself passed his boyhood, Sivajee determined to cut him off in the midst of his guards. Accordingly, with twenty-five favourite Mawulees, the Mahratta Chief entered Poona at night, passed through the Mogul troops, wounded Shaisteh Khan, slew his son and many of his personal attendants; and then leisurely retreated, lighting his torches in defiance as he ascended the hill of Singurh, in the face of his pursuers.

In the year 1664 Shahjee was killed by a fall from his horse. He died in possession of large jaghirs including the whole territory of Tanjore, to all which his younger son Venkajee, who was on the spot, succeeded; Sivajee reserving the assertion of his own right until a favourable opportunity should offer. In January of that year, having effected the requisite arrangements and gained perfect information as to localities, he made a feint of attacking the Portuguese settlements at Bassein and then, at the head of four thousand horse, made a dash on the rich city of Surat, systematically plundered it for six days and leisurely carried off his booty to the fort of Raigurh. The Dutch and English factories only escaped. Their small garrisons stood on the defensive and by their gallant bearing, created a very favourable impression on the minds of the Moguls as well as of the Mahrattas. Shaisteh Khan had been recalled and the great Jey Sing in conjunction with Dilere Khan was now employed against Sivajee and carried on the war with unusual energy. Sivajee incautiously threw himself into the strong fortress of Poorundhur, which was reduced to extremity and the Mahratta was induced to trust to Jey Sing's guarantee and surrender himself. Sivajee's conduct seems unaccountable. At no time had he been so strong, and dissension was rife in the Mogul camp. Poorundhur might have fallen, but Sivajee would not have been himself if he

could not have effected his own escape. Rajah Golab Sing's conduct at the present day in the Punjab seems much akin to this; unscrupulously cutting off all who trust him, he is constantly trusting himself in his enemy's hands. Man is every where unaccountable, but he who has to deal with Asiatics can least calculate, with certainty, on the future by the past. He must be prepared for every vagary, for the violation of the plainest dictates of prudence during peace, for the neglect or breach of all the rules of strategy during war. He may reasonably expect *that* to be done which should not be done, *that* to be neglected which should be effected. No European diplomatist or soldier is so likely to be ensnared as he who, having taken the usual precautions, feels himself secure. The treaty signed, the picquets doubled, neither can be regarded as a guarantee of safety. Certain eventual destruction may await the enemy's move; he may be assured of it on *all* rational calculations, but the goddess Bhownee or some other Deity or Demon may have promised success—the day of the Feringees may have passed, and the infatuated wretches rush on destruction. Their desperation then *is* dangerous. Rashness, nay madness, has succeeded in striking a blow where the best plans have failed. Indian officials should ever be on the alert.

Sivajee at once surrendered twenty forts, with the territories attached to them, and trusted to the fidelity of Jey Sing to be secured in possession of the remainder of his conquests as a Mogul fief, as well as for sanction to spoil the Beejapoor territory. Aurungzebe generally confirmed Jey Sing's arrangement and invited Sivajee to court. He accepted the invitation, but previously assembling his officers, gave them strict orders as to their conduct during his absence, warned them not to obey any order sent by himself, unless it was brought by certain messengers, and then at the head of 500 choice horse and 1,000 Mawulces, proceeded with his son Sambajee to Delhi. Aurungzebe, though possessing considerable ability, was a very short-sighted politician. It was foreign to his character to keep his word; or even to break it in a straightforward manner. He might have at once put Sivajee to death; he preferred to degrade him, probably with the intention of eventually taking his life, or when sufficiently humbled, of employing him like Jeswunt and Jey Sing, as a tool of his own policy. Sivajee was accordingly received contemptuously, and when his bold spirit revolted, he was placed under surveillance and made to expect the worst. He soon decided on the course he should pursue, and found an ally in Ram Sing, the son of Jey Sing, under whose charge he was placed,

Indignant that his father's engagement should have been violated, he aided the prisoner's flight. The circumstances of Sivajee's escape concealed in a basket are not among the least romantic of his actions. He returned to the Deccan and soon recovered all his lately ceded possessions.

The first exploit now performed was the recovery by escalade of the strong fortress of Singurh, which among others had fallen into the enemy's hands. The fort is situated on the eastern side of the great Syhadree range, and is nearly isolated, being connected only by narrow ridges with the Poorundhur hills, while north and south it has a continued acclivity, often almost perpendicular, of half a mile. The summit is capped by a huge black rock, forming a craggy precipice, more than forty feet high and two miles in circumference. This rock was girdled by a stone wall, with towers at intervals, and was strongly garrisoned by a select body of Rajputs under a leader of renown. Having ascertained that, in the confidence of their own prowess, and of the strength of their fastness, the garrison had become negligent, Sivajee consulted Tannajee Maloosray one of his bravest officers, as to the best plan of surprizing the place. Tannajee replied that, if permitted to take his own younger brother and 1,000 selected Mawulees, he would engage to seize the fortress. His offer was accepted. A dark night was selected for the assault. Having received their orders at Rajgurh, the Mawulees separated, and by different paths, known only to themselves, proceeded to the rendezvous in the vicinity of Singurh. Tannajee then divided his men into two parties, one to storm, the other to support. He selected the most precipitous point of the rock, and by means of rope ladders, led his advanced party, one by one up the precipice. Scarcely three hundred had ascended when the garrison were alarmed. The challenge of the foremost sentinel was answered by an arrow, and the bowmen then plied their weapons in the direction where they perceived, by the lights, that the garrison were collecting. A desperate conflict ensued, and the Mawulees were gaining ground, when their leader was slain. They then fell back and were on the point of retreating by the fearful path they had ascended when Tannajee's brother, Sooryajee with the relief, appeared, rallied the fugitives and upbraided them for deserting their Chief, saying "will you leave your father's corpse to be tossed into a pit by Mhars?" He added that the rope ladders were destroyed, and that now was their time to prove themselves Sivajee's Mawulees. In an instant the tide was turned and with a deafening shout of their battle cry, "Hur Hur Mahadco," they returned to the charge and were

soon in possession of the fort. Of the Mawulees, nearly one-third were killed or wounded, and five hundred of the Rajputs with their commander were found dead or wounded.

Sivajee was hardly consoled for the loss of his gallant officer by the capture of the important post. When congratulated on the success of his arms he sorrowfully replied, "The den\* is taken, but the lion is slain; we have gained a fort, but alas! we have lost Tannajee Maloosray!" Sivajee, who as he paid his soldiers regularly, was chary of gifts, on this occasion gave every surviving Mawulee a pair of silver bangles, and rewarded the officers proportionally.

A new tide of conquest had now opened on Sivajee; again, fort after fort fell before his arms or finesse. The city of Surat (October 1670) was again plundered; and for three days, at the head of 15,000 men, he leisurely squeezed all who had any thing to yield. The English factory, as before, defended themselves. Hearing of the approach of a Mogul army, Sivajee suddenly decamped, leaving behind him a letter for the inhabitants in which he demanded a tribute of 12 lakhs of Rupees as the price of exemption from future plunder. Such was often, with the Mahrattas as with the Sikhs, the origin of their territorial acquisitions. They plundered the weak, and gradually assumed a proprietary right in all they had the power to destroy or molest. Their visits were commuted for *houth*, or a fourth of the produce to be paid as protection, or rather exemption money; gradually the stronger party appointed their own collectors, and, step by step, assumed the government of the lands they had originally wasted. This year, we first hear the word *Chouth*. The large town of Surinja being plundered, a regular agreement was taken from the local authorities to pay one-fourth of the yearly revenue; in consideration of which they were not only to be exempted from plunder but protected.

Sivajee's attention was now turned to the sea as well as the land, and his exertions were unremitting on both elements. He sought either to expel the Portuguese from the coast or to reduce them to the condition of tributaries. His troops, who had hitherto rather harassed than attacked the Moguls and had been formidable chiefly in forests and fastnesses, began to meet the Emperor's troops boldly in the plain and daily with increased success. His usual tactics were to affect retreat; to draw on the Mogul horse in their usual tumultuous disorder, and then, either to lead them into an ambuscade or, suddenly

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\* *Singuh*, lion's dwelling.

rallying his apparently broken parties, to return to the offensive, and, by repeated attacks on the broken squadrons, to sweep all before him. The Mahratta and also the Sikh horsemen were long famous for such manœuvres, and so prevalent is this Parthian policy not only among the Mahrattas, but throughout Indian warfare, that it is not unusual, as at the battle of Assaye, for gunners when ridden over by cavalry, to lie quietly down till the torrent has passed, and then to rise and turn their guns on the squadrons that have overwhelmed them.

In 1673, Sivajee, after a siege of several months, captured the fort of Satara. The place had been long used as a state prison : its captor little anticipated that it would be the dungeon of his successors, whence they would be released and reinstated by the English traders with whom, in their merely mercantile character, he now first became acquainted. Sivajee, who had long struck coins and styled himself Maharajah, was in June of this year formally enthroned. He was weighed against gold, the whole of which being then given to the brahmans, sharpened their wits for the discovery that the donor was of high Rajput descent.

Aurungzebe's attention had been for some time withdrawn from the Deccan by the disturbances arising from his revival of the Jezia or Hindu capitation tax, a measure which transformed the Rajputs from faithful dependants and followers into stout rebels. Rajah Jeswunt Sing had died at Kabul, fighting the Mogul battles. He was rewarded by an attempt to convert his children by force, but this outrage on his family, together with the Jezia, drove the Rajputs into a hostile confederation which occupied the Emperor for two years. In the year 1676 he again felt at liberty to turn his attention towards the Deccan, and at this time he seems to have believed that his schemes for weakening the several kingdoms in that quarter had taken effect.

The Mogul influence had for some time been paramount at Golcondah : there was, what was called, a close alliance with Rajapoor ; and even Sivajee now found it his interest to pay temporary tribute. Having determined to proceed to the Carnatic and oblige his brother to yield (according to Hindu law) half their father's inheritance, he came to an understanding with the king of Golcondah, and took the politic step of offering a sop to the Mogul commander to spare his possessions during his absence ; jocosely comparing his paying tribute to giving oil-cake to his milk-cow, by which "she would produce the more milk." In 1676-7 he proceeded on his expedition at

he head of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot, but Venkajee soon found the inutility of opposition, and agreed to divide the revenues of Tanjore and his other districts, on which peace was concluded between the brothers. After an absence of eighteen months, Sivajee returned to Maharashtra and was soon again in hot hostility with the emperor.

The Moguls, having now thrown off the mask towards both Golcondah and Beejapoor, appeared before the latter place. The Regent called urgently on Sivajee for aid. He gave it effectually, cut off the Mogul's supplies, and obliged them to raise the siege. His reward was the abrogation of the Beejapoor rights of sovereignty over all the conquests he had at different times made. During this campaign Sivajee's son, Sambajee fled in discontent from his father to the Mogul commander Dilere Khan, who proposed to Aurungzebe to set him up as a counterpoise to Sivajee, but the Emperor declined to take a step that would virtually recognise, and thereby strengthen the predatory system. Dilere Khan being soon after displaced, avenged himself by conniving at Sambajee's escape. The latter returned to his father and received partial forgiveness, but was detained at large in the fort of Panalla.

Scarcely were the terms of the engagement with Beejapoor concluded when Sivajee's earthly career closed. His last illness was caused by a swelling in the knee-joint, ending in fever that carried him off on the 5th April 1680, in his 53d year. Few conquerors have effected so much with equal means. Long disowned by his father, and unaided by the local chiefs, until by his own stripling arm he had rendered himself independent, he died the recognised ruler of a territory fifty thousand square miles in area; his name was dreaded from Surat to Tanjore, and in every quarter, between those remote points, his bands had levied contributions and tribute. The Mahommedan yoke was now for ever broken in Maharashtra. The long dormant military spirit of the people was roused, to be quelled only in the entire disruption of that system on which it had risen. The genius of Sivajee emancipated the Mahrattas; succeeding chiefs by neglecting the policy which had aggrandised their founder and adopting an organization which they could never perfectly master, precipitated the state to a second downfall.

Our brief sketch will have shewn the line of tactics that Sivajee pursued. Personally brave, he never fought when he could fly, or when stratagem or treachery could effect his object: but whatever was his design, he weighed it deliberately, gained the most accurate information on all necessary points, and then, when least expected, pounced upon his prey. The

heavy and slow moving Moguls must have been sadly puzzled at encountering such a foe. Many stories are told of the terror his very name inspired. He was feared both as a soldier, a marauder and an assassin. His own dagger, or those of his emissaries could reach where his troops could not penetrate; no distance or precaution could keep his prey from him. The old Jaghir system under which the Mahratta chief served the Deccan kings was a good foundation for the regenerator of his country to work upon; but it must be remembered that it was not with the chiefs that Sivajee commenced operations, but with the despised and half-starving peasantry of the Ghat-Mahta and Sawunt-waree. It was when Sivajee had gained a name, and had himself become a *chief*, that chiefs joined his standard. It is ever so in India. There is always ample material abroad to feed the wildest flame of insurrection, but not until it has assumed a head, will those who have a stake in the land join it. They will talk, they will write, they will plot, but seldom, unless in instances of great infatuation, when misled by false prophets, will the chiefs of the land join an insurrectionary move, so long as their own *izzut* has not been touched.

During Sivajee's whole career, he cannot be said to have enjoyed, or rather suffered, one single year of peace. He seems from the outset to have declared perpetual hostility against all who had any thing to lose. His pacifications or rather truces, were but breathing spaces, to enable him to recruit or collect his means, or to leave him unshackled to direct his whole force in another quarter. Aurungzebe played into Sivajee's hands by his timid and suspicious policy. The Emperor was incessantly changing his commanders, and feared to entrust any one of his sons or generals with means sufficient to quell the Deccan insurrections, lest the power so deputed should be used, as he himself had used it, to the usurpation of the throne. Thus distrusted, his children and officers managed the war with Sivajee as with Beejapoor and Golcondah, for their own aggrandisement. They fought as little as they could, while they plundered and received bribes as much as possible.

There was thus much in the times, and there was still more in the condition and *feeling* of the country, favourable to Sivajee. His cause was, or appeared to be that of the people. They had long groaned beneath a Mahommedan yoke, and some openly, all secretly, hailed a liberator of their own blood, caste, and country. It was this strong feeling in his favor that enabled him to procure the excellent intelligence for which he was noted: his spies were in every quarter, in the very zenanas



and durbars of his enemies, and always gave timely warning of all designs, and full information of the weak points against which to direct his enterprises. With all these advantages it may seem more surprising that Sivajee's rise was not quicker than that it made the progress we have shewn ; but it must be remembered that the Mahratta chiefs were never unanimous, that few ever joined the founder of their empire, that Sivajee's officers and soldiers were the creatures of his own genius, and that for many years the majority of his troops were infantry, excellent in their own strong country, but ill adapted for foreign conquest. Above all, there was the prestige of antiquity and of power around the Mahommedan thrones, and especially around that of the Great Mogul. In no quarter of the world does so much respectful fear attach to long-established authority as in India. If there is little veneration for sovereignty, there is abundance of awe. Loyalty and patriotism we put out of the question ; but in every case of insurrection the majority of chiefs and men of war, of all castes, will first offer their services to the established power to fight either for or against their own kindred and country ; and it is only when refused employment that they flock to the newly displayed banner. The middle and lower classes act differently ; their sympathies will be with their fellows, but they will naturally be cautious to conceal their feelings until the progress of events and the conduct of the contending parties afford some clue to the probable result of the struggle. Thus Aurungzebe might originally have commanded the services of all that were then considered the fighting classes of Maharashtra, but his suspicious temper, fearing to admit Hindus into his ranks, and even refusing the services of the Deccan Mussulmans, drove them into the ranks of his enemy. The Mahommedan Government in India had, in short, lost its tact, elasticity, and vigour : luxury had sapped the Moslem strength and deadened their one solitary virtue. Their hardihood declined, and with it their empire fell. Sivajee was the first to take advantage of the imperial decay, and his example was soon followed in every quarter of India.

Sivajee early established a strict military system. His Infantry, as already stated, were originally recruited chiefly from the Concan and Ghat-Mahta. The Hetkurees of the former were good marksmen, but his chief dependence was on the Mawulees, or inhabitants of the mountain valleys. He employed the latter on all undertakings requiring cool courage and hand-to-hand work. They never failed him. The usual arms of both were a sword, shield and matchlock, but a bow was substituted for the matchlock of every tenth man, as being

useful in ambuscades and night attacks. The cavalry were of two classes, Sillidars or men bringing their own cattle, and Bargeers who were mounted on horses of the state. A select body of the latter, forming a third and very important class were designated the Pagah or household troops. Individuals of this body were mingled with the Sillidars and ordinary Bargeers to overawe them, and act as spies on their conduct. Horse and foot of all ranks were hardy, active and abstemious. Camp equipage was unknown among them : a single blanket in addition to their light coarse vestments completed their wardrobe, and a small bag of parched grain sufficed for their commissariat supplies. Thus furnished, the infantry would for days and days thread the defiles and jungles of their wild country, and, by paths known only to themselves, appear where least expected ; while the cavalry, supplied with small saddle bags to hold such grain or plunder as they might pick up, swept the country at the rate of fifty, sixty and even eighty miles within twenty-four hours. The grand secret of Mahratta hardihood was, that chiefs and officers shared equally in the privations of their men. A picture was once taken of the Peishwa Bajee Rao by order of his enemy the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, as he chewed his dinner of parched grain, sitting on his horse with all his baggage under him, and his long Mahratta spear stuck in the ground by his side, while he thus took his repast.

Plunder and profit formed the object of all expeditions, the test, and in Mahratta eyes, the only proof of victory. During Sivajee's life, all plunder was public property. It was brought at stated periods to his durbar, where the man who had taken it was praised, rewarded or promoted.

“ Then lands were fairly portioned ;  
Then spoils were fairly sold :  
The *Bargees* were like brothers  
In the brave days of old.”

Sivajee had sense enough to perceive how much he should personally gain by the punctual payment of his army. The pay of the infantry varied from three to ten Rupees per month, that of Bargeers from seven to eighteen, and of Sillidars from twenty to forty. All accounts were closed annually : assignments were given for balances on Collectors, but *never* on villages. Cows, cultivators and women were exempt from plunder. Rich Mahommedans and Hindus in their service were favorite game. Towns and villages were systematically sacked, and where money or valuables were not forthcoming, Sivajee would take promissory notes from the local authorities.

He shed no *unnecessary* blood ; he was not cruel for cruelty's sake, but on these occasions of plunder he mercilessly slaughtered and tortured all who were supposed to have concealed treasure. An Englishman, captured by Sivajee at Surat, reported that he found the marauder, surrounded by executioners, cutting off heads and limbs.

The mountain fortresses were the key-stones of his power. His treasure, plunder, and family safe, he could freely move wherever an opening offered. His garrisons were under strict discipline, and were composed of mixed classes as mutual checks. All were told off to such duties as were respectively suited to their habits. Brahmans, Mahrattas, Ramoosees, Mhars and Mangs were in every Fort. The whole were called Gurhkurees, and were maintained by hereditary assignments of rent-free land in the neighbourhood. The Ramoosees, Mhars and Mangs were the scouts and intelligencers ; the Mahrattas formed the garrison. All relied for their daily bread on the charge of their post ; it was, in Grant Duff's words, " the mother that fed them."

The rainy season was usually the holiday of the Mahrattas ; the Infantry took their ease, the Cavalry horses grazed at will on the rich pasture lands,—and as often as possible on those of the enemy. This was however a busy time for Sivajee and his confidants. They now made their enquiries and spied out the land for the ensuing campaign. At the autumnal Dussera, the scattered bands were collected ; the Bhugwa Jenda, or national flag, was unfurled, and the wild marauders poured like a torrent over the country. Under penalty of death, not a woman was taken into camp,\* and, unfettered and unencumbered, Sivajee's bands struck the severest blows at points most distant from the places where they were expected.

It is only justice to state that this extraordinary man, while devastating other lands, was not unmindful of the duty he owed to his own subjects. In his conquered territory, and where the inhabitants had compounded for security, he was kind, considerate and consequently popular. He usually took two-fifths of the crop and protected the ryot in the enjoyment of the remainder. He set his face altogether against the farming and assignment system, now, as formerly, so prevalent throughout the Mahratta and other native states. In civil cases he employed Punchayets, the best if not the only resource in countries where official honesty is uncertain. Punchayets may decree

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\* In this and in some other matters the English might with advantage take a leaf out of Sivajee's book. Endless trains of cattle and camp followers constitute a very weak point in our military system.

wrongfully ; but, under efficient superintendence and such checks as are easily applied, they will administer quicker and more substantial justice, among a rude and simple people, than the most strait-laced courts. The truth or falsehood of nine out of ten cases that are tried in Cutcheries, and that may long enough puzzle the wits of strangers, is well known in the adjoining villages. It needs, therefore, only that interested parties be prevented from being members of Punchayets, that such courts be open, and as far as possible, that suits be decided by them at a single sitting, which may be effected in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred.

To assist in the management of affairs, Sivajee appointed eight principal officers, the chief of whom, or Prime Minister, he designated Peishwa, an ominous name for his descendants. Among his countrymen and admirers, Sivajee is still spoken of as an incarnation of the Deity, to which opinion his deeds of blood and treachery are no drawback. Mahrattas consider that political assassination is wise and proper, and that necessity justifies murder.

Sivajee was small of stature and of dark complexion. His countenance was intelligent and animated, his eyes piercing, his frame active rather than powerful, and, as already mentioned, he was master of all the weapons commonly used in his country. Scott Waring calls him a good son to a bad father, but he does not shew that there was ever any intercourse between them ; and, as we have shown, the only proof he gave of dutiful regard was in the destruction of his father's enemy ; unless indeed it be considered an act of filial piety that he seized his parent's jaghir in his absence, and by his rebellion against Beejapoor occasioned Shahjee's long and cruel imprisonment. On the whole, we may pronounce the founder of the Mahratta Empire to have been *the* man of his day in India : greater than any of the Mahratta chiefs who succeeded him, and unrivalled since, even by Hyder Ally or Runjeet Sing. Sivajee could not only conquer and destroy, but he could legislate and build up. There is the germ of civil organization in his arrangements ; and had he lived the ordinary period of man's life, he might have left to his successors a united and well-established, principality. He died suddenly, and with him his empire may be said to have expired.

Sivajee left immense treasure. The amount has been variously estimated, but always in millions of pounds sterling. Heaped together in his coffers at Rajgurrh were the dollars of Spain, the sequins of Venice, the pagodas of the Carnatic, and all the various goldmohurs of the different quarters of India, with

innumerable kinds of rupees of every shape and stamp. But all his spoil, the harvest of more than thirty years of crime and blood, of restless nights, of ceaseless and unseasonable marches, did not bring peace to the owner, nor save his son from a fearful death; it did not preserve his successors from the prison his own hands had prepared, nor his people from being split into factions that soon sealed their own destruction.

Sivajee had four wives; two survived him, of whom one performed Sutee; the other, having intrigued to raise her own son Raja Ram to the *guddee*, was put to a cruel death by her step-son Sambajee, who executed all the parties concerned in this scheme for his supercession.

Once established in power, Sambajee shewed, indeed, a soldierly spirit in the field, but his government was lax, cruel and corrupt. His troops plundered the husbandmen with impunity; and this relaxation of discipline, though it attracted a large accession of daring and dissolute adventurers to the Mahratta standard, yet proved a bad preparation for meeting the formidable power that was coming against them. Aurungzebe was now employed in the final conquest of Golcondah and Beejapoor. When the absorption of those two kingdoms had been effected, he pushed the Mahrattas more closely, and, after some desultory operations, at length by a bold stroke, such as Sivajee had so often struck against the Moguls themselves, seized Sambajee, while in a state of intoxication, at an outpost slenderly guarded. Aurungzebe offered his captive life on condition of his becoming a Mahommedan. "Not if you give me your daughter," was the bold answer of Sambajee. Stung by the insult, the Emperor caused him to be cruelly mutilated and then beheaded.

Sambajee's *life* might have injured the cause of his people: his cruel death, in the words of Grant Duff, "aroused their vengeance without alarming their fears." Rajah Ram, the surviving son of Sivajee, was now declared Regent, during the minority of his brother Sambajee's son. The boy was however soon after taken prisoner by the Moguls, and was kindly treated by the daughter of Aurungzebe, who familiarly called him Sahoo or Shao,\* his name being Sivajee. For a time the tide continued against the Mahrattas, but far from being

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\* Among the elegant English misnomers of Indian words was that of Shao Raja whom the Bombay factors of his day designated "the Sow Roger." The ignorance as to all that concerns India to this day in England is great, but some light has broken on our countrymen, since, in the year 1764, Guthrie, the Maltebrun of his day, thus described the Mahrattas and their country: "Mahrattas are a kind of mercenaries inhabiting the mountains *between* India and Persia." Maltebrun following Tone is generally correct.

disheartened, their energies were rather thus drawn out. Raja Ram, after making arrangements for Maharashtra, and for the re-assemblage of his friends around the "Bhugwa Jenda," or national flag, when fortune should be more propitious, took refuge in the Carnatic. On the plea of his nephew's captivity, he assumed the government in his own name, was enthroned, distributed the usual presents, and made extensive grants of lands including much that was not in the actual possession of the Moguls, but more that had never belonged to his predecessors.

After a brief but eventful career, Raja Ram died of fatigue, caused by long exposure when escaping from Zoolfikar Khan, the ablest, though one of the most venal of the Mogul officers employed in the Deccan. He had besieged Raja Ram for seven years in the fort of Ginjee, and when *obliged* to take the place, gave the Raja due notice to escape. On other occasions Zoolfikar acted with sufficient energy: within one period of six months he is said to have marched in pursuit of the Mahrattas 5,000 miles, and, in this space of time, to have engaged them nineteen times. In the year 1700, one month after Raja Ram's death, Satara was captured by Aurungzebe. Raja Ram left two sons, Sivajee and Sambajec, the former being the elder was, though an imbecile, placed on the *guddee*. He was only ten years old, but his mother, Tara Bye, was a woman of energy and the virtual ruler. She moved from fort to fort, encouraging her son's adherents, while in five different directions, his troops kept the field under able officers.

Aurungzebe was now at the head of his own army; and successively captured the principal strongholds of the Mahrattas. Torna was carried by escalade, sword in hand, during the night: all the others were won by gold. Several were retaken within the year, and the Emperor's hold on any of them lasted only while a strong force remained in the neighbourhood. The climate, the difficulty of bringing up convoys, the feeling of the people, all were against the Moguls. But while the Mahratta fortresses were thus temporarily yielding and their country falling a prey to the Mogul, their own predatory bands were daily extending the influence of the Mahratta name. For a third time they levied contributions on the city of Surat and plundered Burhanpoor, while their squadrons simultaneously ravaged Malwa, Candeish, Berar and Guzerat.

The Mogul system, with all its pageantry, was rotten at the core. The royal presence, or the occasional effort of an able and honest officer, might gain a brief success; but what could one old man, bowed down with the weight of ninety years, with centuries of care and crime on his brow, perform? One who,

though he had long exceeded the usual span of life, now felt he was approaching the hour of his own long account. Nor could the empire be upheld by chiefs and generals who had never been cordially trusted, and whose success, on behalf of their master, would, in his eyes, be little less than treason, entailing on the victors disgrace, if not death. Most of them therefore were in the pay of the Mahrattas. They allowed convoys to pass into the fortresses they besieged and occasionally even fed the garrisons themselves. So far from protecting the royal districts from plunder, the Mogul army connived at, if they did not aid in, their devastation; and the more far-seeing chiefs, collected and husbanded their resources, and quietly awaited the struggle they perceived must follow the Emperor's death. Worn out with disease, and vexed by the ill success of his measures, Aurungzebe now allowed himself to be almost persuaded by his favourite son Kaum Buksh, to recognise Mahratta independence and to pay the Surdeshmukhee (ten per cent.) on the revenues of the six Soobahs of the Deccan. Their insolence and daily increasing demands alone prevented the fulfilment of the compact. Feeling his end approach, Aurungzebe moved on Ahmednugur; his army was attacked and defeated on the way, and the aged and dying Emperor narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his enemies.

Aurungzebe's last march was made. He died at Ahmednugur on the 21st February 1707, and left the heritage of his manifold crimes to his three sons. To the measure of their respective ability they followed his example. Two soon fell in civil conflict, and the eldest, Sultan Mauzum, succeeded to the distracted and already dismembered sovereignty under the name of Shah Alum.

The release of Shao, the son of Sambajec, had been more than once proposed as a counterpoise to the party of Raja Ram's family; but, although as a preparatory measure Aurungzebe had caused the youth to be united in marriage to two influential families, he had always hesitated to carry out the scheme. On the death of the Emperor, Shao fell into the hands of Prince Azim Shah, who released him when he was immediately joined by many influential persons, and early next year (1708) seized Satara. Daood Khan, the Mogul Deputy in the Deccan, also supported him. Thus countenanced, Shao's cause was on the ascendant, but young Sivajee, or rather his mother, Tara Bye, had still a strong party. During the monsoon of 1709, their partisans cantoned at Kolapoor, and the next year, Sivajee determined to make that town and the neighbouring fort of Panalla the residence of his Court. In

the year 1712, the young Prince died of small-pox, when Ramchundur Punt, the ablest supporter of the Kolapoor party, removed Tara Bye from the administration, placed her and her son's widow in confinement, and seated Sambajee, the son of Rajis Bye, the younger widow of Raja Ram, on the *guddee*. Next year, Shirzee Rao Ghatgay of Kagul, a name infamously notorious in modern Mahratta history, joined the party of Sambajee and henceforward acted as a partisan of Kolapoor, or under the banner of Cheyn Kulik Khan, better known as the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was now Mogul viceroy of the Deccan, and who, wishing to weaken the Mahrattas by internal dissension, favored the Kolapoor party.

In the year 1714 Ballajee Wishwanath, the ancestor of the Rulers of Poona, was appointed Peishwa, and received a grant of the Pergunnah of Poona, and the fort of Poorundhur. Raja Shao was already a cypher and his Minister the real ruler of the Mahrattas. The latter now took the first step towards the dismemberment of the empire by encouraging every Chief at the head of an army to administer the country he occupied or commanded. The Peishwa thus gained temporary partisans, but the Satara Raja soon lost dependants. Unlike his father and grandfather, Raja Shao acknowledged himself a vassal of Delhi; and while in the actual receipt of tribute from the Mogul officers, he affected, in his transactions with them, to consider himself merely as a head Zemindar or Deshmukh of the Empire.

During all this time the distractions at Delhi were clearing the way for Mahratta aggrandisement. Ten thousand of them, under Ballajee, accompanied Syud Hossein Ally, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to take part in a struggle against the Emperor. Ferokhsere lost his life in the contest, and the Mahrattas remained at Delhi till they had obtained from his successor Mahommed Shah, grants of revenue and privilege which not only confirmed them in their own possessions, but authorised their inquisitorial interference in every province of the Deccan. The minute intermixture of territory and the coparceny system that divided districts and even villages between rival authorities, was a sufficient curse to the people as well as loss to the Mogul, but this legalisation of the Mahratta demands

\* The year of Mahommed Shah's accession in 1720, forms an important era in Mahratta history. The Imperial Grants they then obtained acknowledged their claim, first to the *Chauth*, or fourth of the revenue of the six *Soobehs*, Aurungabad, Berar, Beder, Hyderabad, Beerapoor, and Candesh. Second, to the *Sardesh mukhee* or tenth in excess of the *Chauth*; and thirdly to the *Surya* or sovereignty of the sixteen districts possessed by Sivajee at the time of his death. Thus was the Mahratta aim of years gratified.



on the reserved territory was a virtual cession of the whole. It subjected the country to the double tyranny of two sets of tax-gatherers—"that which the locust left, the canker-worm devoured."

Bajee Rao succeeded his father Ballajee Wishwanath as Peishwa. As able an administrator as his father, he was a better soldier. Against the opinion and advice of more timid counselors, he advocated extending the Mahratta conquests into Hindustan. Under his banner in Malwa in the year 1724, we first hear of Ranoojee Sindhia, Mulhar Rao Holkar, and Oodajee Powar: the two first, the founders of their families, and the last, the regenerator of his, and the founder of the Dhar principality. Already did the ambitious Peishwa look to a universal Mahratta Empire. He promised the Raja that his flag should wave from the Kistna to the Attock; and alluding to the Moguls, "let us strike" said he, "at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves." All the ability and experience, however, of old Nizam-ul-Mulk, now again the Mogul Viceroy in the south, were employed to baffle the Mahrattas and evade their claims. This he perceived was to be best effected by fanning the flame between the rival cousins of Kolapoor and Satara, and throwing his weight into the scale of the weakest, Sambajee. In the year 1727 he stopped all payments, pending, as he said, a settlement of the Mahratta sovereignty. The usually pacific Shao was roused to action. The Nizam endeavoured to excuse himself by declaring that he only meant to relieve the Raja of his overbearing minister, the Peishwa. Shao would listen to no terms; hostilities ensued, and the Kolapoor troops were subsidised by Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Satara party, whose cause was managed by the Peishwa, gained the day, which will appear the less surprising when it is known that Sambajee and his ministers each sought to obtain the handling of the Nizam's subsidies, not to enable them to meet the enemy but to employ the cash for their own private debaucheries.

Nizam-ul-Mulk was not the person to continue a losing game; he therefore patched up an arrangement and abandoned the cause of Kolapoor. Sambajee, left to his own resources, was in the year 1729 so utterly defeated as to be obliged to yield his claim to the Mahratta sovereignty to Shao, and to accept a Principality, comprehending, with certain reservations, the tract of country between the Warna and Kistna rivers on the north, and the Toongbuddra on the south. The treaty now made was offensive and defensive, and provided for the division between the parties of such conquests as might conjointly be

made to the south of the Toongbuddra. But there never has since been any cordiality between the Kolapoor and Satara Chiefs, or rather between the former and the usurpers of the authority of the latter; for, within two years of the abovementioned compact, the Peishwa Bajee Rao completely defeated the Ghaekwar and his other rivals in a decisive battle near Baroda, which left him the virtual head of the Mahratta sovereignty.

From this year (1729) we date the separation of the Kolapoor Principality from that of the elder and Satara branch. The lieutenants of the latter, or rather of the Peishwa, proceeded in a bright but brief career, while the Kolapoor Chiefs, holding aloof from the upstart servants of their family, proceeded in a course of piracies and petty warfare with the Dessaces of Waree and the Jaghirdars around them. The last time the armies of the Mahratta Empire acted together was in the year 1795 at Kurdla, where Nana Furnuvees, the clever but timid minister of the Peishwa, induced Sindhia and Holkar, the Ghaekwar, the Nag-poor Raja and almost all the Jaghirdars to combine against the Nizam. On this occasion the Mahrattas brought into the field 140,000 men, horse and foot.

The Peishwas had long been the mayors of the Satara palace. They received their Khillats (dresses) of investiture from the imprisoned descendants of Sivajee, but they were virtually monarchs of the Mahratta confederacy. The submission obtained from the founders of the several rival Principalities was certainly loose enough from the beginning; but they *did* allow, in theory, the same superiority to the Peishwa as he conceded to his puppet of Satara. A double government, an imperium in imperio, has long been the fashion of India; prejudices and old associations are thus sought to be soothed, and the fact is overlooked or forgotten, that a rallying point is thereby left to their enemies by those in power. The good sense of more than one of the Peishwas led them to think of ending the farce, but a timid policy prevailed. The ruler of Poona continued to call himself the servant of the Raja of Satara whom he kept a prisoner, and the Chiefs of Gwalior and Indore, retaliating on the former, plundered and insulted him at will, while styling themselves his Lieutenants. A decree could have been obtained from the effete King of Delhi in favor either of Sindhia or the Peishwa, and would have carried as much weight in India as did Pope Zachary's in Christendom when the second Pepin obtained his sanction to place Childeric in a monastery, and add the title of King to his mayorial designation.

Henceforward we follow the fortunes of Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree. In December 1760, Sambajee the last lineal descendant of Sivajee died without issue, when his widow adopted a boy called Sivajee, and conducted the government in his name. The Kolapoorians were, at this time, not content with plundering and levying *Chouths* on shore, but they engaged in piratical expeditions along the western coast. In the year 1765, the British Government sent an expedition against them and reduced the ports of Malwan and Rairce,—the former place belonging to Kolapoor, the latter to Waree. The connexion of Kolapoor with the Nizam was generally maintained, and, in the time of the Peishwa Mudhoo Rao Bullal, caused the loss of several districts, which were however recovered by the Raja taking part with Rugonath Rao during the period of his authority.

In the year 1766, Malwan and Rairce were restored, on condition that the Kolapoor Raja should indemnify the British Government for all losses and expenses, and that the Dessacc of Waree should enter into a new treaty. The piracies of these petty states were then for a few years suspended, only to break out more violently than ever. In the year 1789 fresh operations were contemplated against them, and only suspended out of consideration to the Court of Poona, whose dependant the Raja of Kolapoor was erroneously supposed to be. The Mysore war then occupied all the attention of the British, and the pirates worked their will until the year 1792, when an armament was fitted out against them. An humble apology was however accepted, and a treaty concluded, by which permission was obtained for the establishment of factories at Malwan and Kolapoor. None of these measures, however, were of any avail to check the system of piracy which continued until the year 1812.

The petty states at Kolapoor and Waree were at war during nearly twenty-three years, on a foolish quarrel regarding some royal privileges obtained for her husband Kem Sawunt, by Luximee Bye a niece of Mahdajee Sindhia. Lord Minto, then Governor-General, was solicited to aid Kolapoor, but he declined interfering. The Peishwa was less scrupulous, and sought to take advantage of the contest to subjugate both states. Acting under his orders, one of his officers, Appa Dessacc, obtained possession of Chickooree and Menowlee, and endeavoured to establish his own authority over Sawunt-waree. The infant Sawunt was strangled, but Phoond Sawunt the next heir, taking advantage of the temporary weakness of the Poona

commander, expelled him from the country and seized the government.

During the first Mahratta war with the English the Kolapoor troops were not found in the ranks of their countrymen, but their system of piracy and petty plunder continued. In the year 1812, therefore, when the British Government was settling the affairs of the Mahratta country, it was determined at length to put down the long-permitted piracies of Kolapoor and Sawunt-warce. Stringent measures were adopted; the Raja at once yielded, consented to a new treaty, and was, in return, guaranteed against the aggressions of all foreign powers. Phoond Sawunt was at the same time obliged to cede Vingorla, and engaged to suppress piracy under penalty of being also deprived of the forts of Rairee and Newtee. Some mercantile engagements were at the same time concluded.

Soon after the ratification of these arrangements, Phoond Sawunt died, and Doorga Bye became regent. Regardless of the British guarantee, she immediately attacked Kolapoor and seized the fort of Burratgurh which had formerly belonged to Warce. The old lady would listen to no remonstrances and withdrew only on the advance of a detachment of the Madras army. She still, however, continued refractory, and though no retaliation was permitted on the part of the Kolapoor troops, the British were at length obliged to enter the Warce territory, and in the year 1819 completely reduced it. Certain cessions were then exacted as security against future misconduct, when the British troops were withdrawn, and Sawunt-waree, in its reduced limits, left independent.

During the last Mahratta war, the Kolapoor Raja heartily espoused the British cause and was rewarded by the restoration of the two districts of Chickooree and Menowlee, already referred to, yielding an annual revenue of three lakhs of rupees. In July 1821 the Raja was murdered in his palace, by a chief whose jaghir he had resumed. During the disturbances at Kittoor in 1824, the conduct of the Kolapoor authorities was very suspicious, and in a matter of dispute with Sawunt-warce, the young Raja infringed the treaty and refused to abide by British arbitration. In this affair he was decidedly wrong, and he ought to have been punished. In our dealings with Native States it is as unfair to overlook palpable breaches of engagement, as it is cruel to stretch or twist dubious questions. The homely adage "get an inch and take an ell" nowhere better applies than among Indian rulers. The first encroachment is the precedent for succeeding ones. The smallest infraction

of a treaty should be promptly noticed ; timely reproof may stop a career of ruin. We are quite aware that it is from no ungenerous motive that such admonition is often withheld ; but we are not the less satisfied that a little trouble at the outset, where differences arise, might often avert broils, and eventual absorption. Most Native chiefs are mere children in mind, in the ways of the world ; and as children they should be treated, with affectionate sympathy, but with systematic firmness. Grant them the most liberal construction of their respective treaties ; but whatever that construction be, explain it clearly, and enforce it strictly. Slips should not pass unnoticed, but severity ought to be reserved for cases of obstinate contumacy. Such policy would convince all concerned, that their amendment and not their destruction was the desire of the lord paramount. After a certain career of vice or contumacy, the offender should be set aside, and replaced by the nearest of kin, who gives better promise. One man should not be permitted to ruin a state ; nor in any case should the paramount benefit by the error of the dependent. Were some such principles as these steadily acted on, less would be heard of the bankruptcies and distractions of tributary and subject states.

In the year 1825, the Raja was, more questionably, interfered with when desiring to resume Kaghāl, the jaghir of Hindu Rao, the son of the notorious Shirzee Rao Ghatgay. Both the father and son had long abandoned the Kolapoor service for that of Gwalior. Our right of interference referred only to *externals*, and we had no *right* to meddle, even by remonstrance, in domestic matters. Such slippery handling of engagements on our part, irritates Native princes and affords them pretext for bad faith. In December 1825, the Raja's misconduct obliged Government to march a force into his country, when a new arrangement was negotiated, stipulating for the reduction of the Kolapoor army, *attention to the advice of the British Government*, and the non-molestation of Hindu Rao and certain other Jaghirdars. Such a treaty could hardly have been expected to stand, nor did it. Princes do not relish unsought advice, any more than other individuals, especially if it be such as they are pledged to take. It was, we believe, Colonel Sutherland who rightly called the obligation to take counsel "a withering clause ;" its very nature, indeed, is to provoke irritation and opposition, and *to entail* eventual coercion. At any rate, it is useless to provide that advice should be taken without specifically entering on the face of the engagement the penalty for neglect. The matter then becomes plain and all parties can calculate their game. The treaty

under notice, was scarcely signed before the Raja broke through all its provisions. Instead of reducing his troops, he increased them, and seized the possessions of the guaranteed Jaghirdars. Twice during the year 1827, a British force was assembled for the purpose of bringing the Raja to reason. In the month of October the troops moved on Kolapoor, when that fortified town, though occupied by between 2 and 3,000 Arabs and Sindhians, immediately surrendered. New terms were then dictated, restricting the Kolapoor army to 400 horse and 800 foot exclusive of garrisons. Chickoree and Menowlee were resumed, and certain jaghirdars, whom the Rajah had molested, received perpetual instead of life guarantees. The forts of Kolapoor and Panalla were occupied by British garrisons at the Raja's expense. He was also mulcted 1,47,948 Rupees for damage done to his neighbours; and territory yielding 50,000 Rupees was retained until the amount should be liquidated. A Minister was also nominated by the British Government, which retained to itself the power of removing him and appointing another. This last measure was as inefficacious at Kolapoor as it has been every where else.

In the year 1829, the Governor of Bombay visited Kolapoor, and then proposed to withdraw the garrisons from that town and Panalla; but the measure was deferred, because the management of affairs had at that time fallen into the hands of an inimical Dewan. This person was removed, and his sovereign was warned, that if it should again be found necessary to send troops to Kolapoor, they would be permanently saddled on him. The Raja was a man of considerable, though misdirected, energy and ability. He quickly threw off the shackles of the British Government and systematically disregarded every provision of the treaty. His army was increased to nearly ten thousand men; and, having no funds to pay them, having lost his best districts, having no field of plunder or piracy open to him, his finances fell into the most deplorable disorder. The troops were seldom mustered more than once a year; the men lived where they liked, and, being always a twelvemonth or more in arrears, were permitted great license, and became, as might have been expected, a mere mass of marauders, dangerous only to their own Government. In the Civil department there was the same reckless improvidence as in the Military. All the ancient titles and offices were kept up, and the same state affected as when the Kolapoor family had arrogated Mahratta sovereignty. Centralization was the order of the day. Every Chief, every official of any rank, resided in the city of Kolapoor. There were not less than

twenty-one Mamlutdars to manage the revenue of a tract of country not exceeding 2,500 square miles and scarcely yielding a clear income of five lakhs of Rupees. All these Mamlutdars constantly remained at Kolapoor and acted by deputy. The Durbar was therefore a scene of perpetual intrigue and chicanery, varied only by the lowest debauchery. Every Indian city is more or less a sink of iniquity: among them Kolapoor became a bye-word for foulness, for corruption and ill-faith. Forgery and fawning were the steps to favor. Almost every Chief and officer was, like the sovereign, loaded with debt; their estates and villages were mortgaged to money-lenders, and the Raja himself subsisted from day to day only by squeezing his officials, and by anticipating the revenues of the state. We have said that the Raja had ability, we may add, that his mind seems to have been tinged with insanity. In his saner moments, he was intelligent and energetic; occasionally, even just. He daily held open Durbar where all had admittance. Petitions were received, summarily discussed, and disposed of without appeal. The Mamlutdars and courtiers were thus checked and their illicit gains generally reverted to his own coffers. The highest officers were to be seen in chains one day, and the next raised to greater honors: allowed their full swing for a time, and then imprisoned, tortured and mulct. Strange as it may appear, such practices do not prevent scrambles for place now in India, any more than they did in olden times in Europe. Mahrattas, indeed, seem to enjoy such a troubled sea of politics. It offers a fair field for their peculiar abilities. They prefer, even more than other Indians, a mere nominal salary with the dim prospect of perquisites, to a fair and limited remuneration. It is astonishing how men become accustomed to live with their heads in their hands. It is now in India, as it was centuries ago in Greece and Rome. The Kolapoor system, however, had peculiarities of its own. So desperate had become the fortunes of the Chief, and of the court myrmidons, that the great majority were reduced to depend for their daily bread on the palace bounty; nearly a thousand of these minions fed daily at the Durbar, and were reduced to the condition of mere personal retainers. Stranger still is the fact that with such a head and such instruments, the condition of the country was not wretched. The secret lay in the Raja's vigorous despotism. An open Court, with summary cruel punishments kept down crime. While the city and the palace were filled with iniquities, the villages flourished; few, if any, fell into disorder, and, when the Raja's career ended, little waste land was to be found within his principality. His offences thus lay

in prodigality, in personal debauchery and in expending double or treble his income, rather than in unduly squeezing his cultivators. His last act was that of a desperate gamester. Shortly before his death in the year 1839, he affected to proceed on a pilgrimage to Punderpoor, but the whole was a mere scheme to plunder certain wealthy parties on the Kistna. For this purpose, his ragged army was nearly doubled, every effort was made to raise immediate funds, and even the family jewels were pledged with this unholy object. Death cut short the project, and then cannon and other munitions of war were found concealed in the carts that were to accompany his train. On the Raja's death his eldest son the present Chief, then a minor, was placed on the *guddee*, and a Regency was formed by order of the British Government, consisting of his mother, his maternal aunt, and four Karbarees. The two ladies, of course, quarrelled. The British political agent, on paying a hasty visit to Kolapoor from Belgaum, finding them in warm contention, judged it politic to leave them so, considering that he should most effectually hold the Durbar in check by countenancing both. Within six months of the agent's departure, the aunt, who went by the title of Dewan Sahib, being the more energetic and more unscrupulous of the two, got the better of her kinswoman and assumed the whole powers of government. Her supremacy, thus acquired, was acknowledged by the British authorities, though the step excluded the mother of the minor sovereign from all authority.

We return to our sketch of Sawunt-waree affairs. The measures taken in 1819 were soon found ineffectual to protect the British frontier from plunder. The Waree Government was unable to subdue or restrain its own turbulent Chiefs; and the British authorities were constantly annoyed by the distractions of this petty chiefship. In the year 1822, the Dessacc then in his twentieth year, was ousted from all authority by his Ranees, supported by an influential Minister. So great at length, became the disorganization of the country that, in the year 1836-7, the British Government was obliged to interfere, and to send a force to occupy the forts of Mahdogurh and Naraingurh and the town of Waree. The Dessacc, thus relieved from his domestic persecutors, was delivered over to a *guaranteed* Minister. He, of course, soon quarrelled with his monitor, but his complaints being attributed to the influence of disreputable favourites, he vainly appealed to the British Agent (the Collector of Rutnagirry.) A formidable rebellion ensued, which it required a British detachment to quell. In 1838, troops were again called out, being the fourth time, that



armed interference had been employed in Sawunt-waree within nine years. Phoond Sawunt, who has within the last twelve months again given so much trouble, was then in arms, plundering the Warce villages and threatening the British frontier. The Dessee thwarted all the efforts of this rough-riding Minister to put down the rebellion, and accused him of being in league with the rebels. The British Government, tired at length of fighting the Dessae's battles, assumed the direct management of the country, until such time as there should be a probability of his governing it well. Mr. Spooner, a Bombay Civil Servant, was placed in charge of the territory, but had a very up-hill game to play. The country, one of the very strongest in all India and in many parts believed to be inaccessible to regular troops, teemed with malcontents. While many had real grievances, some feared the indispensable reductions incidental on the new arrangements; and others dreaded the substitution of a strong Government for their old system of misrule. All could plot, and even fight confidently, having their friendly jungles to fly to,—a sure refuge in the sympathising neutrality of the border State of Goa. On one occasion, the rebels acquired temporary possession of Warce; another time, they captured the fort of Humuntghar, blockaded the passes, plundered travellers, and attempted to levy the Government revenue. They were not only recruited from the Goa territory, but one of the leaders at the capture of Humuntghar was a Goa Dessae. A Sawunt-waree Local Corps was at length raised, and a new Governor having arrived at Goa who was less friendly to the malcontents, they were finally put down. Nine of the leaders were condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted to banishment for life. A barbarous execution of a number of prisoners also took place, under the orders of Lieutenant Gibbard, the Adjutant of the Local Corps. He pleaded the orders of the Political Agent, but was himself very properly made to answer for his iniquitous deed, before a military tribunal. Sawunt-waree was thus, as the phrase runs *settled*, but the flame was only smothered, and no sooner did disturbances break out in Kolapoor, than the Waree people were again up, and the son of the Dessae was himself in arms.

We have now brought our sketch down to the period of the late disturbances in Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree. The united area of these two states does not exceed four thousand square miles, and their joint nett revenue, after deducting jaghirs and rent-free lands, scarcely amounts to seven lakhs of Rupees. But as already observed, the whole tract, especially Sawunt-waree,

is a remarkably strong country, combining, within a small area all the strong points of mountain and jungle fastnesses. The inhabitants, moreover, though poor, are hardy and lawless, and still bear in mind the exploits of Sivajee's favourite Mawulees and Hetkurees.

Predatory habits, formed during centuries of anarchy, are not to be changed in a day. British supremacy has, throughout India, restricted the field of plunder and of warfare, but sufficient time has not yet elapsed materially to alter the feelings and associations of the children of marauding times. We have taken from the lawless their hunting grounds; we have prohibited their spoiling their neighbours, but we have neither given them an equivalent, nor allowed them an outlet for their energies. We have not even rendered their own homes secure. The guaranteed Princes, who can no longer array their followers for foreign raids, must turn their hungry energies against those very followers. Money they *must* have to feed their own luxurious lusts. If they cannot plunder strangers, they must harry their own people. The rule holds good throughout India. The instances among Native states where the cultivator is certain of reaping what he has sown, and of being called on to pay only what has been previously agreed, are most rare. Indeed, they are to be found only in some few states of very limited extent, where the reigning chief, being a man of probity as well as of ability, sees with his own eyes, hears with his own ears, and setting aside Ministers and Agents, looks after his own affairs.

The Southern Mahratta states afford a good illustration of our argument. They have experienced all the inconveniences of a strong supremacy without participating in its advantages. The British ægis has been thrown over the Rulers and Ministers of Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree, while no effectual measures have been taken to enforce their doing their duty to the governed. It cannot, indeed, be denied that these territories have been most egregiously mismanaged. Countries that have been repeatedly in arms within a short term of years, *must* have grievances. Half armed, hungry men do not give their throats to the sword for mere amusement. Men do not, for ever, love to struggle in a hopeless cause. We may then fairly infer that there *has been* abuse, and as both Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree have, during several years been, in a manner, directly governed by British Agents, we are obliged to attribute the maladministration which has entailed so much expense of blood and treasure, to our own ill-digested schemes; to the affectation of holding aloof, while, we were daily and hourly

interfering in the most essential manner, through Native Agents, by placing in the hands of Native underlings, powers that no Native of the present generation has head or heart to bear. With a British Superintendent in Sawunt-warec, and a Native Agent in Kolapoor, acting as Minister, as Regent, as factotum, under the Political Agent at Belgaum, neither of the disaffected states can be considered as having been under a domestic administration; but our Government is as distinctly responsible for their bad, as it would have been entitled to the credit of their good management.

Sawunt-waree offers a notable proof, that the sword alone cannot sustain an Anglo-Indian administration. Martial law had long prevailed, the country had been harried; some malcontents had been justly condemned, other unfortunate men had been butchered. The Native Government was wholly suspended; the management was entirely in our own hands, and yet, no sooner had troubles arisen in Kolapoor, than it became certain that Sawunt-waree would rise. The worst expectations were realised. With scarcely an exception, every Chief in the country took up arms, and forty of them, with their personal followers, driven from their fastnesses, are now in the dungeons of Goa, rather than surrender to British clemency. There is something very lamentable in all this, and it calls for no ordinary enquiry.

The circumstances of the Kolapoor outbreak are different. We have already noticed the dissensions among the members of the Regency. The supremacy of the Raja's aunt was not of long continuance, and more than one change preceded the late outbreak. At length, a few months before the insurrection commenced, Dajee Krishen Pundit, a Brahman, who had risen from a subordinate position in one of our civil offices, was placed at the head of the Regency. Within a month of his accession to power, his two co-adjutors were dismissed by the Political Agent for peculation, and the Pundit monopolised the combined powers of Minister and Regent. Dajee could not have been a notoriously bad man; the probability is, he was both able and moderate. But unlimited power has turned wiser heads than are to be found among the underlings of an Anglo-Indian *cutchery*. We accordingly find that Dajee neither bore himself meekly, nor was content to follow those two golden maxims, to let well alone, and to endeavour to make the best of local, even though bad, materials. He seems to have forgotten that he was a foreigner among a wild and a proud people, who could only be managed peaceably by and through their own countrymen; that if he did not employ the

Natives, they must and would oppose him ; and that they could not remain neutral, and indubitably would be either his co-adjutors or his enemies. Nevertheless, Dajee *did* make many changes, and *did* provide for his Brahman kinsmen.\* He moreover, not only checked the abuses and illicit gains of the Man-kurees and other chiefs, but by touching their dignity made himself personally offensive ; there can therefore be little doubt that, though few of them openly engaged in the insurrection, the majority instigated and encouraged the acts of the rebel Gurhkurees and refractory Sebundees. The former, we have already explained, were the hereditary holders of the hill forts that dot the Kolapoor country. From father to son, they had lived and died at their posts, and were supported by certain lands dependant on their respective charges. To interfere with arrangements which had existed since the days of Sivajec, if not before his time was, any thing but prudent ; nor can we perceive the policy, any more than the justice, of irritating the hereditary soldiery of this wild country. The immediate cause of offence was the appointment of Mamlutdars (revenue officers) to manage the Gurhkuree lands. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Gurhkurees resented the removal of their own immediate agents, and the doubling up of appointments by which the charge of their affairs was made over to Mamlutdars who managed the adjoining districts. This measure, as they supposed, affected their honor, and placed them at the mercy of strangers. We are far from believing that the Bombay authorities had any design to mulct the hill garrisons ; there was, therefore, the less excuse for trifling with their feelings, it may be their prejudices, by appointing people to do for them what they preferred doing themselves. We need hardly add that no stranger Mamlutdar *could* have been appointed to whose fingers a portion of the proceeds of the Gurhkuree lands would not have adhered.

In July 1844 the flame broke out ; the garrisons of the strong forts of Bhodurgurh and Samungurh, refused to admit the

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\* We have no desire to run down Dajee, on the contrary, we look on him as a favourable specimen of an Anglo-Native agent. Had he been *better* or *worse*, matters would have turned out differently. Had he leagued with local oppressors, had he gone hand in hand with the plunderers and tyrants he found around him, his reign would at least have been longer. Had he been a " faultless monster" he might have saved the state. But in all such cases, the difficulties in the way of a Native agent are immeasurably greater than what would face a European officer. An ordinary Englishman may do a hundred things that the best and purest Native dare not attempt. The latter, too, has his peculiar advantages. Each has his fitting place ; and the grand point of skilful Anglo-Indian administration turns on the judicious blending of the double agency. Europeans and Natives may, conjointly, build up, what either, acting singly, would mar.

Mamlutdar appointed to manage their lands. Dajee Pundit for a long time endeavoured to cajole the recusants, and eventually sent two of the principal officers of the state to cajole them into submission. The Gurkhurees were firm, and refused not only to admit any Mamlutdar except of their own selection, but required the guarantee of the Naiks (Chiefs) of the five Regiments of Sebundees at Kolapoor as security for their future good treatment. The very positiveness of the poor creatures seems to bear testimony to their having experienced wrong, and their fear of further injury. Dajee Pundit was desirous of granting their demands; but the Political Agent forbade any concession to men with arms in their hands; and, hearing in September, that the malcontents had levied contributions in their neighbourhood, recommended that a force should be sent against them.

It is to be regretted that before the British functionary counselled recourse to arms, he had not done something more than communicate with the malcontents through Native agents; that, in short, he had not himself visited the scene of disorder. We have little doubt that he might have entered either Samungurh or Bhodurgurh with perfect safety, the former being only a long morning's ride from Belgaum. Or, supposing that he could not have proceeded thither in person, why not have called in a deputation from the recusants to state their grievances? This question may rouse the yells of fire-and-faggot politicians. "Visit or receive, men with arms in their hands!" they will say. We reply, yes, decidedly so as long as no overt act of hostility has been committed, and while there is reason to believe that the disaffected are moved by real, or even supposed, wrongs. It is not the fashion we know to argue thus,—the more the pity,—and the greater the necessity that our voice, feeble though it be, should be raised in the cause of humanity and of truth. Unfortunately, British Indian history abounds with instances where the neglect of so simple an act of justice has cost us dear, both in blood and credit. Whether, we ask, is it more creditable to grant terms to men in arms, *before* or after they have used those arms? The historical reader will be familiar with cases of Civil and Military revolt, and will have observed, that in the great majority of instances, all that was at first humbly craved, and forcibly demanded only when redress had been refused, was finally conceded *after* blood had been shed. Are we always to slay, in order to prove our strength? Far better to relinquish so sanguinary a dominion! This is one view of the case,—that justice should *first* be fully done, and that we should

enter on no quarrel with dirty hands. We may however meet the coercives on their own ground, and entirely deny the necessity, at the present day, of brute force to vindicate our honor. Whatever may have been the case fifty years ago, a preliminary fusilade is not now requisite to prove that our measures of mercy are voluntary. Who, in his senses, ever doubted that the British Government *could* coerce the Gurkhurees and capture their forts? Who ever denied that the Barackpoor Divison could annihilate the unhappy 47th Bengal N. I.? There *have* been instances where prompt and rigid austerity was perfectly justifiable; but, for one such emergency, a dozen have occurred where early moderation, combined with firmness, would have been the true course of policy.

Acting on the Agent's recommendation, the Bombay Government issued instructions that a detachment, amply sufficient to effect the pacification of the disturbed districts, should move from Belgaum, the Head Quarters of the southern division of the Bombay Army. With whom the selection and strength of the field force rested, we are not exactly aware. It consisted of 1,200 men. including two Companies of European Infantry, one Company of Native Rifles, a few Irregular Horse, and sixty Artillery men with four mortars, two howitzers and two nine-pounders. One hundred labourers also accompanied the Engineer Officer as Pioneers. The whole were placed under command of Lieut.-Colonel Wallace, 20th Madras N. I. This small detachment though in Division Orders on the 12th September, did not march till the 16th, and arrived opposite the Fort of Samungurh, thirty miles distant, on the 19th of the same month. The strength of the fort lay chiefly in its position on the summit of a scarped rock; its walls were found to be from twenty to sixty feet high, and between one and two miles in circuit. The hill on which the fort stands is however commanded by an adjoining rock; the place was wretchedly equipped and garrisoned by only three hundred men, and might, probably, have been seized by a coup-de-main, the first day. It is obvious, however, that if the fort was not thus to be captured by a sudden attack, there was not much hope of the success of a detachment scarcely exceeding 1,000 bayonets and unaccompanied by battering guns. Fifty mortars might have settled the matter in a few hours: the fire of four could only have afforded amusement to the garrison of so extensive a position. On the 20th, Colonel Wallace took possession of the hill, commanding the fort, and the next day commenced shelling, but with little or no effect. On the 24th, the pettah

was carried by storm, and no effort was wanting, on the part of the British Commander, to reduce the fort ; but, he soon found himself helpless, and applied for reinforcements and battering guns. The distance from Belgaum does not exceed thirty miles, and yet, the guns, being impeded by heavy rain, did not arrive for more than three weeks, by which time much of the moral effect of the military movement had been lost, and the Gurkhurees had recovered confidence and recruited their numbers.

On the 22nd September the garrison of Bhoodurgurh sallied out upon the Kolapoor troops sent against their Fort and drove them off with loss. Alarm now spread, and fears were expressed for Rutnagiry, Vingorla and even for Belgaum itself ; at which last place sudden and novel precautions were taken sufficient to indicate alarm and to provoke attack. When shall we gain experience and learn to be always on the alert ? In the words of Washington, " to organise all our resources, and to put them in a state of preparation for prompt action " \* \* \* " to endeavour by unanimity, vigilance and exertion, under the blessing of providence, to hold the scales of our destiny in our own hands." Reinforcements were now ordered from various quarters towards the disturbed districts, and on the 8th October General Delamotte, by order of the Bombay Government, assumed command of the troops in the field. On the 11th, four battering guns reached Samungurh, and were placed in position, and by the evening of the next day a practicable breach was effected. When the guns arrived, Mr. Reeves, the Commissioner, allowed the garrison the opportunity of a parley to state their grievances ; but he soon found that the Gurkhurees only desired to gain time, in expectation of support from Kolapoor, where, in the interim, the Sebundeas, encouraged by our supineness, had risen in open revolt, and seized and confined the Minister Dajee Pundit ; and where, in fact their leader, Baba-jee Thirakar had assumed the Government. Affairs were therefore allowed to take their course, and shortly before daylight on the morning of the 13th, the place was stormed and carried with little opposition. During the day, Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram accompanied a Wing of the 5th Madras Cavalry under command of Captain Graham and cut up a large body of malcontents who had collected in the neighbourhood with a view of supporting the garrison. Colonel Outram had joined General Delamotte's camp the day before the storm, in a political capacity, and henceforward, wherever employed, threw into all proceedings that moderation, energy

and ability, which have every where so strongly marked his career.

To save further bloodshed, the Joint Commissioners Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram, now offered, with certain exceptions, an amnesty to all who would immediately return to their allegiance. Few, if any, accepted the terms; a strong presumptive proof that the unfortunate men had real grievances. The day after the capture of Samungurh, Colonel Outram with Colonel Wallace and 500 men of his Brigade proceeded to Kaghal, one march from Kolapoor, with the view of procuring the release of the Minister who was imprisoned in the Fort of Panalla, as well as of supporting the Raja and well-affected chiefs against the disorderly troops and their disloyal leaders. The movements of the Head Quarters under General Delamotte were more dilatory and less decided. He did not leave Samungurh until the 20th October, and then hesitated a long time whether to move on Kolapoor or Bhoodurgurh, the garrison of which last place had on the 10th October plundered the British pergunnah of Chickooree, and robbed the local treasury. Whatever was to be done, should have been done quickly; expedition was every thing, and had a second blow, such as that at Samungurh, been speedily struck, in *any* direction, the probability is, that the insurrection would have been subdued.

There seems at this time to have been disunion in the counsels of the authorities, but their exact nature has not transpired. Government, evidently, was very ill informed as to the nature of the outbreak, or the means most likely to quell it. Like most other insurrections, it had in the first instance been mismanaged and trifled with; its dangers were then exaggerated; troops were poured into the country under hap-hazard commanders, and it was only at the last stage of proceedings that efficient means of tranquillization were adopted. On the 24th October, after much negotiation, and not until Colonel Wallace's detachment had been strengthened Dajee Pundit was released and the young Raja of Kolapoor with his aunt and mother and the majority of his chiefs left the city and joined the British camp. The movement had been strongly opposed by the Kolapoor troops, about 500 of whom under Babajee Thirakar, finding their wishes defeated, absconded and joined the Bhoodurgurh malcontents. Babajee may be regarded as the leader of the rebellion. He had imprisoned the Minister, usurped the government, and instigated the raid on Chickooree. He and certain other principals were,



therefore, excepted in an offer of amnesty which *was* held out to such as should return to their allegiance ; but, strange to say, when, General Delamotte *did* at last appear before Bhodurgurh with every means of speedily capturing the place, he admitted the garrison to a surrender ; and actually allowed himself on the evening of the 10th to be detained for several hours at one gate, while Babajee Thirakar with his party escaped from another. Thus was the flame spread, rather than extinguished ; for Babajee immediately moved to the still stronger fortress of Panalla, where the Kolapoorians imagined that as in olden time, a long, if not permanent, stand could be made against all comers.

On the 25th November, General Delamotte appeared before Panalla, where, Colonel Ovans, the Resident at Satara, was now imprisoned. This officer, who had lately been appointed Special Commissioner in the Southern Mahratta country to the supercession of both Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram, had been waylaid on the 17th November, while incautiously travelling by dak with a very slight escort from Satara to Kolapoor, and carried prisoner to Panalla. We pretend not to know the reason of Colonel Ovans' appointment, but after carefully comparing all we have heard on the subject, it is our belief that the Bombay Government, already in no good humour at the long continuance of hostilities, were at this time irritated by Colonel Outram's refusing to accept the permanent charge of the Kolapoor country, and therefore at once accepted the resignation, which he volunteered only on the expiration of hostilities. This must have been the real motive that actuated, perhaps unwittingly, the authorities, though they may have likewise disapproved of some particular measures he had pursued. We see at least no other mode of accounting for the act. The rumours and assertions circulated by a portion of the Press at the time must have been erroneous regarding the man who was selected to go to Kolapoor when affairs *looked black*, was offered the permanent civil management *when they looked blacker* ; was then employed as a Military Commander in putting an end to the war ; and has since the termination of hostilities been nominated to the charge of the Political and Military relations at Satara.

Whatever may have been the cause of Colonel Ovans' deputation, his career was thus summarily cut short, and the political management in the field remained in the hands of Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram. Strenuous endeavours were made by the Commissioners to effect the release of Colonel Ovans,

whom the malcontents vainly tried to make the means of ensuring their own safety. All their overtures were, however, disregarded; they were desired to release their prisoner and surrender at discretion, or stand the consequences. They did release him, hoping thereby to obtain terms of surrender, but they soon discovered their error.

On the 27th the Pettah was captured; and on the morning of the 1st December, the batteries opened. The same afternoon the breach, being reported practicable, was stormed and carried in gallant style. Some of the garrison endeavoured to escape into the adjoining Fort of Pawungurh, but were so closely followed by the British troops, that this second fortress fell into our hands the same day. Babajee Thirakar and some other ringleaders fell in the storm, and *many* prisoners were captured by the parties of troops judiciously placed in the plain around.

On the 5th December, Colonel Wallace with a Light Force proceeded against Rangna, seventy miles distant. He reached it on the 9th, the same day carried the Pettah, and the following night placed two guns and two mortars in position: their play, during the next day, caused the enemy after dark to evacuate the fort, and fly into the Sawunt-waree jungles. The principal fortresses of Kolapoor having thus fallen, their Gurkhurees being slain, imprisoned or dispersed, and the country being full of British troops, there was now a temporary lull; but it soon appeared that the theatre, only, of hostilities had changed, and that the war itself was as far as ever from a conclusion. Two thousand of the Waree people, under Phoond Sawunt, and Anna Sahib, the son of the Dessae, who were at this time devastating the Concan and stopping the roads, were joined by the fugitive Kolapoorians. From the nature of the country the military operations now became more difficult. Wherever an enemy can be approached, there is little cause for alarm. The strongest fortress or best intrenched position, if relied on, renders the occupiers the more certain prey. It is but a question of time; the result is certain. In a rocky, jungle country, however, abounding in deep, damp ravines, and in forest-covered hills and dells, and occupied by an acclimated people, the case is very different. In all such miasmatic localities, as long as malcontents are satisfied to fly to-day, to starve to-morrow, and altogether to live or die as the beasts around them, they may long baffle the operations of regular troops under ordinary Commanders. And thus it was that the Sawunt-waree people acted; and thereby created, even beyond their

own immediate limits, more alarm than their wretched means should have been permitted to do ; but the fact is, that our regulars are as little adapted for jungle fighting as were Aurungzebe's heavy Northmen to cope on their own ground, with Sivajee's light Mawulees and Hetkurees.

Troops employed in mountain and jungle warfare require something more than mere bull-dog bravery. Coolness, tact, activity and a general acquaintance, at least with similar localities are as necessary in the leader, as is some adaptation of his men to the enterprise. Soldiers that will fearlessly mount a breach, silently stand in array to be mown down by artillery, or unflinchingly hold their ranks to repel repeated charges of cavalry, will falter under a dropping fire from unseen foes. Men must be familiar with rock, ravine and jungle, to fight well among them. It is curious how ill we generally make our selections from our ample and varied resources—employing grenadiers as bush-rangers, and keeping riflemen for garrison duty—pushing into the front of battle men who are fit only for the Invalids, and keeping the young and active soldiers of every rank comparatively in the back ground. We generally get so well out of our scrapes that the waste of blood and treasure is too little considered ; and few lessons are gained from past experience.

Fortunately for Government, the man they wanted was at hand. Colonel Outram who was now, about the end of December, at Bombay, with the intention of proceeding to Europe, at once forgot past neglect and past injuries, and came forward to rescue the Government from their difficulties. He volunteered to return to the seat of war, and there organise and lead a light corps. Nobly did he fulfil the large expectations that were now centred in him. Within a fortnight he was again in the field, the soul of all active measures ; his very advanced guard driving before them the half-armed rabble that had kept three brigades at bay.

Never was the magic power of one man's presence more striking, than on Outram's return to the seat of war. It might seem invidious were we to dwell on the panic that then prevailed at Vingorla and Waree, but the slightest glance at the proceedings in those quarters will shew that the insurgents had inspired a ridiculously formidable idea of their own importance. All communications had long been cut off ; the posts were brought *by long sea* from Malwan to Vingorla, and many of the inhabitants of this latter place nightly took refuge in boats in the harbour. The troops were harassed with patrolling duty,

yet the neighbourhood was rife with murders and robberies, the perpetrators of which sent insulting messages to the authorities. On one occasion a religious meeting was dispersed by a wag suddenly calling out that the enemy were upon them. Vingorla, be it remembered, stands in an open country.

At Waree, matters were if possible still worse ; there the troops remained as in blockade, not a soul venturing beyond the lines. All outposts were called in and the malcontents permitted to consider themselves masters of the field. When the garrison was reinforced by the arrival of the 10th and a part of the Bombay Native Infantry the authorities determined to occupy the gorge of the valley of Seevapoor, in which lay the villages of the insurgent Phoond Sawunt, and thus cut off this focus of rebellion from the less disturbed districts. The scheme was a good one, but failed from the manner in which its execution was attempted. A detachment of two hundred sepoy set out ; they were *sniped* at from the jungle and one man was wounded, when instead of closing with the enemy, they took post in a sort of enclosure, and were soon beset by increased numbers. A reinforcement of two hundred men joined them, but the combined force, after losing twenty killed and wounded, retreated to Waree. This success, of course, increased the confidence of the insurgents whose insolence was not restrained even by the arrival soon after of Her Majesty's 2nd Regiment. They gave out that they were tired of thrashing sepoy and wished to try the metal of the "*Lambs*." They soon obtained an opportunity of proving their metal, but the sight of that fine corps was too much for their nerves. The Europeans were then kept idle, first at Waree, then at Dukhun-waree, and full scope was given to the activity of the enemy.

At this juncture, Outram landed at Vingorla, where, picking up two or three excellent Officers, he pushed on to Waree, and thence towards Seevapoor. From this date, the 14th January, matters took a turn ; hitherto the three brigades had been playing bo-peep with the enemy, and from the tops of the Ghats, examining through telescopes, the stockades below, which the Commanders did not think it prudent to attack. But now, at length, a decided movement was announced for hemming in the rebels in the valley of Seevapoor. Twelve hundred men were placed under Outram, with orders to beat up the low ground from Waree towards the forts of Munohur and Munsuntosh ; Colonel Carruthers, with a brigade, was to occupy the Seevapoor valley on the other side of the ridge

on which those forts are situated ; while Colonel Wallace was on a given day to descend the Ghats, and it was reckoned that his troops, dove-tailing with those under the immediate command of General Delamotte, would complete the encirclement of the rebels. This is not the time or place for commenting on Colonel Wallace's descent of the Elephant Rock, and premature attack on the open village of Seevapoer. That officer probably thought that he acted for the best, but we doubt whether disobedience to orders can ever be so viewed. Without any disparagement of his personal courage, we cannot help thinking that Colonel Wallace manifested a very contradictory estimate of the enemy's strength. If they had been as formidable as he considered them, then his descent of the rock, exposed to such a foe, was absolute infatuation. Nothing but their weakness and cowardice could justify the risk. But if the foe was so contemptible, he could have easily taken the route *he was desired*, driven them from stockade to stockade, *at the time ordered*, and thus completing the chain of operation, have probably ensured the apprehension of every individual rebel Chief. Much have the merits of Colonel Wallace's case been debated, but we cannot perceive how he could have expected to escape a Court Martial, though he may have reckoned on ensuring an honorable acquittal from the nature of his offence. There seems, however to us, no more resemblance between his disobedience at the Elephant Rock and Nelson's at Copenhagen, than there is between the fame of the two offenders. Judgment having been already pronounced on Colonel Wallace by a military tribunal, we should have avoided referring to his case, could our narrative have been otherwise rendered intelligible.

To return to Colonel Outram. No communication was practicable between the troops above and below the Ghats, and he was left with his small band to his own resources, without definite orders, and with very scanty supplies, to carry out the most difficult operation of the campaign. Merrily and confidently he advanced through the wild sylvan scenes never before trod by European foot. The ears of his people were now daily saluted by the echo of the artillery on the overhanging Ghats, sounds which could only be supposed to indicate "the tug of war" above, and loss of ribbons and laurels to those below. But such fears were soon relieved by finding that the firing was only Colonel Wallace's long practice with extra charges from the summit of the Elephant Rock at the village Seevapoer, some three miles distant in the Concan below.

Each day Outram found points of his route stockaded by the enemy, but they never made a stand, the advanced guard and skirmishers being generally sufficient to disperse the wretched rabble. At length, on the 20th of January, a combined movement was ordered upon the high peak to the west of Munsuntosh. The main attack was to be made by Colonel Carruthers, who, supported by a portion of Colonel Wallace's brigade, was to carry some stockades in his front, and then move up the Dukhun-waree or Seevapoor side of the ridge, while Colonel Outram was to make a diversion from the Shirsarjee or Gotia valley. This last detachment performed their part ; but, on reaching the summit of the peak, from which an extensive view was commanded, no sign appeared of either brigade. They saw the stockades which Colonel Carruthers was to have attacked, but which being now taken in flank were abandoned, the enemy flying to Munsuntosh, within eight hundred yards of which fort Outram established a post. Colonel Carruthers' brigade had been prevented by the nature of the country from taking their full share in the operations of the day. The next morning another combined movement was made on the village of Gotia, immediately below the forts ; again the nature of the country favoured Outram, the advanced guard of whose detachment captured the village with all its stockades, though very strongly situated.

From these brief details we may infer how easily the war might have been terminated, months sooner, by more decided measures. The enemy had only to be reached to be routed. The troops, both Bombay and Madras, were ready for their work, but a spirit of undue caution and delay prevailed at Head Quarters.

We cannot understand how it happened, but Colonel Outram was now left unsupported to carry on operations against Munsuntosh. One of those accidents which no human foresight can obviate, frustrated his attempt to gain that fortress by a coup-de-main. He carried three stockades below the fort, attempted to blow open a gate, failed, and was driven back with considerable loss. He held his ground, however, high upon the ridge, retained possession of the stockades, and was on the eve of again storming the fortress, when the enemy evacuated not only Munsuntosh, but the adjoining fort of Munohur. Outram had skilfully thrown out parties to command the debouches from the south and south-west faces of the forts, leaving the remaining portions of the cordon to be filled up by the brigades. Colonel Wallace however failed on his part,

and thus suffered the rebel Chiefs, who had all been engaged, to escape over the Sisadrug ridge, close to one of his posts, into the Goa territory. Outram followed hard upon their track, had several skirmishes, took many prisoners, and on one occasion, nearly captured the Chiefs. Again he scoured the wild country beneath the Ghats, encouraging the loyal, and beating up the disaffected villages. The nature and value of his services during the operations we have glanced at, are not to be measured by the actual opposition experienced or loss sustained, but by the estimate formed by other Commanders of the obstacles and enemy to be encountered, and by the fact that the rapid and skilful movements of his small detachment, terminated in a few days, an organised opposition which had for six weeks kept at a bay three brigades, differently handled. The total silence of Government, and the non-publication of any opinion regarding the Sawunt-waree operations, might at first sight lead to the inference that Outram's management gave as little satisfaction as did that of his fellow Commanders. But the promotion since bestowed on him, amply proves that Government took the same view of his conduct throughout the campaign as did General Delamotte, Colonels Brough and Wallace, and indeed all his comrades. Outram's is an almost isolated instance of a man receiving not only civil promotion but brevet rank, without his good fortune exciting jealousy; a remarkable exception, only to be explained by his rare qualities as a soldier, and his conciliatory demeanour as a man.

The tone of our remarks upon Colonel Outram may savour of partial panegyric to those of our readers who have not followed out his career as we have done. No personal feelings, however, can mingle in our praise of a man whom we have never seen, and whom we know only by his public acts. Those who have watched his course, will probably concur in our eulogiums; indeed, any unprejudiced man, reading the despatches published during the war, the proceedings of Colonel Wallace's Court Martial, and the discussions which they elicited at the three Presidencies, must acknowledge that every affair in which Outram had a voice, was carried out with an energy and promptitude, very unlike the procrastinating indecision perceptible elsewhere. He arrived at Samungurh,—the fortress was carried forthwith; and (what so rarely happens in Indian operations) the success was immediately followed up by despatching Captain Graham to disperse the enemy's covering force; a work which that officer ably accomplished. Again, in the despatch published by the Bombay Government, we see

Outram mentioned as "the man, who volunteered his services, "and was among the foremost who entered the fort of Panal-la." The reader has only to contrast the whole conduct of his detachment, from the 16th of January to the conclusion of hostilities, with any other operations of the campaign, and he will bear us out in the opinion that he was the soul of every decided measure.

If our narrative has kept to Colonel Outram's detachment, it is for the simple reason that they appear to have had all the fighting to themselves. No discredit thereby attaches to the troops under the other Commanders who were always ready for action, and who, when opportunity offered, as at Samungurh and Panalla, behaved with the accustomed gallantry of the Madras and Bombay Armies.

We must wind up this hasty, though perhaps prolix, sketch of Sawunt-waree affairs. By the capture of Munohur and Munsuntosh the strength of the insurrection was broken. The strongholds of the rebels were taken, their boldest leaders slain or captured, and all others to the number, as already stated, of forty, fled for shelter to Goa. Outram was then again called on to act the diplomatist. His parties still followed up the remaining small marauding bands, while he himself proceeded to Goa, and by the union of firmness and conciliation induced the Portuguese authorities to remove their *sympathisers* from the frontier, and to substitute a cordon of such troops as would prevent the Goa territory being made the place of ambush from which the insurgent should at discretion devastate Sawunt-waree. And now we may be permitted to congratulate Government on their selection of such a man as Colonel Outram to the important duties of the Satara Residency. Our satisfaction would be increased could we persuade the authorities to give him such assistants as he can trust at Satara and Waree, and place him in authority at the central post of Kolapoor with combined powers as Resident, Commissioner, and Military Commander.

Improved arrangements, we are aware, have already been made. The Anglo-native Agent at Kolapoor has been replaced by an able British officer, and in Sawunt-waree there could not be a better Local Superintendent than the officer lately appointed. Captain Jacob is, like Colonel Outram, a good soldier as well as an able and conciliating Civil officer. Such are the men required; men who, personally despising danger, are forward in the hour of action, and reckless of their own blood, are chary of that of others. In no quarter of India are



such men more appreciated than in the Southern Mahratta country, where their names alone are worth Regiments. They will preserve peace if it is to be preserved, and if the sword must be drawn, will carry on war, so that it shall speedily end in permanent and prosperous tranquillity.

After more than six months of military operations, and the employment of nearly ten thousand troops, in so insignificant a corner of India, peace has been secured, or, more correctly, war has ceased. Let us now by honestly and carefully looking into past abuses and errors, and by not too rigorously judging those who have been driven or reduced to misconduct, secure the future tranquillity of the country. This can be effected only by a *permanent* system of good management *consonant to the spirit of the people*. We should remember that rude tribes are not ripe for refined institutions, and that it is better to work on quietly, slowly, and surely, than to risk new convulsions by sudden, even though beneficial changes. The people of Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree have, we believe, been partially disarmed and many of their fortresses have been dismantled. Both these measures should be completed. Broad military roads should also be constructed to intersect these territories in all directions and the jungle cleared at least a hundred feet on either side. Such operations will involve present expense, but they will prevent future sacrifices. No country, such as that under notice, can be reckoned secure until those responsible for its peace have facilities for quickly reaching its most remote corners at all seasons of the year.

Half a dozen good officers under such a man as Colonel Outram might, in a few years, wipe away the reproach that is now attached to our name in the South Mahratta country. Under their supervision, all real rights and immunities would be clearly defined and speedily established, and all imaginary claims dismissed. A revenue system would be organized calculated to protect the cultivator from undue exaction, and a scheme of police might be enforced that would make the rock and the bush too hot for marauders. The Mankurees, Chiefs, and Jaghirdars would settle down into their places. The Raja of Kolapoor and the Sin Dessace of Sawunt-waree, would each, also, find his level; they would respectively be the pageants that mild, meek sovereigns in the East, who have the good fortune to possess *wise and virtuous* Viziers, usually are. They would be treated with respect, and they would profit by the amelioration of their territories. The labour, the responsibility, and let us not forget, *the honor of all improvements*, would belong to the

British officials, who eschewing the fiction of a double government, putting aside all screens of Dewans, Ministers or Karbarees, would openly stand forward as the avowed managers of the country, on behalf of the ruling power.

The readers of this journal will observe that we distinguish between the cases of these Mahratta States and that of Oude, where every measure short of superseding the King has been fruitlessly tried. Our relations with Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree stand in a different position. We have ourselves been for years the managers of these countries: the present disorganisation has been matured before our own eyes, and in our own hands; we should therefore nurture our charge until its health is thoroughly recruited, and restore full sovereignty to the legitimate Princes if we can then find among them any whose characters will justify that measure; otherwise we must continue to be the direct managers, and persevere in a course so manifestly advantageous to the hereditary Chiefs themselves. No pains should be spared to explain to them the eventual intentions of Government in their favour, and they should be as clearly informed, that intrigue or treachery will, at once and for ever, forfeit their thrones. Free personal communication on the part of the European Superintendents with these Princes, and constant, though not intrusive endeavours to enlighten their minds, may gradually effect much. But whatever be the result, the British Government will have done its duty, and the good administration of the country will have been secured, either in our own hands or in those of the hereditary rulers.

We are quite aware of the difficulties in the way of our scheme, and of the tact that will be required to carry it out, but we are not the less confident of the result, if the superintendence of affairs is entrusted to the hands we have suggested. Intrigue, nay rebellion, may at first arise; but it will not be repeated, if summarily and decidedly dealt with. As our scheme admits of no *just* cause being given for insurrection, and provides that determined malignancy shall receive no quarter, we can perceive no likelihood of the arrangement meeting with prolonged opposition. It is the spasmodic tyranny of weak rulers that invites continual attack. The Government that is one day oppressive, the next cowardly, and the third day frantically vengeful, may fairly calculate on insurrections on every emergency. The British administration of the present day happily acts in another spirit, and the East India Company has only, where legitimate openings offer, to carry among the ryots of its protected Princes some portion of the benevolence

that now influences its dealings towards its own subjects, and protected India will soon assume a new aspect. Blessings will then be poured out in many a rich plain and fruitful valley, where curses are now plentifully showered on those who have, unwittingly, given over the husbandman, the strength and marrow of the land, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of his irresponsible tyrants.

NOTE.—The deliberate opinion we have formed of Colonel Outram, has in no respect been altered by the perusal of that florid romance, entitled "the Conquest of Scinde" concocted by the Governor of Guernsey from facts and fictions furnished by the Government of Scinde. The foregoing remarks were written before the appearance of Colonel Outram's letter to General Napier; a letter that was not needed to set "the Bayard of the Indian Army" (as Sir Charles Napier in an inspired moment happily designated him), right in the eyes of the Indian public. Still less do they require a further vindication of his conduct, though they will welcome every item of information that he may feel justified in giving. We fearlessly assert that every right-minded man, acquainted with the progress of events during the year 1842, not only acquits Colonel Outram of the absurd and contradictory charges alleged against him by the Napiers, but recognises in his conduct throughout Scinde transactions both Civil and Military, the spirit of a soldier, a gentleman, and a Christian. We may hereafter have the gratification of sketching the career of this much-abused man, who, with a singularly conciliatory and kindly disposition, had the fortune to incur the hatred of two first rate haters (Lord Keane and Sir Charles Napier): men, too, who fully appreciated his good qualities, till his manliness and honesty thwarted their own views. In the year 1838, Outram carried to Afghanistan a character such as could not be paralleled by any officer of his standing in India. His services during the first Afghan campaign were second to those of no officer then and there employed. Had he remained in the Ghilzee country or at Khelat many of our disasters might have been averted.

But it is by his civil management, first, of lower Scinde, and then of both the Upper and Lower Provinces and of all Belochistan, that Outram has won our highest admiration. When the European inhabitants of Calcutta trembled for our Indian empire; when, in the highest places, men grew pale at the evil tidings from Afghanistan, Outram held his frontier post with a firm hand, a brave heart, and cheerful tone that *ought* to have been contagious. Vigilant, conciliatory, and courageous, he managed, with his handful of troops, not only to prevent the Ameers from taking advantage of our disasters, but to induce them to aid in furnishing supplies and carriage for the relieving, then considered, the retreating army. The merits of his exertions on that occasion are little understood. He obeyed, as was his duty; but he did not the less clearly perceive the ruinous tendency of the Government orders. He had the moral courage to sacrifice his own immediate interests by stemming the then prevalent tide of cowardly counsel. James Outram in one quarter, and George Clerk,—a kindred spirit,—in another, were the two who then stood in the breach;

who *forced* the authorities to listen to the fact against which they tried to close their ears, that the proposed abandonment of the British prisoners in Afghanistan would be as dangerous to the state as it was base towards the captives. These counsels were successfully followed : the British nation thanked our Indian rulers, while, of the two men, without whose persevering remonstrances and exertions Nott and Pollock might have led back their armies, without being permitted to make an effort to retrieve our credit—Clerk was slighted, and Outram superseded. As cheerfully as he had stepped forward did Outram now retire, and again when his services were required was he ready to act in the field, in willing subordination to the officer who had benefited by his supercession.

The Napiers accuse Outram of jeopardizing the British Army in Scinde : this is mere nonsense. His negotiations, followed up by Sir Charles Napier's acts, were sufficient to endanger his own life. They did so, and nothing but his own brilliant gallantry and that of his small escort rescued them from the toils. The British Army was able to take care of it itself. Had Outram, however, when deputed to Hyderabad, been permitted the *fair discretion* that his position demanded ; had he been authorised definitely to promise any responsible terms, his abilities and his character would have secured an honourable peace ; but it was not in human nature that the Ameers should long continue to listen to an Envoy sent to demand every thing and to offer nothing. This was not negotiating, it was dragooning. A British Officer, escorted by a single Company, was not the proper delegate for such a mission. Sir Charles Napier at the head of his army was the fitting Ambassador.

Outram's chivalrous defence of his assistant Lieutenant Hammersly is one of the many instances in which he advocated the right at the peril of his own interests. Hammersly was as brave, as honest-hearted a young soldier as ever fell a victim to his duty. We knew him well, and no one who did so need be ashamed to shed a tear over his fate. He was literally sacrificed *for telling the truth*—a truth, too, that was of vital importance to the beleaguered Candahar army—nay, to the interests of British India. Peace be to the memory of this noble fellow.

## THE PORTUGUESE IN NORTH INDIA.

BY REV. J. LONG.

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10. *Di Barros, Decadas.* 15 tomes, 12mo. Lesboa, 1777.
11. *Description Historique et Geographique de l'Inde*, par M. Bernouilli. Berlin, 1786, 3 tomes.
12. *Buchanan, Rev. C. Christian Researches in Asia*, 1811.
13. *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquestes des Portuguais*, par J. Lafitau. Paris, 1733.
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THE agency of steam in the present day is breaking down those barriers which isolated and detached nations from one another, and is impressing more strongly on the different communities of the earth the great truth—that however they may vary from one another in consequence of climate, food, institutions civil and religious,—still they form members of the one great human family. Hence one source of the interest of surveying the past, and observing the various links by which the two great continents of Europe and Asia have been more

closely united. Asia the cradle of the arts and sciences, is now receiving from Europe through this intercourse, all the principles of a higher civilization and pure religion. The affiliation of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian and Russian languages with one another, as well as the close correspondence between the Druidical and Indian mythologies, shew that Europe and Asia have from the earliest times been intimately connected by the two great ties of language and religion. The opinion seems now to be generally adopted, that the plains of Babylonia were the central point from which mankind after the deluge started in separate bodies to people and colonize the earth—one stream proceeding to India—another to China—another to Egypt—and another along the western shores of Asia Minor into Europe across the Dardanelles.

The Phenicians and other nations carried on trade at an early period with the Western coasts of India ; Sesostris marched an army to the banks of the Ganges ; the Persians under Darius maintained commercial intercourse with the Panjab : but it is to the era of Alexander we are to look for the connection which sprung up between Europe and Asia. *Alexander* has long been too much regarded in the light of a mere warrior :—he aimed at rendering his conquests subservient to the advancement of science. Hence for our earliest accurate geographical information concerning India we are indebted to the officers and engineers who accompanied his army ; their itineraries have afforded the materials for the great geographical work of Eratosthenes ; had the life of Alexander been prolonged, the Cape route would probably have been discovered many centuries before the time of Vasco di Gama. As one of Alexander's great objects was to unite his Asiatic and European subjects " he encouraged the Persian nobles to imitate the manners of the Macedonians, to learn the Greek language, and to acquire a relish for the beauties of the elegant writers in that tongue : he resolved to marry one of the daughters of Darius, and chose wives for a hundred of his principal officers in the most illustrious Persian families ; in imitation of them, above ten thousand Macedonians, of inferior rank, married Persian women." He designed to have made Alexandria the centre of commerce, Babylon the seat of government, and Greece the reservoir of arts and sciences ; above all he was a friend to *colonization*, that "by reciprocal marriages and intermixtures, peace and concord might be established between the two great continents of the world"—and yet this valuable system of colonization, which was acted on so successfully by Alexander 2,000 years ago, was

long went to encounter the most pertinacious resistance from the East India Company, who appeared to maintain the monstrous opinion that *European* settlement in India was a *curse*. Alexander knew full well that colonization was the soul of commercial enterprise.

Alexander proceeded no farther than the Ravi. *Megasthenes* was the first European who beheld the Ganges: he was ambassador from Seleucus to the king of the Prasii, or inhabitants of the Gangetic Valley, who were prepared to oppose the Macedonians on the banks of the Ganges with an army of 200,000 infantry, and 20,000 cavalry. Megasthenes resided several years in the city of Palibothra, probably Patna, or Bhaglipur, and published a description of India which has furnished materials for the statistical accounts of the country given by Strabo, Arrian and Diodorus Siculus. Colonel Francklin in his Palibothra cites Megasthenes' remarks on the Prasii. *Bactria* was the seat of Grecian empire for 130 years, until overthrown 126 B. C. by hordes of Tartars, who poured in on it from the confines of China: the Greek kings of Bactria carried on an extensive commerce with India, and had possession of the country near the mouths of the Indus. The Greek coins which have been found lately in such quantities in the Panjab, Kabul, &c.—the inscriptions on which have been deciphered by the indefatigable labours of Lassen, Prinsep, &c.,—bear witness to the extent of Grecian influence at one time on our North-Western frontier. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* gives drawings and descriptions of all those coins. The Romans by their conquest of Egypt were brought into commercial connection with India and imported from thence spices, pearls and silk. Roman ladies were clad 1800 years ago in Dacca cottons, and Roman ships frequented Satgang, probably the Ganges Regia of Ptolemy.

From the conquest of Bactria by the Tartars to the time of Albuquerque no European power held any sway in India. The *Arabs*, floated in on the tide of Moslem conquest, introduced their literature, language and religion into it: the famous Kaliph, Aaran Al Reschid, the contemporary of Charlemagne, sent Missionaries of the Koran to preach up their creed from the banks of the Ganges to the isles of the Indian Ocean. The Crusades, "a reaction against the Propagandist spirit of the Moslems in the seventh century," broke in on the slumbers of the middle ages, and awoke the mercantile classes of Europe to a sense of the importance of Asia, and poured in a flood of new ideas on the subject of the East. Rubruquis a monk, sent by Saint Louis of France as ambassador to the Great Khan

of Tartary 1253, gave much information to Europe respecting those parts of Central Asia, for which we are now indebted for information chiefly to Russian authors : Marco Polo also co-operated in the same object. The reign of Genghis Khan may be viewed as the era of modern discovery ; his conquests opened out the routes of Tartary and induced the princes of Europe to send ambassadors into deserts, hitherto regarded as impenetrable, in order to make alliances.

But the day of India's *isolation* from the great European community was drawing to a close. When Vasco di Gama seized the helm from the hands of his dastardly crew, and steered his ship safely round the Cape of Storms, the death knell of the non-intercourse system was sounded, and from that time forward India was to be increasingly open to European light and influence. Singular that the three nations which held most territorial possession in India, had little territory themselves in Europe ! England, which now occupies the throne of Timur, was in the 15th century, "a remote island in the northern Ocean." The *Dutch*, amid their marshes and mud banks, resisted for forty years the power of Charles the 5th and Philip the 2d—two of the mightiest monarchs in Europe—the chivalry of Spain, and the exterminating fury of the Inquisition aided by the Duke of Alva, who boasted that he had put 18,000 heretics to death by the hands of the common executioner during his administration in the Netherlands : as Voltaire remarks, "The Dutch became powerful without possessing much land, rich without having the means to support the twentieth part of their own people, and great in Europe, by labours at the extremity of Asia." The history of no country in the world displays a nobler exhibition of moral courage in defence of national independence, than does that of the Dutch as detailed by Watson in his *Life of Philip the 2nd*—men who at the siege of Leyden, when asked to surrender by the Spaniards, replied that, rather than do so, they would feed on their left arm and fight with their right,—they let in the sea, flooded the country, and lived on soup made from the hides of animals.

No conquests so great and important had ever been made with *so small a force* as that which the Portuguese brought into India. The Portuguese, a "little body with a mighty soul," occupied territory on the western extremity of Europe, 300 miles long and 100 broad, the population of which even in 1827 amounted to only three millions ; as Faria De Sousa, their national historian, remarks, "The narrow bounds of the kingdom of Portugal could no longer contain the greatness of its native hearts : therefore carried on by a glorious boldness, they far extended



their limits, they infinitely exceeded the measure of the first matter : they followed the sun from his setting to his rising and equalled his course." The kingdom of Portugal was founded in 1090 by Alphonso the sixth of Castile, and extended itself in the twelfth century along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese had chased the Moors out of Portugal, had pursued them into Africa, had conquered Fez and Morocco, and extended themselves along the western coast of Africa, until they had planted the standard of Portugal in Macao, Diu, Goa, Mozambique, Congo and Guinea. A new scene opened upon them in India : the same century witnessed the fall of Grenada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and of America by Columbus. But the man to whom the whole human race will ever lie under deep and lasting obligations is *Don Henry* of Portugal. Of royal birth, at an early age he fought against the Moors of Africa, more anxious to subject them to the laws of Christianity, than to the political power of Portugal : his motto was *talent de bien faire* ; he supported his superiority of rank by a superiority of merit : he was well skilled in mathematical science, and retired from the gaiety of the court to a place near Cape St. Vincent, where he pondered over the great subject of maritime discovery : far different schemes filled his head in this retreat than did Napoleon's when in St. Helena. He encouraged a commercial spirit,—hence when the Canaries were discovered under his auspices, he had many cattle placed there to breed : he sent to Cyprus and Sicily for sugar-canes, and to the Archipelago for vines to plant in those islands : he spent much money in the encouragement of learning, and infused a taste for science into the nobility, many of whom he taught at his own expense : his philosophy was practical—for the good of the world. Don Henry began his career of discovery in 1412 : he was ahead of the age : many of the Portuguese nobles objected to his expeditions. Why, said they, should men go on discovery, when there is so much to do in conquering the Moors in Africa, when there is so much uncultivated land in Portugal, when there are so many shipwrecks in unknown seas. Don Emanuel, who trod in the steps of Don Henry, had also a host of objections to meet—that India was too far—that there was danger of exciting all the Mussulman powers against Portugal—and that the expense was too great.

But undismayed by obstacles, the hardy bands of Portuguese adventurers pushed on in their conquest of India. In 1494, the kings of Spain and Portugal divided the Eastern and Western world between them ; the king of Spain took the West beginning with America, the king of Portugal all East of the Cana-

ries ; this treaty was ratified by the Pope. In 1508, the Portuguese flag waved triumphantly from the straits of Gibraltar to Abyssinia and from Ormus to Malacca ; in 1528 Portugal possessed Mangalore, Cochin, Ceylon, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Negapatam, so that as an old traveller remarks, " her commerce and empire of the sea made Portugal the least part of the Portuguese crown." The Moors, who, on the Portuguese arriving in India, had a monopoly of the trade between Europe, India and Africa in their hands, in 1563 could not trade in the Red Sea or Persian Gulph without the permission of the Portuguese, as otherwise their ships would have been captured. Their energy was indomitable : Portuguese women fought bravely at the siege of Diu in 1538, when besieged by the Turks ; no sieges in modern times, not even those during the last Peninsular war, display more courage than the Portuguese exhibited at the two sieges of Diu, with a small number against an overwhelming host of Mussalmans from Egypt : the Portuguese women of Goa sold their jewels to defray the expenses of the war. Goa became their metropolis and was the resort of merchants from Arabia, Persia, America, Cambay, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Java, Malacca and China.

BENGAL, styled by Aurungzeb, " the paradise of nations," attracted at an early period the attention of the Portuguese. Don Carreri writes in 1695, " Bengal is accounted the most fertile kingdom the Mogul has, by reason of its rivers ; it has a great trade in silk, calico and other stuffs." John Sylveira was the first Portuguese who came to Bengal ; he arrived in 1518, and remained there a long time " learning the commodities of the country and the manners of the people." In 1534, the Viceroy of Goa sent a fleet of nine ships to assist the reigning Nawab against the invader Sher Khan. The Portuguese never established a regular government in Bengal as in other parts of India ; numbers of *adventurers* hired themselves out as soldiers to native powers near the Ganges or turned pirates ; " they lived without law and with much superstition." In 1538 a large body of Portuguese entered Bengal as military adventurers in the service of the King of Gaur—37 years before Gaur, the glory of Bengal, " the seat of a hundred Kings," the abode of pomp and power and splendour for 2,000 years, had yielded to the effects of plague and was reduced to a desert—a second Palmyra. Bernier, who travelled in India in 1655, and has given one of the most faithful accounts of the country, writes, " Bengal is the place of good comfits, specially in those places where the Portuguese are, who are dexterous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. In Bengal there is such a store

of pork that the Portuguese, settled there, live almost on nothing else. Bengal is a country abounding in all things, and it is for this very reason that so many Portuguese Mesticos (half-castes) and other Christians are fled hither from those quarters the Dutch have taken from them : in Ougli there are eight thousand souls of Christians."

The SUNDERBUNDS are a part of Bengal which inflict an indelible stain on the character of the Portuguese. In their present wild, jungly state, the abode of tigers, rhinoceroses and alligators, the seat of malaria, we see the effects of Portuguese piracy co-operating with Mug atrocity. Bernier gives the following statement : " These many years (he wrote 1655) there have been in the Kingdom of Rakan (Arrakan) some Portuguese, and with them a great number of their Christian slaves and other Feringuish, gathered from all parts. That was the refuge of the runaways from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malaguc, and all those other places which the Portuguese formerly held in the Indies : and they were such as had abandoned monasteries ; men that had been twice or thrice married ; murderers in a word, *such as had deserved the rope, were most welcome* and most esteemed there, leading in that country a life that was very detestable and altogether unworthy of Christians, insomuch that they impunely butchered and poisoned one another, and *assassinated their own priests, who sometime were not better than themselves*. With some small and light gallies they did nothing but coast about the sea, and entering into all rivers thereabout, and into the channels and arms of the Ganges, and between all these isles of the lower Bengal, and often penetrating so far as forty or fifty leagues up into the country, surprised and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts and weddings of the poor Gentiles and others of that country, making women slaves, great and small, with strange cruelty, and *burning all they could not carry away*. And thence it is that there are seen in the mouth of the Ganges so many fine isles quite deserted, which were *formerly well peopled*, and where no other inhabitants are found but wild beasts, and especially tigers." This rabble ruined and despoiled all the lower parts of Bengal. The remains of old buildings found in wild parts of the Sunderbunds corroborate this statement of Bernier, as also the fact that, in all the very ancient maps, *cities are marked down in the Sunderbunds* ; in the map of Bengal given in the Decadas di Barros, several cities are marked down in the Sunderbunds. Conti, a noble Venetian traveller, about 1450, came to the mouth of the Ganges, and writes that the banks were covered with beautiful cities and gardens.

Fryer, a traveller of 1680, remarks, "the Bay of Bengal being infested as much as the coast by outlawed Portuguese; *the most cursedly base of all mankind which are known*, this *bastard brood* lurking in the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, by the name of Buccaneers." Captain Hamilton who travelled in India between 1688 and 1723 and is a good authority, writes, "the first safe anchoring place in the river, is off the mouth of a river about twelve leagues above Sagor, commonly known by the name of *Rogue's river*, which had that appellation from some banditti Portuguese who were followers of Sultan Sujah, when Emirjemal, Aurungzeb's General, drove that unfortunate prince out of his province of Bengal; for those Portuguese having no way to subsist, after their master's flight to the kingdom of Arrakan, betook themselves to piracy among the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, and that river having communication with all the channels from Xatigam to the westward from this river, they used to sally out and commit depredations on those that traded in the river of Húgli." An inundation and subsidency of the land also contributed to the depopulation of the Sunderbunds as well as the piracy of the Mugs. In 1616, the King of Arrakan, having conquered Sundip, devastated the lower districts of Bengal, carrying away into slavery the inhabitants. Bolts, in his "India Affairs," states that the Sunderbunds were abandoned, about 1620, by their inhabitants, in consequence of the ravages of the Mugs; "this tract is extremely fertile and was formerly as remarkably populous."

The Portuguese settled in DACCA, during the reign of Akbar, shortly after they had selected a spot for their residence at Húgli. Dacca had then a population of 200,000 and was the resort of merchants from various parts of Asia. The Portuguese erected a convent, where "they celebrated the divine worship in the midst of that most vast paganism." Manrique, an Augustinian friar, sent in 1612 to the Bengal Mission, states that the maulavis at Dacca endeavoured to terrify the people, saying that God's wrath would be poured out on them, because they "permitted the residence of Kaffres, who eat pork and drank wine, out of pure hatred to Mahommed." When Akbar heard of it, he sent positive orders that the Portuguese should receive no injury of any description; he even offered them an assignment of the *révenue* on the land, but the Portuguese refused it, as they knew such presents were made with the hope of inducing a greater number of merchants to frequent the place, and if this expectation were frustrated, fresh insults would be poured on them until they would be obliged to leave the

country. In 1590 Cæsar Fredericke, a famous traveller, describes the Nawab of Dacca as " a great friend to Christians." Tavernier (about 1670) mentions that Dacca has " a Church of the Augustinians, of brick, a very stately pile." The Moguls were obliged in 1608 to remove the seat of their Government in Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca, in order to exercise closer supervision over the Portuguese at the mouth of the river, who were under the command of Gonzales, formerly a common sailor, aided by the Mugs. A number of Portuguese settled in 1666, on lands granted them by the Mogul Governor of Dacca at Feringy Bazaar, a place twelve miles from Dacca. They fixed themselves, in the middle of the 16th century at Seripur, about eighteen miles South of Sonergang ; when visited by the traveller Fitch in 1586, they had the sole authority in that part of the country. There is a Portuguese Chapel at Housanabad in the Furridupur Zillah : 2,148 persons were baptised between 1818-37. Bhowal has a Portuguese Chapel also : 3,208 were baptised there between 1801-37. McCosh, in his " Assam," states there are about sixty Portuguese in Assam, the remnants of Portuguese soldiers, once employed by the Nawab of Dacca : they are Romanists, and each family has some rude image, commonly of the Virgin Mary, cut upon a post and stuck into the ground after the manner of the Hindus ; they pay no more regard to the Sabbath than any of the other Natives ; in dress and habits they are not to be distinguished from the Natives, and sometimes marry Mussalman women ; some are occupied as herdsmen and others as Chup-rassies. T. C. Plowden, Esq., who resided at Noacally in the Tipperah District in 1821, wrote that the Christian population residing there are the descendants of the Portuguese, who settled at Chittagong a century ago ; that many of the families are so entirely incorporated with the Natives of the country as hardly to bear a distinguishing mark, except in the name of Feringis or Christians ; " they are of the lowest of the people, are extremely poor : in their manners, habits and condition there is no difference between them and the lower orders of the Natives ; and tho' they profess the Roman Catholic religion, they are entirely ignorant of its doctrines and tenets, and from their long residence among Hindus and Mahommedans are much inclined to their opinions. Some maintain themselves and their families as servants to the planters, zemindars, &c. ; but the most of them are engaged by Talukdars for the cultivation of their lands : a few can read and write the Bengali language ; about two or three are possessed of a small quantity of land."

When Job Charnock settled in CALCUTTA 1689, a number

of Portuguese accompanied him from Húgli ; he gave them a piece of ground of ten bigahs to erect a Church on ; the Augustinian Friars built a Chapel of mats and straw on it, but the congregation having increased in wealth and numbers, a Mrs. Tench had a brick building erected at her own expense in 1700, instead of the straw one which was pulled down ; in 1720, a Mrs. Shaw enlarged it under the direction of the vicar, the Rev. Francisco de Assumpcao ; in 1756 the Chapel was pillaged and the records were destroyed. In 1796 at a public meeting of the Roman Catholics of Calcutta it was resolved to pull it down and to build a larger one. Two rich brothers from Bombay, the Baretts, came forward with liberal subscriptions ; the building cost 90,000, Rs. 60,000 of which was raised by subscription. In 1714 the Rev. Mr. Briercliffe, Chaplain of Fort William, Calcutta, wrote to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who took a deep interest in India measures ; referring to the state of Missions in Bengal he remarks, "the Portuguese have not carried on their religion by means of schools ; but chiefly by bringing up their slaves and servants when young, in their own faith." In 1723 Barbier, a Jesuit, visited Calcutta, and mentions there was a Romish Church there of which an Augustinian was minister. "The King of Portugal has committed to the Augustinians the care of their Christian people in India : *the Pope having granted to the King, as grand master of the order of Christ, the nomination to all the benefices in India.*" Hough's work on Christianity in India gives some information respecting the Portuguese in Calcutta in connection with the labours of Kiernander, the *first Protestant* missionary to Bengal, who settled in Calcutta 1758, 35 years before Carey came to India. He was greatly opposed by the Portuguese, who wished to deprive him of the school he had established, in which several Portuguese scholars had become Protestants, being neglected by their own priests ; Kiernander used to preach to the Portuguese twice every Sunday in the Old Church and the services were well attended ; " he was indefatigable in distributing among the Portuguese tracts in their own language, which the Church Missionaries had sent from Tranquebar." Da Costa, a Dominican Friar, who had been Inquisitor at Diu, joined the Anglican Church in Calcutta and proved a useful laborer, as did Sylvester in 1768 : he was an Augustinian of Goa, a missionary of fifteen years' standing ; several other Portuguese priests followed his example. The Rev. D. Brown, Chaplain of the Mission Church, also laboured among the Portuguese ; he supported, at his own expense, a converted priest to labour

among the Portuguese congregation. In 1806 he writes to a friend, "you will be happy to hear the Portuguese congregation is taking root; there are many thousands of this class of people of every description in Calcutta, in a dreadful state of ignorance and neglect."

The *principal Portuguese Church* in Calcutta enjoys the inestimable privilege of having its vicar chosen *by the votes of every Roman Catholic parishioner* "not an infant or minor or mendicant or insane." May this *inalienable right* of every Christian congregation be perpetuated to them! When the Portuguese were re-established in Calcutta after 1757, the provincial of Goa assumed to himself the power of appointing vicars to Calcutta, who had the management of the funds of the Church; the Portuguese preferred that the vestry wardens should have the management of the funds; on appealing to the Bishop of Meliapur he fixed that the wardens should have the management of them, which has been the case since 1773; but in 1777, the Bishop appointed four *perpetual* wardens. The inhabitants, having previously chosen the wardens by annual election, seeing their privileges thus infringed upon, brought on a law suit respecting it in the Supreme Court, which was decided in their favour in 1783, but cost them 40,000 Rs. law expenses.

The Cathedral Church De Rozario was built 1799; *Boitakhana* Church was founded 1809 by Mrs. E. Shaw. Lord Minto was invited to attend the consecration, but sent a letter regretting his being unable owing to other engagements; the founder died 1818, and left a large sum of money to the Church. Dharamtala Church was founded by the widow of De Souza, a rich merchant of Calcutta: it was consecrated in 1834 by the Rev. O. Assumpcao, provisor of the Bishop of Meliapur: it has three altars; the nave is 115 feet long and twenty-seven broad; the entire floor is paved with chinese marble slabs; the Church with the buildings attached cost two lakhs. Calcutta is supplied with Portuguese Churches: but what is the state of the Portuguese people? One of their own writers states "the lowest ranks of the Portuguese have almost forgotten the sacred name by which they are called." At a general meeting of Roman Catholics in 1835, held in Boitakhana Church, the Portuguese priests were charged with leaving their people in ignorance, illuminating them only with the freaks of the novena, and devoting all their attention to the accumulation of money. Jacquemont remarked of the Portuguese in Calcutta "there is in the figure of this degenerate race an expression of revolting baseness." A writer in the "Bengal Catholic Herald"

of 1841, remarks, "a short time back we were without a single institution of Catholic education with clergy (Portuguese) who had not the ability, if they had the desire, to instruct us in the principle and duties of our religion." In February 1823, the first *English sermon* was preached in a Portuguese chapel; in Calcutta the newspapers of that day contain letters from English and Irish Romanists, urging the necessity of their having Irish priests in Calcutta, as the Portuguese priests were *incompetent* to do their duties and did not *understand English*. The first move made in this moral stagnation was by the appointment of Bishop St. Leger, a man of liberal mind: the Jesuits followed, and the Portuguese are now improving in various respects.

Bishop Heber remarks, "The Portuguese have, during a three hundred years' residence in India, become as *black* as Kaffres; surely this goes far to disprove the assertion which is sometimes made, that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the Negro and the European." It is rather strange that Bishop Heber did not recollect there are few Portuguese of *pure blood* in India: though there are over 5,000 Portuguese in Calcutta, there may not perhaps be ten of them *genuine* Portuguese: we know the case of one Portuguese of highly respectable connections, who having no children, adopted Hindu slave boys, who bear his name: the father of another was a khansama. The great majority of the Portuguese in North India, are merely natives baptised and rigged out in a European hat, shoes, trowsers and coat: the rest are chiefly *half-castes*. It was part of the Portuguese policy to promote marriages between the Portuguese and Indian women. Albuquerque, having won Goa by hard fighting, wished to make it a Portuguese colony and therefore he married his followers, who wished to reside there, to the daughters of Mussalmans and Hindus whom he took prisoners. He was present at many of those marriages; he states his object to be "that the Indians might be united to his nation by affinity, and that there might be no need of bringing fresh supplies still out of Portugal to the depopulating the kingdom." Carreri, who visited Goa 1695, remarks there were few Portuguese there then, as "the Indian women preferred marrying poor Portuguese soldiers." A writer of 1583 states, "the Portuguese in India are many of them married with natural born women of the country, and the children proceeding from them are called Mesticos: those Mesticos are commonly of a yellowish colour: the posterity of the Portuguese being in the third degree, do seem to be *natural Indians both in colour and fashion*." The people of Cambay have women among



them "much whiter in colour and complexion than the Portuguese women." Though De Sousa states that "the conquerors and conquered joined and united in the sacred bonds of frequent marriage," yet no class have been more despised in India than the Portuguese half-castes. Goaz, an old Jesuit traveller writes, that the half-castes were very much despised by poor Portuguese; even where they married European Portuguese "the stain of having had an Indian mother remains to the hundredth generation." The half-castes under the Portuguese government could be masters of vessels and forts, and in Churches, could be readers but not Provincaux: native Christians could be priests but not religieux. On the other hand, the Portuguese who came direct from Europe, called reinols, despised those born in the country of Portuguese fathers and mothers, called castissos: the reinols only could be Viceroys or Governors of Ceylon, or Archbishops of Goa, or Grand Inquisitors.

The Portuguese now are commonly called by the natives *Feringis*—once an honored name, as it was originally given by the Mussalmans to the crusaders, the chief of whom were Franks: we find it used in India in Bernier's time. *Topi Wallahs* was a name given to the Portuguese before 1723. When persons hear the high sounding names of Baretto, DeSousa, DeCruze attached to various Portuguese in Calcutta, they are apt to imagine that all those who bear such names are of pure blood. Laftau remarks that many *Hindus* took Portuguese names such as Albuquerque,—for the honor of it, and in order to secure protection. In Congo, an early Portuguese settlement, we find the Portuguese giving Christian names to their converts; they also adopted the Portuguese dress, as do the Chinese Christians at Macao: in Ceylon, the Portuguese of rank used to stand sponsors for the Ceylonese, who were baptised, and gave them their own names, which flattered them very much. In 1610, the Great Mogul had thirty of his nephews baptised by the names of Don Philippe, Carlo, Henrico. Tavernier remarks, "the Portuguese adventurers that passed the Cape of Good Hope, were instantly fidalgos or gentlemen: to their own names of Pedro they added the more honoured title of Don: with their names they also changed their natures, and laying aside their national character, became base and revengeful, making no scruple to assassinate an enemy even at the foot of the altar." Poor people! they thought changing their dress would be changing their nature. The Abbe Du Bois remarks with great justice, "most of the Christian Portuguese in India have no more relation by birth or otherwise to the Portuguese or to any other European nation, than to the Tartar Calmucks.

They are partly composed of half-castes, the illegitimate offspring of Europeans, and a few descendants of the Portuguese : whilst the majority of them are the offspring of *Hindus of the lowest rank*, who after learning some one of the European dialects, *put on a hat, boots, and the European dress*, and endeavour to copy European manners." Fryer, a traveller of 1680, describes the natives of St. Helena thus, "Their speech is broken Portuguese : if they get an old hat with a bunch of ribbons, two white sleeves, or an old pair of long breeches, an unsizable sword to their back they strut or look as big as the greatest Don in Portugal." Orme writes, "The Christians who call themselves Portuguese, always formed part of an European garrison ; they are little superior in courage to the lower castes of Indians, and are greatly inferior to the higher castes as well as to the Northern Moors of Indostan ; but because they learn the manual exercise and the duties of parade with sufficient readiness, and are called like Europeans, they are incorporated into the Companies of European troops, and *from wearing a hat* those pretended Portuguese obtained among the natives of India the name of *Topasses* by which name all Europeans likewise distinguished them."

*Baranagar*, near Calcutta, was once a Portuguese settlement : *Chandernagar* had formerly Portuguese priests ; Paulino mentions that, in 1795, "Chandernagar had formerly a Church under the Jesuits but now under *schismatic* priests ;" the schismatic priests were probably Portuguese ones. *Dum-Dum* was supplied up to 1823 by a Portuguese Padri, who did not understand English, and only read mass. Mr. Baretto, a liberal Portuguese of Calcutta, raised subscriptions towards erecting the present chapel of St. Patrick's. The Baretto family built the Church of Madri de Deos, *Serampore*, in 1783 : it cost 14,000 rupees, to which Colonel Bie, Governor of Serampore, contributed 600 rupees. Baretto is a famous name. Captain Baretto came to India A. D. 1505 : Francis Baretto died Governor of Goa 1558 : he was the 19th Governor of Portuguese India, and his remains were received at Lisbon with extraordinary honour by King Sebastian. Andrew Baretto was the twenty-sixth Governor of India.

HUGLI seems to have been one of the first settlements of the Portuguese in Bengal, who came here in the time of Akbar, "The Captains who first came to dispose of their cargoes, raised mere sheds of bambú for their temporary residence. The Emperor hearing of this new people, transmitted orders to the Governor to send a specimen of them up to his court. In consequence of the distance between Agra and Hugli, this

message did not arrive till the Portuguese were gone for that year, at which the emperor in a letter expressed such chagrin, that the Governor fell ill and died in consequence. The utmost diligence was therefore employed next year to gratify the emperor; and a Portuguese Captain of the name of Tavares went up to Agra. He was treated by Akbar with the utmost favour, and permission given to pitch upon any spot near Húgli, that he chose for the erection of a town, with full liberty of building Churches and preaching the gospel." Barnier states, "that Jehangir suffered the Portuguese in Húgli upon account of traffic, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the Bay of Bengal clear from all pirates." In Hamilton's time 'tis stated, "The town of Húgli drives a great trade, because all foreign goods are brought thither for import, and all goods of the product of Bengal are brought hither for exportation: and the Mogul's furze or custom house is at this place; it affords rich cargoes for fifty or sixty ships yearly, besides what is carried to neighbouring countries in small vessels; and there are vessels that bring saltpetre from Patna." Purchas who lived in the reign of James the first, writes, "The Portuguese have here Porto Grande (Sundip) and Porte Pequeno (Húgli) but without forts and government; *every man living after his own lust*; and for the most part they are such as dare not stay in those places of better government for some wickedness by them committed." A Jesuit, who travelled in 1597 between Húgli and Chittagong, describes the country as "full of tigers and thieves."

Húgli is famous for the *siege* the Portuguese sustained for three months and a half in 1632 against an army of Moguls; when the Portuguese displayed the most heroic bravery worthy of the days of Albuquerque. DeMello, a Portuguese half-caste, betrayed Húgli fort, by pointing out a track through which the enemy entered; even then the Portuguese fought from the houses within the fort. A Persian writer referring to the attack on Húgli in 1632, writes "parties of Moguls were sent into the district pertaining to the Portuguese with orders to *send all the Christian farmers to hell*." 10,000 Portuguese were killed in the siege; when the Mussalmans took Húgli they destroyed all the pictures and images which were in the churches, as they had given *great offence to Nour Mehal*, the wife of Shah Jehan, when she was in Bengal. Kassim Khan, the Governor of Húgli, calls the Portuguese *European idolaters*, and the emperor writes to expel the idolaters from his dominions. The chief causes that provoked the Moguls

were, that the Portuguese tyrannically exacted duties from the boats and vessels that passed Húgli: they entirely drew away all the commerce from the ancient port of Satgang—they were in the habit of kidnapping or purchasing young children, and of sending them as slaves to other parts of India: the Portuguese pirates ravaged the eastern parts of Bengal. The "Shah Jehan Namah" mentions that the Portuguese of Húgli obtained grants of land on both sides of the river, and also collected the revenues of them; that by kindness and severity they converted a number of the inhabitants of those districts, and sent them in their ships to Europe: they did this to keep them Christians, and also to profit by them as slaves; they did not confine themselves to their own district, but wherever they could catch the inhabitants *on the banks of the river* they made them *prisoners* and carried them away.

Húgli is described in 1603 as Golin, a Portuguese colony, where Cervalins, a Portuguese, captured a castle belonging to the Moguls, having in it a garrison of 400 men, all of whom were killed except one. Húgli is represented by a writer in Stewart's Descriptive Catalogue as "protected on one side by a river, and on the other three by a deep ditch which was filled by the tide." In the Moguls' time Húgli was the great emporium, being the Bunder or port of the Western arm of the Ganges where the duties on merchandise were collected. Bolts writes, "To Húgli formerly all foreigners in general resorted for the purchase and sale of all commodities in Bengal." Bruton, a traveller in 1632, writes that "Húgli, an *island made by the Ganges*, has several thousand Portuguese Christians in it." Bernier states there were 8,000 in his time.

BANDEL, with its white towers and antique look, strikes the view of every passenger on the stream of the Húgli. On account of the services which the Portuguese, who came to Bengal in 1538, rendered the King of Gaur in those frequent disputes that occurred between rich zemindars, who quarrelled among themselves and with their rulers, the Portuguese got Bandel, built a fort for their security, 1599, of a square form, flanked by four bastions, surrounded by a ditch on three sides and on the fourth by the Húgli. Bandel Church has an endowment of 777 acres of rent-free land, granted by Shah Jehan at the request of Padri DeCruz, one of the Augustinians, who was carried to Agra after the siege of Húgli, and who, when the Mogul offered to grant him any request he would make, solicited his own liberty with permission to reconduct the surviving Christian captives to Bengal. The Augustinians of Bandel are from Goa, and are subject to the Bishop of

Meliapur not to the Vicar Apostolic ; the Portuguese in Bengal, like the Jesuits in Pondicherry, have always resisted the *Popes having their ecclesiastical patronage*. The Court of Portugal, ever since the *first establishment* of its dominion in India, has invariably claimed the *exclusive right of ecclesiastical patronage*, and has viewed with great jealousy *any* interference ; the Pope, on the other hand, has from the first asserted his spiritual supremacy, and has appointed Bishops in Partibus with the title of Vicars Apostolic, under the immediate direction of the Propaganda of Rome. *The priests of Bandel have never been highly spoken of for their purity of morals* ; Captain Hamilton writes, about 1690, "The Bandel at present deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the court of Venus, and they have a church where the owners of such goods and merchandise are to be met with, and the buyer may be conducted to proper shops, where the commodities may be seen and felt, and a priest to be security for the soundness of the goods." When the priests were so bad, it is not surprising that the following remark should be made respecting the people :—"The lascivious damsels of this once gay city (Húgli) now slumber under its ruins ; when pomp withdrew from hence, debauchery vanished, poverty now stalks over the ground." The profligacy of the Portuguese priests in this country seems to have equalled whatever is told of the corruption among the ecclesiastics in the middle ages, and their *ignorance* is equal to their licentiousness ; a writer in the Calcutta Journal of 1823 remarks, "The Portuguese ecclesiastics must be cut off from any intercourse whatever with those under their spiritual charge ; since very few of them take the least pains to acquire any of the languages, *English* or Native, generally understood or spoken in Calcutta."

Though, in 1840, the Government of Goa issued an order, confiscating all the property of Goa native Romish priests, who should submit to the Vicar Apostolic appointed by the Pope—yet probably the cause of morals and learning would not suffer by the patronage being taken out the hands of the crown of Portugal, who have in too many cases in India, conferred ecclesiastical offices on men as lecherous as Kulins and almost as ignorant as Sanyasis. Bandel Church is the oldest Christian building in Bengal : it was erected 1599,—a memorable date as in this year the infamous Don Meneses, Archbishop of Goa, betrayed the Syrians at the Synod of Dampier, crushed their liberties and destroyed their MSS.; the same year the East India Company was formed ; and the Dutch traded first to the Moluccas. After the siege of Húgli the Church of Bandel

was pulled down and all the records destroyed, but it was rebuilt by Mr. Soto in 1660. Near it stood the Church of Misericordia founded by the Augustinians, to which an Orphan House was attached : merchants and others going from home committed their daughters to the Fathers of the Church there to be educated during their absence. There was also a nunnery. Mention is made in 1723 of a college of Jesuits at Bandel on the way to Keonta, near the residence of the present Civil Surgeon of Húgli. Bandel Church has three handsome altars, one of which is dedicated to St. Augustin, and also a fine organ ; to the North-East of the convent, a splendid hall was built 20 years ago at the expense of Mr. Baretto and other Roman Catholics of Calcutta ; it was designed to serve as a sanatorium for invalids. The festival of the Novena is celebrated with great pomp at Bandel every November ; visitors flock to it from Calcutta, Chandernagar, and the surrounding neighbourhood ; it is a great time for pleasure parties to make a trip on the river to Bandel. Georgi wrote, "When Bandel was under the Portuguese King, before it was taken by Aurungzeb, the Christian religion flourished in this city as well as in all the country of Bengal ; the hospice of Bandel was formerly celebrated and distinguished, not so much for the size of its buildings, as for the number of religious men and the magnificence of its public schools, but in consequence of the calamities of the times (1760) it is almost destitute of inhabitants except a few." As to Georgi's remark respecting the Christian religion "flourishing in all Bengal," the Portuguese had never more than 25,000 Christians ; and as to their beneficial influence, we fear the remark that was made respecting the Portuguese settled in Mozambique and Angola is too applicable to Bengal : "The illiberal spirit of the Government and the nature of their traffic, had the effect of *degrading* the *native tribes* which were in connection with them, and at the same time of effectually repelling the more spirited and industrious inhabitants of the highlands."

The Portuguese had no settlement in Bengal Proper higher up the river than Bandel ; in all parts of India their settlements were on the *coast*, as rendering communication easier and enabling them to receive aid the sooner from the mother country.

CHITTAGONG, visited in 1563 by Fredericke, a celebrated traveller, was then "the great port of Bengal:" eighteen Portuguese ships were at anchor there ; the King of Arrakan lost 113 vessels in attacking it. The Portuguese designed in 1603 to have had the command of all the Tenasserim coast, Pegu and the Eastern Archipelago, by keeping possession of

Chittagong. Briton, a traveller of 1650, writes, "In Chittagong the Portuguese set up a kind of sovereignty, and associating with pirates and banditti of all nations, owned no subjection to their own prince or the prince of the country, but committed daily robberies by sea and land, and so interrupted commerce, that the late Mogul found it necessary to send an army and extirpate them." The King of Chittagong caused a Jesuit to rehearse the decalogue, and when the Jesuit reproved the Hindus for polytheism, they said they only worshipped the images as the Jesuits worshipped the saints. Manrique, an Augustinian friar, with three others, was sent in 1612 to supply the Bengal missions: he proceeded to ARRAKAN, "the seat of a great Asiatic monarchy, and where the Catholics had established a mission." The King of Arrakan ravaged the Sunderbund districts of Bengal, 1616. In 1609 the Portuguese were driven from Arrakan and took refuge in the island of Sundip, which they conquered, putting the Mogul garrison to the sword, and elected Gonzales, a common sailor, for their chief, who established a government there, having 1,000 Portuguese soldiers, 2,000 native troops, and eighty vessels well supplied with cannon; but in 1616 he was abandoned by his followers, in consequence of his tyranny, and was defeated by the King of Arrakan. In Gonzales' time Sundip was a great resort of merchants. The King of Arrakan sent 1,000 vessels against the Portuguese at Sundip; the Portuguese had only sixteen, yet they defeated the others, at which the King was so vexed, that he dressed many of his Captains in women's clothes. Metthold, an old traveller, writes, "The King of Arrakan married his own sister, thus following the example of the children of the first man." In 1615 the Viceroy of Goa was desirous of conquering Arrakan and sent Don Menezes with a fleet, which Gonzales joined, but they were repelled at the mouth of the Arrakan river. In 1518, Correa, a Portuguese navigator, arrived at Martaban and formed an alliance with the King of Pegu, then very powerful. Martaban was besieged in 1644 by the Nawab of Bengal: 700 Portuguese were at the siege, 60,000 people were killed, and 2,000 temples destroyed. In 1545 four Portuguese vessels captured many ships on the Tenasserim coast, the maritime towns complained to the King of Siam, who sent a Turkish fleet to punish them. Some may wonder how a *Turkish* fleet was sent—but Fredericke, a Venetian traveller of 1586, mentions Sundip as one of the most fertile places in the country densely populated and well cultivated, and that so plentiful were the materials for ship building there, that the *Sultan of*

*Constantinople found it cheaper to have his vessels built at Sundip than at Alexandria !*

In *Pegu*, Hamilton writes, "the Portuguese have a Church, but the *scandalous lives of the priests* and others make them contemptible to the people in general." In 1621 the king of Siam sent an embassy to Goa, desiring that some Franciscans would come and preach : they did so, and the king built a house and Church for them. Louis the 14th sent missionaries to Siam. Martin, a Jesuit writes from Balasore, "the extremity of the world," that in 1699, within the space of twelve months, 100 had been baptized there : a church was built there by Augustinian monks. Much could be written respecting Malacca, taken by Albuquerque from the Arabs, which the Portuguese held for 130 years, and where, in 1528, there were a Bishop and Dominicans ; the Jesuits had a noble college with magnificent apartments, where they entertained all strangers and travellers. Much could be stated also respecting the proceedings of the Portuguese in Malacca, Siam and the Arrakan coast, but our subject being North India we cannot enter on it.

The Mussalmans entered Bengal from the Northern frontier ; but the Portuguese, Dutch and English from the Bay of Bengal. The Portuguese had *no inland possessions in India* ; their strength lay as a *maritime* power and almost entirely in towns on the Malabar Coast, in Ceylon and Malacca. Hugli was their chief possession in Bengal, but had little political weight : though Michel Rodrigues the governor of it in 1633 had 7,000 musquetecrs and a corps of European artillery men, the Portuguese officers in Bengal were dependent on the government of Ceylon. The Portuguese in Bengal were regarded by their own government as a kind of military adventurers, or in the phraseology of the East India Company, as interlopers : they carried on however a considerable *trade* at one period in Bengal. Macpherson, the historian of European commerce with India, writes, "the India trade of Portugal was conducted without any knowledge of the principles of commerce, for the sole account of the sovereign, in subserviency to a sanguinary system of conquest, rapine and persecution, and liable to be deranged by the caprices of a rapid succession of ignorant, arbitrary and avaricious viceroys." Trade was a monopoly in the hands of the king, owing to the king having at first to fit out expeditions at his own expense—the cost to be defrayed by captures ; but the servants of Government became so corrupt, that in less than twenty years after the return of the first cargo from India, the whole profits of the trade and



revenue were absorbed by the profusion of the government servants. In 1587 abuses became so great that Philip the 2nd, made over the trade to a Portuguese company, which was soon superseded by the Dutch, whose hostility was provoked by the bigotry of Philip the 2nd, who prohibited the Dutch trading with Lisbon for India goods. The Dutch in 1595 sent ships round by the Cape, *which sealed the fate of the Portuguese trade*: though at one time the produce and manufactures of China, Japan, Siam, the whole Malabar Coast, Persia, Arabia, Melinda, Sofala were transported to the banks of the Tagus. Every vessel that passed the Persian gulph paid the Portuguese toll at Ormus; Malacca gave them the command of the straits; at Muscat vessels from Africa and the Red Sea paid them a toll of four per cent. Portuguese soldiers, after nine years' service in India, were permitted to engage in trade. De Sousa writes that, between 1579-91, twenty-two Portuguese ships were lost between Portugal and India, owing to the overloading and making them too big—"both faults proceeding from covetousness; the excessive covetousness of the Portuguese keeping the price of spices so high, moved our European enemies to seek them at a cheaper route to India."

Tavernier remarks, that if the Dutch had not come to India, people could not have found a piece of iron in the greater number of the Portuguese factories, all would have been gold or silver, for the Portuguese had only to make two or three voyages to Japan, the Philippine isles, the Moluccas or China, to enrich themselves and to gain on their return as much as 1,000 per cent. on the articles; the very soldiers as well as the captains and governors amassed great wealth in India; the governors of Mozambique, who resided three or four years there, used to bring away 400,000 or 500,000 crowns as profit from their trade with the Kaffres. Carelli mentions that in 1695 only captains or governors decided law suits in India, as Portuguese lawyers would not come to India on account of the little profit to be gained by their profession; the Portuguese merchants then must have somewhat resembled the senior merchants of the East India Company, carrying on trade and practising law at the same time. But Portuguese commerce rapidly declined on the arrival of the Dutch—sturdy republicans—and on the union of Spain and Portugal, when the interests of Portugal were systematically neglected by the *Spanish* Cabinet. In Bengal the trade of the Portuguese must have been considerable; for on Húgli fort being taken, 1632, by the Moguls, the Portuguese offered to pay an annual tribute of four lakhs, on condition of being allowed to trade

in Bengal with their former terms and privileges. The Portuguese were very tyrannical in trading with the natives: they fixed the price of provisions and made the Hindus provide them before others; no stranger was to receive a cargo before the Portuguese. De Sousa observes on this, "it is remarkable, that among all the persons who have gone to the Indies, whether as governors, captains, or merchants, of which sort most of them were in truth, there has not been one that *has raised a family of any consideration*, out of the goods they have got in those parts, either there or in Portugal, though there have been several of them that have got there one, two, three, or four millions: they have for the most part, pursued the ends of a sacrilegious covetousness, committing many acts of injustice to fill their coffers, instead of having any regard to religion: the most of those riches were gained by the unjust means of tyrannies, robberies, and all sorts of insolence." A native remarked respecting them, "let them alone, for they will quickly come to lose that, as covetous merchants, which they have gained as admirable soldiers; they now conquer Asia, but it will not be long before Asia will conquer them." In 1616 the English factors at Surat communicated to the East India Company that "hitherto they had not found it practicable to open a trade in the countries bordering on the Ganges, the Portuguese being in the exclusive possession of the commerce in this part of the Peninsula." Sir T. Roe also pointed out to the E. I. C., that it was unwise to trade direct with the natives of Bengal, the Portuguese having a monopoly in it. In 1633 the English obtained permission from the Mogul to trade, but not on the Ganges, owing to the Portuguese establishment at Húgli: however, in 1681, a sergeant and twenty men were appointed as a guard to the English factory at Húgli. The Portuguese monarchs encouraged trade as the chief object of government, towards which they directed all the power of the kingdom, and roused their subjects to such exertions in the prosecution of it, as occasioned the astonishing rapidity of their progress. But as Voltaire observes, "commerce and the inquisition are incompatible:" the Portuguese introduced the Inquisition into Goa, 1560; when Philip the 2nd wished to establish the inquisition in Flanders, its interruption to trade was one of the principal causes of the revolution.

We now come to a very painful subject—the MORALS AND MANNERS of the Portuguese in the olden time. We entertain no prejudices against them as a nation—we have spent many

pleasant hours in the perusal of their literature, and have admired the heroic deeds of many of their nation in India. Allowance must be made for the state of society generally in Christendom then—but still we must say that the Morals and Manners of the Portuguese in India have been such as to bring the European character into contempt and to prove an obstacle to the conversion of the heathen. On the Portuguese morals and manners we shall simply adduce the testimony of eye-witnesses: much of the evidence we must suppress, as it unfolds such details of gross and abominable licentiousness as are not proper to be submitted to general readers. Baldæus writes in 1650, "The Portuguese of Goa are very idle, seldom apply themselves to any employment, leaving the management of their business for the most part to their slaves,—even the women commit the care of their children to their family slaves; the men frequently marry with natives of the country, yet not so much now as formerly: the men are generally addicted to excessive lust—fornication and adultery being considered among them as errors of little moment." He states the men are very proud, that when they walk along the street, they have three slaves accompanying them, one to carry their umbrella, another their cloak, and another their sword: "they are constantly stroking and setting up their whiskers." He says that syphilis is so common among them, that Portuguese *fidalgos* or gentlemen do not account it a disgrace to have been afflicted with it twice or thrice in their life time. Tavernier writes, "the Portuguese who come to India have no sooner passed the Cape of Good Hope, than they become *fidalgos* or gentlemen, and add Don to the simple name of Pedro or Jeronimo which they had when they embarked; they are called, in derision, *fidalgos* from the Cape of Good Hope; but as they change their rank they change also their disposition; the Portuguese inhabitants of India are the most vindictive and the most *jealous* of their women of all the people in the world: as soon as they have any suspicion, they rid themselves *without scruple* of the person by *poison or by poignard*." Fryer, a traveller of 1685, writes, "Goa is a Rome in India; the laity live with a splendid outsidèd, vaunting on the number of their slaves, walking under a street of umbrellas, bare-headed, to avoid distaste in not removing their hats; they being jealous of their honour, pardon no affront; to ogle a lady in a balcony is revenged with a *bocca mortis*, or to pass by a *fidalgo* without due reverence is severely chastised."

A traveller of 1583 thus describes the morals and manners of the Portuguese; "they keep worshipful and beautiful houses,

having from five to twenty slaves in each house ; walking in the streets, they strut with a great pride and vain glorious dignity ; at mass, when they enter the chapel, the lower orders salute them ; if any disrespect is shown they go after the person and *cut his hat in pieces* ; if they are filled with revenge they gather ten or twelve of their friends together and *beat a man to death or have him stabbed by their slaves* ; a common custom never looked to, or corrected, is to beat a person with bambús, so that he keeps his bed for eight days : they frequently beat each other with bags of sand so as to break one another's limbs—when *visiting*, the person visited comes with his hat to the door, he has his vesture on, and gives him a seat on a stool, but should the stool of the visitor be lesser or lower than that of the person he visits, the visitor takes it as an insult and seeks revenge. In the *marriage* of respectable persons, about 100 friends go to the Church in a procession mounted on horseback, then the bride and bridegroom in a palankin, and lastly the slaves in a train ; in returning from Church the neighbours throw from the windows rose-water and comfits on the bride and bridegroom, while the slaves play on instruments, then the bride and bridegroom return to the house, the horsemen *run* a race in their honour ; then after drinking a cup of water, three or four of the nearest relations remain with the married couple and dine with them, after which they bring them to bed ; oftentimes they go to bed at least two hours before sunset, not having the patience to stay as long as we do in this country ; in *baptism* there is a procession on horseback to Church ; persons bear large wax candles covered with roses, with some pieces of gold and silver as an offering to the priest ; they return with music and then leaping with horses." The *soldiers* are represented as living ten or twelve in a house, with a slave to wash their clothes for them ; fish and water are their diet ; they keep one or two suits of silk clothes which serve them all ; when one goes out the rest remain at home. The *women* seldom go abroad, and then in palankins, covered with mats to hide them : when they visit they put on very costly apparel with bracelets of gold and rings upon their arms, all beset with costly jewels and pearls, and at their ears hang laces full of jewels ; their clothes are damask, velvet, and cloth of gold ; *for silk is the worst thing they do wear* ; within the house they go bare-headed with a waistcoat called bain, that covers them from their shoulders to their navel, and is so fine, that you might see all their body through it ; their food is boiled rice, fish, and mangoes ; they eat nothing with spoons

and if they should see a man do so, they laugh at him, they drink out of gurgulettes by letting the water drop into their mouths like the Hindus; the sailors on coming to India consider themselves as masters of ships, and are called by their Captain pilots or boatswains.

St. Francis Xavier states, that he found it more difficult to reclaim the Portuguese than the Mussalmans or Hindus—no wonder. A traveller at the close of the 16th century writes that the Portuguese were very jealous of allowing strangers to see their wives, that incest was common among them, that few of the married women were chaste, but kept soldiers as gallants: it was a common practice for husbands to cut their wives' throats on account of adultery, while the wives esteemed it an honour to suffer so for the sake of *love*; the women spent their time in chewing beetle all day. In winter when there were no ships at Goa the people did nothing but sit in their shirts with a pair of leather breeches on, and go and pass away the time with their neighbours; over 500 soldiers died annually in the Goa hospital from syphilis and the effects of profligacy; even the women boasted of being shamefully infected. Tavernier mentions that when he was at Goa women used to beg from him in palkis, sending a slave with their compliments. Knighthood was such a common honour, that even cook boys of ten years old received it. "The Portuguese live very great in India both in their table, clothing and number of slaves that serve them." The Portuguese were so very jealous of their wives on account of their unchastity, that they did not suffer any male friends to live in their houses or even near relations, and when a stranger came to the house the wives and daughters used to run and hide themselves—many women were killed every year by their husbands on account of adultery—"they sat all day before the door, chewing beetle, looking at the passers-by and carrying on intrigues." We fear there is no very great improvement since; the Portuguese ayahs are even now proverbial for their licentiousness. Miss Graham writes in 1810, describing Mazagny, near Bombay, "a dirty Portuguese village, its claim to Christianity is chiefly in the immense number of pigs kept there." "Mahaim has a college of Catholic priests who learn at Goa to speak barbarous Latin, their chief business is that of baptizing the children of Hindu women, to each of whom is given a small premium, but Christianity it seems, ends with that initiation." In 1620 Methold, an English traveller, writes, "Many Portuguese decayed in their estates or questioned in their lives, resort hither (to Bengal) and live here plentifully, yet as banished men, or

outlaws without government, practice or profession of religion ; it might be truly spoken of the country *Bengala bona terra mala gens.*" The House of Commons a few years ago designated them as "the black Portuguese of India, a race, the least respected and respectable, and the least fitted for soldiers of all the tribes that diversify that populous country."

Respecting their TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES, we find that even Vasco Di Gama, on taking a Mussalman vessel set it on fire, and the crew perished in the flames ; in Calicut he had fifty prisoners hung, and sent their hands and feet as presents to the king of the place. If a native struck a Portuguese his hand was cut off. Natives were not allowed by the Portuguese to equip vessels. Tavernier writes, "The natives of the country of Goa are not allowed by the Portuguese to bear any offices, but only in reference to the law, viz., as advocates, solicitors, and scriveners, and they keep them very much under ; though the Portuguese have been offered great sums of money to suffer the natives to wear hose and shoes, yet they will not allow it." The Portuguese took pariahs into their houses, and the contempt the Hindus had for pariahs passed to the Portuguese. A Jesuit remarks that the disrespect paid to the Portuguese passed to all Europeans, who were confounded by the natives with the Portuguese ; this induced the Jesuits in Madura to conform to native customs. A Portuguese traveller writes, that many Portuguese supported themselves by keeping slaves, some had twenty, some thirty : many young slaves were sent by their masters to sell sweetmeats and also brought gain to their masters by prostitution. "The insolencies of the Portuguese inclined the Indian nations to receive the Holland rebels into their ports." In 1508 the Portuguese under Almeida took Dabul city ; the soldiers snatched the children from the mothers and dashed their brains out against the wall. Portuguese cruelty passed into a proverb, so that the Indians were accustomed when cursing to say "May the wrath of the Feringis fall on you as it fell on Dabul." At Salsette five padris were killed by the natives on account of their making the soldiers pull down their temples. The native chiefs complained that the Portuguese used to take the sons and daughters of the Moors who came to their ports, and by force instruct them in Christianity. Carreri, who arrived in Damaum 1695, states that the Hindus and Mussalmans were not allowed the exercise of their religion there. "King Sebastian sent to India monks instead of soldiers, inquisitors instead of generals." As Aurungzeb's iconoclasm paved the way for the fall of the Mogul empire, so did Portuguese bigotry

for the destruction of Lusitanian power in India. *No Mussalman or Jew was allowed to exercise the rites of his religion publicly in any Portuguese settlement in India under pain of death.* In Goa in 1583 the Hindus were forbidden to burn their dead. In Ceylon they pulled down the temples of the Buddhists and built chapels with the materials. At Salsette Portuguese missionaries persuaded the government to send troops and demolish 1,200 Hindu temples with their images; afterwards another expedition was sent, through their influence, which burnt all the villages. Padri Berno followed the troops, wielding a club with which he beat down the idols. Salsette was turned into a smoking desert. *John the Third, King of Portugal, allowed the Portuguese to plunder the pagodas.*

As Portugal in the present day, both at home and in Brazil, is the strenuous defender of the SLAVE TRADE, so have the Portuguese in India been: the Sunderbunds, once the residence of a dense and happy population, with its fine cities, now bear witness in their desolation to the slave trade that was carried on by the Portuguese, just as the desert of Bhikanir is considered by Todd to have been reduced to its present state by the Bhatti robbers. As early as 1443 the Portuguese carried on the Slave Trade at the Canary Isles: it was prohibited, however, by Don Henry: in 1520 they carried it on in South America. A traveller describes the Slave Market in Goa in 1583 where "slaves were sold like beasts; the Portuguese did make a living by buying and selling slaves as they do other wares." The Portuguese officers and merchants in India, abandoning themselves to voluptuousness, left all their concerns to slaves: even the Dutch, who had been delivered from Spanish slavery, encouraged slavery through the East: no Portuguese had the principle of Sir T. Roe, who told the Great Mogul he did not think it lawful to make *the image of God equal to a beast.* Bernier writes of their slave-hunting expeditions in the Sunderbunds: "the great number of slaves, which the Portuguese took from all quarters, behold, what use they made of. They had boldness and impudence enough, to come and sell to that very country the old people, which they know not what to do with; where it so fell out, that those who escaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themselves in the woods, laboured to redeem to-day their fathers and mothers, that had been taken yesterday; the rest they kept for their service, to make rowers of them, and such Christians as they were themselves, bringing them up to robbing and killing, or else they sold them to the Portuguese of Goa, Cailan, St. Thomas, and others;—this infamous rabble

impudently bragging, that they made more Christians in one year, than all the missionaries in India in ten." Pinto, who was a notorious slave trader and pirate in the sixteenth century, did not think piracy incompatible with religion; he invoked the name of Jesus when entering on his piratical expeditions.

Respecting the *Portuguese missions in Bengal Proper* little good can be said—"like people, like priest." Bengal was supplied with priests from Goa: and Nicamp, the historian, writes, "the Portuguese filled their seminary of Goa with *malefactors* condemned to banishment; they made missionaries of them, and those missionaries did not forget their first trade." Carreri states, that in the countries bordering on the Ganges, there were 21,000 Christians, divided into eleven parishes, each of which had a curate and vicar, but the laity plunged into all manner of vice, and even the curates led a very dissipated life, were covetous and generally ignorant of the languages and sciences. Except the Jesuits, no Portuguese priest formerly knew any European language but Portuguese. In 1570 the Dominican friars built a fortress on the island of Soler under pretence of building a convent, which they garrisoned with Portuguese soldiers, and several of them fell in defence of it. We have an account of padri Vinegu, who commanded a squadron "at one time appearing in armour, at another in a surplice, and even occasionally baptizing the converts of his sword without putting off his armour, but covering it with his ecclesiastical vest." The Portuguese missionaries near Goa wrote sentences on scraps of paper, which they distributed among the people, representing them as cures for every kind of disease; whenever any article was lost, they recommended it to the cross, to the efficacy of which they imputed its restoration. They even scrupled not to claim the merit of recovering some holy cows lost by a Gentú king and of restoring to him these objects of his idolatrous veneration. An image of the Virgin, richly embellished with jewels, proved of much efficacy. "A fakir eighty years old, who came in from the woods so horrid and sunburnt, that he appeared scarcely human, on being shewn this image, was struck with such admiration, that he solicited instant admission into the pale of the Church."

Even if the Bengal padris led good lives, the example of the Portuguese was sufficient to deter the heathen from embracing Christianity. Vincenzo Maria, a Carmelite missionary, describes the Portuguese come from Portugal, as the dregs of Portugal; the most part a seditious people, covered with crimes, and banished from their country. The Indian-born Portuguese ill-



educated, extremely effeminate, and abandoned to all kinds of sensual indulgence: The slave converts totally incapable of instruction and ferocious in the extreme. In a climate so warm their natural propensity to evil is always on the increase. The men and women live in continual idleness passing all their days together perfectly naked, without the least respect for each other or any regard to the difference of sexes. "Their mode of living is enough to set their bowels in a flame." Goetz, a traveller in India about 1650, mentions that the Portuguese at Goa, when in want of rain, take the image of St. Anthony, tie it by the heels and dip it in a well, and when well soaked, take it up and do the same to the image of the Virgin Mary: a leading capuchin at Damaum told Goetz that by this means St. Anthony had wrought many miracles, and that a poor woman, who had lost her son one day, went into the Church and took the image of Christ from the arms of the Virgin Mary, saying to the Virgin "if you do not restore me my son I will not restore you yours;" some time after the woman's son was restored safe and sound. The same capuchin told Goetz, that a porter, a brother of the Franciscan order, lost the keys of the convent, on which he took the statue of St. Anthony and plunged it head foremost into the well, on bringing it up he found the keys miraculously attached to the neck. Goetz mentions that native converts, who were Brahmans, will not marry any other native converts who are not Brahmans, and when the men die the widows do not remarry. No native priest, however, could be a *religieux*; Goetz writes he was surprised to see the image of a *black saint* on the altars, and was astonished *that a black native was not thought worthy of being a religieux in this life, although he be a saint in the next.* We fear that the spirit of the following remarks is but too applicable to the mass of Portuguese in Bengal, that they conform too generally to heathen customs, and in many cases differ little from Hindus except in the topi (hat) and coat. Dr. Buchanan writes "I saw at Trinchinopoly a ruth belonging to *native Christian* (Portuguese) built in the usual manner, with cables to pull it; only instead of the Hindu devices, it had got hell and the devils on the lower part, heaven and the blessed on the higher, and above all, the Pope and Cardinals; the priest is so ignorant that he did not seem conscious of any impropriety in having the ruth." *At Manear he met with a Portuguese catechist, who had never heard there was such a book as the Bible. When the heathen saw such ignorance as well as immorality among the professors of Christianity—what must they have thought of the religion they professed, and particularly*

when it was enforced by persecution ; for Goetz tells us "that when the Portuguese find an idol they burn or break it ; that they destroyed a tank at Bassein, where the Hindus bathed for the remission of their sins ; the persecution of the Portuguese had made many Hindus, Mussalmans and Parsis abandon their homes and live in the dominion of Shah Jehan, where they had liberty of conscience ;" and that between Bassein and Damaum there are few natives, the greater part of the village lands being uncultivated. When Cabril set out in 1500 on his exploring expedition to India, there were eight Franciscan friars and nine chaplains of the fleet : the instruction given was to *begin* with preaching and if that *failed*, to proceed to the *decision of the sword*. Dr. Buchanan visited the principal Portuguese settlements in India, and in many of them could not hear of a single copy of the Scriptures. Dr. John, however, mentions in 1809 that "Antonio, a Roman Catholic missionary at Boglipur on the Ganges, had translated the Gospels and the Acts into the dialect of the people of that district." Though some of the Goa Augustinians have given Popes and Cardinals to the Romish Sec, yet they have never, to our knowledge, given a translation of the Scriptures.

The antiquity of the civilization of *Tibet* and its connection with China has attracted the attention of many writers ; Bailly thought Tibet and Tartary were the cradles of art and science, from whence they were diffused to China, Japan, India and Egypt. Tibet carried on great intercourse with China ; the Lama has been a tributary to the emperor. Since the expulsion of the Eluths from Tibet, two Chinese mandarins and a Chinese garrison are posted at Lassa. The productions of China were brought, via Tibet, to the banks of the Ganges. Ferishta describes an irruption of the Moguls into Bengal via Tibet. Its lofty mountain range,—which gives rise not only to the rivers of India and China but also to those of Siberia and Tartary—which forms part of that chain that extends from the borders of the Caspian Sea along Persia and Kashmir to Assam and China,—has isolated the people of Tibet ; hence the Moguls and other Mussalman conquerors of India regarded Tibet as impenetrable, but the Jesuit missionaries and capuchins did not view it so. The attention of Carpinì and Rubruquis was early directed to it ; they thought that the famous Prestre John lived in Tibet. The Nestorians, according to Thevenot, sent missionaries to Tibet. Rubruquis met many Nestorian priests in Tartary and describes them as ignorant, drunken, and tending by their conduct to deter natives from becoming Christians ; they inhabited fifteen cities in China.

They pretended they had some of the oil with which Mary anointed the feet of Christ, and some of the bread which Christ consecrated

From an apparent resemblance between Lamaism and Romanism—in the dress of the priests; a hierarchy; the notion of an incarnation; holy water; chaunting; processions; monasteries; beads, &c.; the early Romish missionaries to India were of opinion that the Tibetans were Christians. This was the reason that induced Padri ANDRADA to undertake a mission to Tibet; he was residing at the Court of the Mogul, but resolved to penetrate into the recesses of Tibet in order to spread the Christian religion; we have his journal before us, printed in Paris the 4th year of the republic; as it is one of the earliest Missionary journals, and gives a minute account of an interesting country, we shall present an abstract of it. Andrada set out in 1524 by way of Kashmir. When enumerating the difficulties he met with crossing over the mountains of the Himalaya, with the Ganges rolling at his feet, he remarks, "I saw the gentiles brave these difficulties in honour of their gods; among them we found many persons advanced in age, who dragged themselves along the road, which instigated us to overcome all these difficulties for a very different motive from theirs." He met with numbers of pilgrims and many temples richly endowed, having illuminated lamps, and served by yogis whose nails and hair were enormously long; the pilgrims were kissing the feet of the yogis. This reminded Andrada of what he saw two months before,—the Mogul going one day to the chase at Ajmír, met near a vast tank one of those yogis with his hair ten palms long, his nails one palm in length, and entirely naked, the people were kissing various parts of his body; the fakír remained immovable and showed no marks of respect to the emperor, who, on returning from the chase, sent to bid the fakír come to him; the yogi said if the emperor wished to see him he should send a carriage and bearers. The emperor vexed, had him brought on horseback and said, you are either the devil or his likeness; he had his hair and nails cut, and sent him into the street exposed to the derision of the boys and people. When Andrada arrived at Serinagar, the raja enquired where he was going to—he replied, to Tibet to see his brother. The raja then saw his black cassock and asked him what was the use of that; he said to put on mourning in case his brother died. Andrada crossed over the Ganges on a snow bridge, for the snow had covered the river six weeks after his departure from Kashmir; he arrived at Badrinath where he met pilgrims from Ceylon, Bisnagar, &c. The Sitakand there was famed for having had formerly the power

of transmuting into gold whatever approached it. The governor of Badrinath sent to recall Andrada, but he pushed on without a guide "sinking in the snow some times to the shoulder, some times to the breast, generally to the knees;" the best way of travelling he found was to draw himself along the snow, as if he were swimming; he slept at night in the snow, with a cloak thrown over him, though it sometimes snowed so hard that he and two Christian servants, who were lying near each other, could not see one another, and were obliged at times to rise and shake off the snow to prevent their being buried in it. Andrada's feet, hands, and face were frost-bitten; once a piece of his finger fell off: he felt no pain and only knew it by seeing the blood streaming out: he almost lost his sight, and was twenty-five days without being able to read a letter of his breviary.

After many difficulties, which he encountered in a heroic spirit, Andrada arrived near Tibet: the king sent orders to provide him with every thing he wished for in his empire, and as he heard he came from a far country, he also gave him three horses; when he arrived at Rhodak, the capital, the king thought he was a merchant and expected a present of jewels. Andrada had an audience of the king and informed him that he had come from Portugal, and had undergone great fatigue in order to ascertain if he was a Christian, and that he had come to announce to him the true religion. The Moor that he employed as interpreter did not translate all what Andrada said; he dismissed him and took a Hindu as interpreter: the queen attended the audience; at the second audience the king invited him to come to him when he wished; he sent to him every day a present of sheep, rice, raisins, and grapes. The exhibition of some images of the Virgin and ornamented relics, disposed the king much more favorably towards Andrada, "the king and his courtiers shewed a readiness to accept them to a much greater extent than the mission could supply; from admiring their beauty, the king was easily led to believe that they might serve as charms to secure victory in a war which he was about to undertake. He was then considered by the missionaries as more than half a Christian." As Andrada had to return to the Mogul's court, he went to take leave of the king, who refused to allow him to go unless he promised, with an oath, to return the following year. Andrada consented and stipulated for five conditions which the king granted—permission to preach throughout the Kingdom of Tibet without any obstacle—a site for a Church—not to be required to engage in any commerce—and if any Portuguese merchants should come to Tibet, that he should not be obliged to give them his services—the

king should promise not to believe any of the calumnies of the Moors against him—on the latter stipulation the queen remarked to Andrada, “the Moors are as bad as the religion they profess: we do not permit the Moors to reside within our city; they do their business here in the day.” The king on bidding farewell to Andrada recommended him to return quickly, for, said he, you carry my heart with you: he accompanied Andrada to the extremity of his territories, and directed that he should be provided with food on his journey: three days after his departure the king sent him two thousand peaches, brought from a distance of ten or eleven days’ journey.

In 1625 Andrada returned from Agra, which he left in June, arriving at Tibet in August. The king came a journey of four days to meet him; he lodged him next to his palace and provided him with every thing from it. On going to a war the king fell at Andrada’s feet to pray for his blessing and recommended him to visit the queen every day: on his return from the war he resolved to study the Christian doctrines, after which he promised he would be baptized. This alarmed the Lamas, who stirred up his subjects to rebellion and wished the king to marry another wife, as his queen was favorable to Christianity and sometimes went to church. The Jesuits held several public discussions with the Lamas, who were violently opposed to the doctrine of the Trinity. On the 11th of April 1626, the king laid the foundation stone of a church at Caperingue. Shortly after Andrada’s death the Tibetan mission declined, owing perhaps to the difficulties of the work and the calamities which befel the Portuguese power in India. Andrada thought Tibet was a suitable place for missions, as the people were less vicious than those in the plains (tho’ the Indians believed Tibet to be a vault thrown over hell) and as it was the gate to a number of other countries speaking the same language. Perhaps he might have propagated the Christian faith throughout Tibet were not, that the Delai Lama, induced Conclu Han, King of the Eluths of Coconor to enter Tibet with a powerful army; the King marched against the Eluths, but was killed; this King, Tsang Ta Han, was either a Christian or wished to become one; he designed to have destroyed Lamaism utterly.

Georgi’s *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, compiled from the MSS. of Tibetan missionaries, gives much valuable information respecting the religion, language and geography of Tibet; though he thought that Tibetan Buddhism was Manichæism, that Sakhya, born of a virgin, was Christ, and that Indra, extended on a cross, was a type of Christ. In 1661 Grueber and Donville, Jesuits, travelled through Tibet on their way home from China. In 1716,

Desiderii, a Jesuit, travelled from Goa to Delhi, Kashmir, and Ladak, where he lodged in the cabin of a Kashmir beggar : he had an audience there with a Lama. After seven months' travelling he arrived at Lassa and had an audience of the King for two hours—he thought he could trace up all the Tibetan mysteries to those of the Christian religion. In 1753 the Jesuits were banished from Tibet, as the Brahmans excited a persecution against them ; the King favoured Christianity at first, but the fear of the Brahmans made him persecute it afterwards. Georgi writes there was a hospice of capuchins at Lassa in 1760. In 1823 De Floreze, Bishop of Tibet, arrived in Bengal on his way thither, accompanied by an Italian priest attached to the Tibetan Mission : it was stated then that the queen of Tibet had requested of the Pope eighty missionaries of the propaganda for Tibet. In 1820 Mr. Shroeter, a missionary of the Church of England, compiled a Tibetan dictionary, formed from a MS. one in Italian, which a Romish missionary in Tibet had made.

NEPAL also engaged the attention of the Jesuits—men whom neither barriers of everlasting snow, nor the border warfare of petty mountain tribes could repress. The valley of Nepal has "as many temples as houses, as many idols as inhabitants." It was invaded in 1765 by an army of 40,000 Chinese who came within a few miles of Katamandú ; the people applied to the British to protect them, and in 1792 Kirkpatrick was sent on an embassy for that purpose. In 1797 the capuchin missions began in Nepal, Bettia and Tibet Tieffenthaler writes that Patan (where 20,000 Lamas live) Katamandú and Batgao, cities near each other, have churches and hospices, where the capuchin missionaries live. One of those capuchins, Bernini, died 1753 on his way from Nepal to Patna ; he translated many works respecting the Brahmans out of the Sanskrit. In 1767 the Rajah of Gorkha invaded Nepal and reduced it under his rule : having killed the Rajah, he gave orders to the missionaries to depart ; they were sent to Bettia. In 1661 Grueber and Donville, Jesuits, visited Katamandú : the king was greatly struck at seeing some mathematical instruments ; observing through a telescope the fortifications of an enemy appearing quite near, he cried out that all his soldiers must be at once ready for the attack ; he was agreeably disappointed when he found the apparent nearness was owing to the glass ; the king offered them land and full liberty to preach. Recanete, superior of the Capuchin mission, arrived in Nepal with twenty of his companions : he was well received by the king, who gave him a place to lodge in and proclaimed liberty of conscience to

all his subjects. Paulino mentions Joseph, a Corignano, a capuchin, as author of a dialogue in Urdu dedicated to the rajah of Bettia, also father Pinna, who was director of the Bengal and Nepal Missions, and died in 1747, after labouring thirty-three years in the city of Patan: a monument is erected to him; it has an inscription in Tibetan composed by a Brahman. In 1735 it is stated that "the Apostolic Chamber was so poor and so much in debt, that far from supporting new Missions, it was not in a condition to maintain those already established, the number of Missionaries requisite for the purpose was so great."

The town of *Bettia*, ninety miles N. N. W. of Patna "inhabited by Romanist native Christians, who rear great numbers of poultry and carry them for sale to a great distance," has long been noted as a mission station. Recanete, superior of the Capuchin Mission, was sent with two of his companions to Batagao, in Nepal, in 1735: "the king assigned them a large palace, confiscated from one of the grantees, for their habitation:" he and his companions travelled from Nepal to Bettia. The King heard that they preached a law which it was necessary that he should follow: he therefore sent one of his ministers to bring them from the place where they then were, wishing to hear for himself what they had to say respecting this new law: they explained it to him; the king was so pleased that he wished them to stay, but they told him that the Pope had appointed them to Nepal; the king wrote to the Pope wishing that as "their ministry is entirely charity" the Pope would permit them to stay, "which I shall consider as the highest favour." The Propaganda stated they could not undertake a new mission as they were in debt; the Pope however, sent over some regulars *at his own expense*, with a letter to the king of Bettia returning him thanks and exhorting him "to be the first who should set his vassals the example of embracing the Romish religion;" he wrote also to the king of Nepal giving him the same advice. The first Missionary sent from Rome was Padri Fidel of Arone; he arrived at Bettia 1745, during the reign of Durup Shah; he began to baptize in 1747. The approach of an English force in 1771 having caused the Rajah Kishan Sing to flee from his capital, the lands within the fort of Bettia were given by Sir R. Barker, to the Italian missionary for the support of his establishment: the fort was then very large; the lands have been since almost entirely resumed by subsequent Bettia rajahs; in 1816 the number of native Christians residing at Bettia amounted to adults 322; children unbaptized fourteen; baptized 359. At Churi a

village about five miles North of Bettia is another mission, which was under the charge of an Italian Missionary in 1816: the Christians there were formerly Ilindus, of the Newar tribe, who quitted Nepal 1768, on the invasion of the Gorkha rajah; their numbers in 1816 amounted to 114 adults and 131 baptized children, under charge of the missionary at Lucknow.

Father Rimaldow was priest of Bettia in 1816, and was then eighty years old; he was supported from a piece of land and from tithes paid in grain. "He preaches extemporarily in Urdu; all the congregation join chorus to the psalms; their singing is good." Tieffenthaler describes Bettia in 1786 as "a populous city defended by a great castle, surrounded by walls, fortified by towers; near it is the temple and convent, where dwell the missionaries of the Franciscan order." In 1767 capuchins came to Bettia, driven out of Nepal by the Gorkha rajah. A writer of 1816 describes the native Christians of Bettia as "an indolent, inoffensive race, with little activity or enterprise, and a high veneration for the priest. They are chiefly occupied in agriculture and rearing poultry, and are not distinguished in dress and appearance from their Hindú neighbours. Upon meeting a European they rarely fail of making their religious faith known to him by a clumsy attempt at a bow, and by vociferating lustily *Mum Christ-hún*; the baptismal names Ameliana, Fausta, Albine, Santa, Diana, Angele, are frequent among the humble Christians of Betta." In 1795 Paulino wrote, "the Italian capuchins have here a famous hospice, and are treated with great respect by the rajah of Bettia and his family. In 1826 the native Christians are described as "having a tolerable knowledge of the life and history of Christ, learned chiefly from pictures hung up in different parts of the Church, representing the particular events in Christian history." There are 3,000 native Christians in Bettia, they were for many years without a resident missionary, but they received one in 1841.

PATNA, the modern capital of Behar, was important as a mission. The Sikhs have a place of worship, and Govind Singh the last great teacher of the Sikhs, was born in Patna; it was also important in connection with the Tibet mission; for in Bernier's time caravans used to go, via Patna, to Lassa, a journey of three months, in order to procure musk, rhubarb; a trade was also carried on from Dacca and Patna, to Tibet via Garakpúr. Shah Jehan having attempted to invade China via Kashmír, the King prohibited travellers passing that way, and they used therefore to go to China, via Patna. A mela is held annually at Patar Ghat: it is frequented by hundreds of Tibetans



and people of Nepal. Paulino mentions a hospice of capuchins being at Patna 1793, and that when the Gorkha King waged a bold war against the rajah of Nepal, the Christians of Nepal fled to Patna. Patna was long the residence of Padri Julio Cesar, spoken of by Martyn and Heber, a bon vivant, now a Bishop. The capture of Rome by Napoleon stopped the pecuniary remittance to the Patna and other missionary stations, and even in 1823 it had not been sent. Tirhút, "the garden of India," has a resident Romish missionary, who visits Baglipúr also, where there is a chapel and congregation: great numbers of Portuguese are in Tirhút, employed chiefly as writers to the Indigo Planters; there is one place entirely occupied by them and called Karanitola.

The late H. Martyn, who, though a Chaplain, was not indifferent to the welfare of the Hindus, drew up a Latin circular, which he sent to the Romish missionaries enquiring respecting their missions; he found that at Delhi there were thirty Christian widows, some children, two or three families, but that through the negligence of the padri there, they were rather Mussalmans than Christians and never met for worship—that at Sirdana there were more than 300 Christians in the service of the Begum Sumrú of whom about 260 were East Indians. At Jypúr there were 100 persons, at Gwalior one family; from other places the accounts were unfavourable. Bernier writes that the Jesuits were in the habit of catechising the children of twenty or thirty families at Delhi, that he was fully persuaded the Jesuits by their instructions, alms and charity make a few converts from the Gentiles, but in ten years scarcely a single one from the Mussalmans. *Lahore* was raised by Humayan from a village to a magnificent city, where the Mogul used to reside; from Lahore came the treasure of the Portuguese trade, as being the centre of all Indian traffic, and here they embarked their goods down the river to Tatta, whence they were transported to Orinus and Persia; the merchants also passing this way, they drive a great trade on this river for pepper and spices, furnishing those parts of India therewith." Akbar established his new Eclectic sect at Lahore, but being seized with remorse of conscience, he wrote for missionaries to Goa, and in 1589 two, Leighton and Vega, came to Lahore, and were received by Akbar with great respect. Being impatient of speedy success they soon quitted Akbar, but were censured for their precipitancy at Rome. Two new missionaries were then sent to Lahore, Xavier, nephew of St. Francis Xavier, and Pinno: they were well received by Akbar and were fully convinced from their intercourse with him that he was a Christian in judgment and conviction, but would not submit to be baptized. In 1597 Akbar went to Kashmir, ac-

companied by Xavier, but Pinno remained at Lahore, and made many converts. Akbar allowed the Jesuits to build a Church at Lahore, but Shah Jehan caused it to be pulled down; in 1598 Goaz, a Jesuit, was sent by Akbar as ambassador from Lahore to Goa. Leighton and Vega, who came to Lahore 1589, were permitted by Akbar to open a school there, in which they instructed the Hindus in reading and writing the Portuguese language; when Xavier and Pinno came to Lahore Akbar often attended chapel; the Jesuits' Church was frequented by the deserters of the mosques, but in consequence of the fickleness of the people, the Jesuits at first did not administer baptism to any but the sick and the dying. Catrou, in his history of the Mogul Dynasty, gives an account of a baptism on Whitsuntide 1599 at Lahore: the catechumens walked in procession through the streets of the city; an awning formed from the branches of trees defended the spectators from the sun; tambours, trumpets and other instruments preceded the catechumens: the missionaries received the catechumens at the entrance of the Church. A young girl sixteen years old being in the Church demanded baptism: the missionaries inquired as to her knowledge of Christianity and found she had regularly attended Church: a Mussalman noble wished to place her in his haram, but she refused to go; the nobleman brought a charge against the missionary before the judge of having baptized the woman by force, but the girl gave a good account of her faith and was afterwards married to a Christian man. Amanuel Khan, a governor of Lahore, was well disposed towards Christianity.

We now come to the last of those missions which were established in North India under the influence and protection of the Crown of Portugal—the AGRA MISSION patronised by Akbar. Akbar encouraged the settlement of strangers in the country—he applied to the English at Surat for gunners, and obtained from the Portuguese at Goa European doctors and goldsmiths. He founded Agra, and like Romulus, gave every encouragement to strangers to come and settle in it, and particularly to the Portuguese, whom he regarded as "enterprising and courageous men." He established in Agra fifteen maidauns and bazars, eighty caravansaries and 800 public baths, with a magnificent palace, twelve miles in circumference. The Portuguese were there held in great respect; when Akbar's soldiers heard that the Portuguese were coming to fight with them, they thought "they were men dropped from the skies or risen from the bosom of the ocean:" it was Akbar's presence alone that gave them courage to fight with the Portuguese. In 1568 Akbar invited the Portuguese friars to Delhi: he heard that there was a

Christian priest in Bengal and was anxious to learn about the new religion ; he sent for him to his capital, received him kindly and expressed a wish to learn the Portuguese language. Hearing that Goa was the centre of Portuguese influence in India, he wrote a letter, wishing the fathers to come with "all the books of the gospel and law : " fathers Aquaviva, Monscratto and Enriques were sent 1579 via Surat, they arrived in February at Futtipúr. Akbar gave them a favourable reception, supplied them with good lodgings, offered them money, "and was much edified by their refusing it." On an image of Christ crucified being presented, he worshipped it in three modes, first bowing like the Mussalmans, then kneeling like the Christians, and lastly prostrating himself as the Hindus do, saying that God ought to be worshipped after the customs of all nations ; he was much struck with seeing a fine picture of the Virgin Mary ; the Jesuits gave him a bible in four languages, which he kissed respectfully. The missionaries challenged the Maulavis to a discussion before Akbar : both sides claimed the victory ; Akbar said he was well pleased with Christianity, though there were some mysteries which appeared to him incomprehensible. After listening to several discussions the missionaries solicited Akbar to embrace Christianity and make it the religion of the nation : he deferred his answer, but one of the courtiers told them his motive was curiosity. At length Akbar sent to tell them that a Molla was ready to leap into the flames with the Koran in his hand—this was to try their faith that they should do so with the Bible in their hand. They refused ; the emperor was disappointed and sometimes did not see them for a month together. This disappointment—his curiosity being gratified—together with political disturbances from rebellion breaking out in Bengal and Guzarat, so distracted his attention that they gave up hopes of success ; they returned to Goa 1583.

Akbar sent for the Jesuits again in 1593 ; except that they swelled the pomp of his court and amused him by relics and images which they displayed, they made no impression, and soon returned to Goa, 1595. Akbar sent for them again and expressed a wish to visit their chapel in Lahore : they collected ornaments from every quarter to adorn it and even borrowed some from the Hindus. Akbar was quite dazzled and said that no other religion could produce such brilliant proofs of its divinity. He shewed no partiality for Mahommedanism and even plundered the mosques to equip his cavalry ; he worshipped the sun four times every day ; the missionaries accompanied Akbar to Kashmir ; after his return to Lahore

they attended him to the Dekhan, but seeing no prospect of his conversion they rejoined their brethren at Goa. Akbar's character was a strange compound of inconsistencies : he allowed the Jesuits to preach and baptize and used often to hear them discuss at night for several hours ; he gave several youths into their charge to instruct them in the Portuguese language and Christianity, and sent two of his nephews, who were baptized by Corsi, a Jesuit : they then asked Portuguese wives from the Jesuits, but were refused—on which they renounced Christianity. Sir T. Roe thinks it was a stratagem of Akbar's in order to procure Portuguese women for his haram. Akbar was an eclectic, he was fond of the mystical poetry of Jaydeva : like Henry the Fourth of France, he seems to have regarded religion a good deal in a political light. When once asked by his mother to have the bible hung about an ass's neck and carried about Agra,—because the Portuguese, having taken a ship in which the Koran was found, they laid it on the neck of a dog and beat the dog through the town of Ormus—he refused to comply with his mother, saying that the contempt of any religion was the contempt of God,—however Akbar himself turned mosques into stables !

AKBAR'S first favorable disposition towards Christianity was caused by observing the Christian conduct of Antoni Criminal the Portuguese ambassador from Goa to his court : " he became persuaded that such perfect integrity could only be inspired by the true religion : on the recommendation of his ambassador he sent for Jesuit missionaries to Bengal, and in order that he might converse with them very freely he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, in which he succeeded with a facility that was surprising." The Jesuits at Akbar's court were indefatigable, and, in their way, pious men. Aquaviva's life was often in danger from the courtiers, who envied him his influence over Akbar. Akbar at last offered him a guard for his protection : the father gave a reply which was well worthy of a better man, " an apostolic character is sufficiently defended by the confidence which it is his duty to repose in God, he ought rather to lay down his life than reject his trust ;" this father though residing at the court of Akbar at Futtipúr, yet slept on a mat on the ground, his food was rice boiled in water. Akbar made a noble remark " that it was by shedding their own blood Christians propagated their faith, but by shedding the blood of others Mussalmanism has prevailed in the east." When asked to become a Christian he made the remark " What change the religion of my fathers ! how dangerous for an emperor, how difficult for a

man bred up in the ease and liberty of the Koran." Akbar appointed Monserrat a Jesuit tutor to his son Pahari: one day he began his lesson before Akbar with the name of Almighty God added, "my son," said Akbar, "and of Jesus Christ the true prophet." Akbar at one time dismissed all the women of his seraglio, adored the image of the Virgin and commanded his soldiers to do the same. He adopted the opinion of the Sûfis, a Persian sect, which borrowed much of their faith and practice from the Hindus. Jehangîr, his son one day remonstrated with him for his liberality of sentiment; Akbar showed him that persons not Mussalmans were numerous and useful in art and science.

The Jesuits possessed great influence at the Mogul court. When Sir J. Hawkins arrived in 1609 as ambassador of England to the Mogul, letters were delivered to an old Jesuit to interpret who opposed the English very much; the Jesuits at Agra corresponded with those of Goa to thwart the interest of the English. The Jesuits had apartments in the palace of Akbar, where they erected an altar and set up a cross; some of the royal family became converts. They did not seem however to have been very successful among the natives: they confined their attention to the Europeans in Akbar's service as "they knew too well the difficulty of converting the proud and sensual Mahommedans, even with the advantage of Akbar's countenance, to look for any success among them when that favour was withdrawn." Sir T. Roe remarks, "I cannot find by good search that there is one Christian really and truly converted, nor makes a profession, except some few that have been baptized for money and are maintained by the Jesuits:" this shews the nature of Jesuit conversions. In 1606 Maidenhall, a merchant, sent by Queen Elizabeth, arrived at Agra, was favorably received by the Mogul, and was about to conclude a commercial treaty between the Mogul and the Queen of England: "the King sent to two Jesuits being then in great honor, and credit, seeking their opinion, they were in an exceeding great rage and told the King the English were all thieves and did it merely to take the country: that the Jesuits had served the King nearly twelve years and told him the truth." After waiting nearly twelve months Maidenhall was about to return home, frustrated in his plans, as the King and his councillors had turned against him—the Jesuits having given each of the King's chief councillors 6,000 Rs. to oppose him: they even induced his interpreter, an Armenian, to forsake him. Maidenhall then applied himself to Persian for six months to qualify himself for conversing in the vernacular: he had an

interview with the Emperor and refuted the charges; the Emperor was convinced and granted him the treaty. Jchangir professed the liberal opinions of Akbar, and for twelve months had a disputation on religion every night for two hours before the Jesuits; he told them that he would turn Christian if they would cast a crucifix and picture of Christ into the fire and it did not burn; the Jesuits had strong hopes of Jchangir's conversion. Sultan Suja, in the time of Bernier, paid great attention to the Portuguese missionaries. Corryat, an old traveller, remarks, "whereas the Jesuits began in Agra in the name of Bibi Mary, and not of Esa, we might gather that the Jesuits preached more Mary than Jesus." Mention is made of a German Jesuit at Agra about 1660, named Roc, who had paid some attention to Sanskrit. In 1614 a traveller states, "in Agra the Jesuits have a very fair church built by the King; the King allows the chief seven rupees a day and the rest three, with power to convert as many as they can; when by the effect of the Portugals they were debarred of this pay, the new converts brought their beads."

We have now given a sketch of the Portuguese in their settlements in Bengal and their missions both there and in the N. W. Provinces,—though all the missionaries were not Portuguese yet the crown of Portugal threw its protecting ægis round them all. We shall now take a brief survey of the Portuguese in other points.

THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE at one period seemed likely to have been the leading European one in India. Hamilton remarks about 1700, "along the Sea Coast the Portuguese have left the vestiges of their language; though much corrupted, yet it is the language that *most Europeans learn first to qualify themselves for a general converse with one another* as well as with the different *inhabitants of India*." In the time of Ziegenbalg the celebrated missionary, Portuguese was used on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts; he employed it as the *medium of intercourse with natives* until he learned the vernacular. In 1789 when a Mr. Clarke, a missionary, who afterwards apostatised from his profession and became a chaplain, arrived in Calcutta, he commenced the study of Portuguese for the purpose of ministering to the *Native* congregations, *most* of whom spoke this language; Kiernander opened the Old or Mission Church 1780 for service in English and Portuguese. As late as 1811 the Portuguese language was used in all the Romish Churches in Calcutta. The arrival of Dr. St. Leger as Vicar Apostolic was the signal for a change: previous to that all the priests were Portuguese and scarcely knew any other language;

even still the service in Bandel Church is in Portuguese. In Húgli thirty years ago Portuguese was spoken to servants. The first labours of the Calcutta Bible Society were directed to publishing the Bible in Portuguese. In 1797 Ringletaube, a Church Missionary in Calcutta, studied Portuguese with a view of being useful among the *Natives*. It is surprising that so accurate a writer as Sismondi should state, that, "in India Portuguese is the language of commerce;" a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for 1814 is equally mistaken, when he asserts, "if in the eventual triumph of Christianity in India a Romish Church should be formed, *Portuguese* will be the language of that church wherever it extends." The most energetic Romish priests now are Irishmen, whose language is English not Portuguese. Though in 1636 Portuguese was the language spoken at Gombroon by the people, being introduced by the Portuguese when they had possession of Ormus, and though an edition of the Bible was published for the use of the Portuguese in Batavia and the other isles of the Eastern Archipelago, —yet the doom of the Portuguese language is sealed—English is in the ascendant and is identified with the best interests of humanity and the social and moral welfare of the inhabitants of India. Though Le Bas, in his life of Bishop Middleton, remarks, "the Portuguese language may perhaps be considered as one favourable medium for the diffusion of the true religion throughout the maritime provinces of the East," experience, and the voice of history do not set their seal to the truth of this assertion of Mr. Le Bas. The Romans left traces of their language in England: the Mussalmans in the Persian law terms of the courts of India; but except a few words such as *padri*, *caste*, *compound*, little trace, of Portuguese remains in India.

NO PORTUGUESE AUTHORS seem to have been produced in India—the same remark is applicable to the Portuguese colonies throughout the world, which can only boast of a Vasconcelles of Madeira and a De Sylva of Brasil. But "the stream cannot rise higher than the fountain"—what has been the state of *literature* in Portugal itself? Before the fifteenth century we have scarcely any Portuguese literature, with the exception of a poem dedicated to Isabella of Castile, in which the writer pays her the compliment—that had she lived in the days of Christ he would have chosen her as his mother, instead of the Virgin Mary! The fifteenth century, the golden age of Portuguese conquest in India, was the Augustan age of Portuguese literature: the two great poets Miranda and Ferreira then flourished, but they are not to be compared with Dante and Chaucer. Montmayor also flourished then, a soldier—and yet

he composed pastorals ; the success of the Portuguese in literature was contemporary with their most brilliant actions as a political power ; and when the establishment of the Inquisition in 1540 entirely cramped the national energy,—and in the following century deprived them of the energy to maintain their independence against the ambition of Spain, romances and books of chivalry formed the staple of their literature. The Portuguese language owed its origin to the reign of Henry, who founded the Portuguese monarchy A. D. 1095. The Arabic language imparted richness to it ; there are 1,400 words in it of Arabic origin. The following remarks originally applied to the Spanish, may to a certain extent be referred to Portuguese also ; “the Spanish language is Oriental ; its spirit, its pomp and the end that it proposes belong to another sphere of ideas, to another world.” Sismondi remarks, “Portuguese literature is complete in every thing but nothing in abundance.” Portuguese literature is distinguished for its pastoral poetry. The *Lusiad* gives a summary of Portuguese history, written to celebrate the glory of the Portuguese in India ; it is the only monument universally known of Portuguese literature. Camoens is at once the honour and the disgrace of Portugal ; disappointed in love, he became a soldier and wrote poetry : at Ormus he held the sword in one hand and the pen in the other ; he spent five years at Macao composing his immortal *Lusiad* ; he returned to Lisbon, where his slave *begged bread for him in the streets* ; he died A. D. 1579 in an *hospital*. Though prose and eloquence were little cultivated in Portugal owing to despotism and the Inquisition, yet we have some good historians on India. *De Barros* who died in 1570, “the Livy of Portugal,” was three years Governor in Africa and treasurer-general of the Chamber of India, from whence he drew the materials for those memoirs which he compiled by the order of the King. *De Couto* wrote his history in 1615, spent eight years in India, was keeper of the archives in Goa—*Maffæi* was famous for the Latin style of his Indian history—*De Sousa*, who died 1649, chiefly abridged *De Barros*—*Castagnado* went expressly to India to collect materials for his history and travelled through Portugal for the same cause—*Osorius*, the Portuguese Cicero, wrote the life of King Emanuel—*Albuquerque* composed commentaries “remarkable for their simplicity and modesty.”

The PORTUGUESE NOW read a solemn warning to Europeans in India : what Bishop Heber writes of the Portuguese of Dacca is generally applicable to them : “very poor and very degraded.” Franklin, who visited Goa in 1786, states that their army amounted to 5,000, two regiments of which were Europeans,



and that the Home Government was obliged to *send* large sums of money annually to defray the expenses of their Indian possessions. Calicut, the great emporium in Di Gama's time, exists no more ; the sea has overflowed it ; at very low water Forbes states he has seen the waves breaking over the tops of the highest temples and minarets, "a few low huts are all that remains." In 1793 a Carmelite monk of Goa was begging in the streets of Calcutta for his convent. Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" thus describes Goa, "the streets were faintly traced by the remains of their forsaken mansions: the squares and markets were the haunts of serpents and other reptiles, and the few human inhabitants were priests, monks, half-starved soldiers and low mechanics." Goa is described by another, as "having deserted streets, altars coldly served by an ignorant and indolent priesthood, a population of monks and ecclesiastics: the lines which lead from one street to another are choked up with weeds and rubbish," *Goa has no trade* ; it is a burden on the mother country. None of the Goa priests, 1,000 in number, know Greek or Hebrew. Sismondi remarks, "the vast empire of Portugal in India has long since disappeared, there remain not in the midst of countries formerly tributary but two cities half deserted, where they still keep languishing factories: the great kingdoms in the west of Africa of Congo, Loango, Angola, Benin, and those in the East where they introduced their religion, their laws and language, have gradually withdrawn from their obedience, and are almost entirely detached from the Portuguese empire." In 1827 there were only sixteen printing presses in all Portugal ; Coimbra, Oporto and Lisbon, were the only towns where there were bookshops ; foreign trade was chiefly in the hand of English merchants ; no canals ; a navy of two ships of the line, four frigates and some smaller vessels, though in the fifteenth century Portugal had the largest navy in the world. As for the majority of the Portuguese in North India, we fear the remark made by a gentleman on the Portuguese of Salsette is but too applicable to them, "they are wedded to all the absurd ceremonies of the Hindu mythology, of which they are particularly observant on birth days and marriages ; they retain in their houses various implements of Hindu idolatry and enter indiscriminately into all the pernicious usages of a deplorable superstition."

The causes of the decline of the Portuguese in India were various. *The forcible union of Portugal with Spain* is prominent: the Spanish monarchs wished to enfeeble Portugal in India ; Philip the Second gave the trade of the Eastern Archipelago to the Spaniards, he allowed only five ships to leave

Lisbon annually for Goa, instead of twenty as formerly. Lafitau and De Sousa close their histories with this event, as being the terminus of Portuguese conquest and discovery in India. This Union lasted from 1580 to 1641; during it the Empire of America engrossed the attention of Spain to the neglect of India, and when Portugal regained its independence the national character and spirit of adventure were damped. While Portuguese trade was a *monopoly* in the hands of Government, and no vessel was allowed to sail on the Indian Seas without a passport from the Portuguese governor or Factory, the *Dutch* engaged in the India trade in the spirit of their republican institutions and made it a *national* concern: "the princes were poor but the state rich." The Dutch threw off the yoke of Spain at the time the Portuguese were obliged to submit to it; their free institutions raised Antwerp to be the rival of Venice in commerce. The Dutch captured the Portuguese ships and applied part of the produce to pay native troops, by whose aid they drove the Portuguese from their settlements in India. In 1660 the Dutch had every valuable settlement to the east of the Cape of Good Hope.

Some other causes of the downfall of the Portuguese in India may read an admonitory lesson to the English in India, who, it is to be feared, while they reprobate *Brakmanical* caste, maintain often an *European* system of caste almost as *rigorous* and *exclusive* as the spirit of *Kúlinism*; the *haughty* and *contemptuous* tone with which too many English shrink from all *social* intercourse with the natives is a painful truth. DeSouza writes of his countrymen, "the ruin of our affairs proceeds from the *little regard* the *great* ones have for the *lesser* sort." Mandelso writes of Goa, "there is scarcely any one here, except tailors and shoemakers, but what are served by slaves,"—we have abolished slavery in India, but let us not look on the natives, as if they were made merely for the pecuniary benefit of a few Europeans in India—let us govern India for *its own sake*, and think it a noble mission to train up the natives to *self-government*, so that *eventually* they may be independent of foreigners. "*The insolencies of the Portuguese* inclined the Indian natives to receive the Holland rebels into their ports." "The Dutch took Ceylon and Malacca from the Portuguese, they were joined by the *natives* excited against the Portuguese on account of their *cruelty*"—the Jews expelled from Portugal submitted to the Dutch plans of conquest, acting on which they deprived the Portuguese of their dominions in India. The late Panjab war has shewn how little affection the natives generally entertain for their English conquerors—mere *military* power may check the just discontent of a degraded

people but it will burst out with more fury at a convenient opportunity. Tavernier remarks, "If the Portuguese had not kept so many *forts*, and if in the contempt they held the Dutch in, they had not neglected their own affairs, they would not be reduced to the condition they are now in."

On the other hand the policy of Albuquerque in cementing a union between the Natives and Portuguese by INTERMARRIAGE has signally failed: the progeny is physically inferior to both father and mother, has the vices of both without their redeeming qualities. Providence—by the laws of propagation and by the Indian climate which "produced an effeminate race of Portuguese in two centuries from Di Gama's time"—seems to frown upon such alliances which form a hybrid race. 'Tis true Alexander encouraged the marriage of his Macedonian troops with Persian women. Baber connected his family by marriage ties with the Hindus; Akbar did the same with respect to the Hindus; but the alliances of Moguls with Hindus and of Greeks with Persians is that of virtually the same race; not so of Portuguese with Hindus;—the effects are visible in the Portuguese of India. Mendelsloe mentions in 1639 that the half-caste Portuguese at Goa "in the third generation become as black as the natives of the country:" this is a singular contrast with the fact that the Canarese women are black, but marrying with whites their offspring is of a lighter colour. The mesticos or half-caste Portuguese "in the 3rd generation differ nothing in colour and fashion from natural Indians." The question is beset with difficulties—in Paraguay the half-castes are superior in physical qualities to the races from whence they sprung—Burnes remarks of the Sikhs, "as a tribe they were unknown 400 years ago, and the features of the whole nation are as distinct now from those of their neighbours as are those of the Indians or Chinese." Some of the Brahmans of high caste are black—many Arabs of pure blood in the middle of Africa are as black as negroes—the Jews of Portugal and of Cochin are very black, though they do not intermarry with natives.

The career of the Portuguese in India is an unanswerable argument in favour of the moral benefits of having an intimate intercourse between Europeans in India and England, and of having India intersected with railroads. The Portuguese are represented by Fryer in 1680 as "wallowing in wealth and wantonness; generally forgetting their pristine virtue; lust, riot and rapine, the ensuing consequences of a long undisturbed peace, where wealth abounds, are the only reliques of their ancient worth; their courage being so much effeminated that it is a wonder how they keep any thing if it

were not that they lived among mean-spirited neighbours." Goetz writes that "the Portuguese gentry in India thought it a mark of nobility to be ignorant of writing." The Portuguese became isolated from whatever was virtuous and pure in their own country owing to the *difficulty of communication*. Thus in 1609 vessels left Lisbon with soldiers and merchants on board ; they were *eight months* before they reached Goa, without seeing land during the time ; they lost one-third of their passengers. When men were thus exposed to all the contamination of a heathen country, away from friends, we need not be surprised at the following remarks—Alfonso De Sousa, Governor of India, in 1545 said, "I dare not govern India by men who are so changed from truth and honor,"—"The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other ; finding much gold they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets, and not being able to hold them up with one hand, they were grown so heavy, they dropped the sword too ; being found in this posture by those who came after, they were easily overcome." It is mentioned of the very Viceroys, removed from the close inspection of the Home authorities, being appointed for three years,—that "the first year they had enough to do to repair and furnish their houses, and to know the manners and customs of the country, without any further troubling of themselves : the second year to gather treasure and to look to their particular profit, for which cause they came to India : the third and last year to prepare themselves and set all things in order, that they might not be surprised nor overtaken by the new Viceroy when he comes, but that they might return to Portugal with the goods which they had scraped together ;"—so writes an author of 1583.

We cheerfully admit that the crown of Portugal and several of the early Indian Viceroys made the spread of Romish Christianity one of their chief objects. The zeal of the clergy prompted to discovery ; the cross was planted wherever discoverers landed ; three years after the discovery of the Cape route, missionaries were sent from Portugal to India ; when Albuquerque built a fort in Cochin he erected a chapel in it ; the great motive of Don Henry in his discoveries was "the glory of God and the extension of the faith." In 1489 Don John, King of Portugal, promoted maritime enterprise to India with a design of finding out Pretre John, and of forming an alliance with him for the propagation of Christianity ; in 1500 King Emanuel sent an embassy to the King of Calicut ; one of the proposals was to allow five Franciscans to preach the gospel there. Bishop Middleton remarked, after his primary visitation, that "it was

almost impossible to move in any direction in India, without tracing the steps of the Church of Rome. In Tavernier's time there were in Goa, an Archbishop, Dominicans, Augustinians, Cordeliers, Carmelites, Capuchins,—and Jesuits who had five houses. The moral influence of the Portuguese however over the natives was very little. In 1583 a Portuguese, going into a mosque and seeing it empty, asked for the god or saint, the Mussalman replied that "the Mussalmans do not pray to sticks and stones, but to the living God, who is in heaven; that the proud Portuguese Christians and the heathen are of one religion, for they pray to images made of wood and stone, and give them the glory which pertains to the living God." An old writer states, "the Brahmans honour the Portuguese images, as approaching to their own superstition." De Sousa gravely gives an account of an image of Christ on the cross at Goa, which in the sight of all the men there, opened its eyes, repeatedly bled from the temples, and moved its knees! When Di Gama's followers landed at Calicut they observed a splendid temple: as they expected to see the Christians of St. Thomé, they thought it was a Christian temple and fell down to worship the image; but one of them looking up and seeing the image had enormous tusks (Gonesh) thought it best to put in a caveat, "if this be a devil, yet it is God I worship."

The Portuguese started at the same time with the Spaniards on their career of discovery and conquest. The results were widely different. It is true the Portuguese had Mussalmans to contend with and a greater diversity of affairs to occupy them. The Mexicans knew not the use of fire-arms and lived in all the simplicity of their isolated condition—but Portuguese India had no *Las Casas* to stand up for the rights of an injured race: it had no Paraguay to exhibit as "a triumph of humanity." What could we expect, when the jails of Portugal disgorged their putrid contents on the shores of India, because it was found easier to transport criminals to India than to punish them in Portugal? Even Di Gama on his first voyage took with him ten criminals who had been condemned to death. The Portuguese empire has passed away in India: the Dutch has also declined: the French had fair at one time for ascendancy under the auspices of Lally and Dupleix. Britain now wields the sceptre. May she administer her rule—not for the mere benefit of a handful of Europeans—but in order to implant the seeds of true religion, a healthy literature, and sound political principles into the minds of the millions subject to her sway! Steam and railroads will tend to prevent the remark of Lafitau

from ever being applicable to the English in India, "the distance of the Portuguese in India from the person of their sovereign, seemed to authorise the most monstrous unchastity, the most enormous rapine, the most crying injustice, covetousness the most insatiable, as also all that which jealousy, hatred and revenge have of atrocious." With all their faults the Portuguese have been pioneers to European civilization in India; they led the way on the Cape route; they afforded a shield to Romish missionary objects; they confronted the Mussalman power in India. It has been remarked that from the time of the Portuguese conquests, the Mahommedans have ceased to extend themselves in any manner. The Portuguese were the first to drive the Mussalmans from the European Peninsula, the first to oppose the Moors in Africa, and the first to check them in India.

The state of India was very different when the Portuguese entered it from what it was when the English proceeded thither. The Portuguese came at the era when Baber ascended the Mogul throne. Some time previous to that, the throne of Jaychand, the last King of Kanauj, was overturned, from which period the grandeur of Kanauj was extinct, and Rajput power, which had so long adorned India with its arts and monuments of civilization, became the spoil of Moslem fury. The kingdom of Bisnagar, now blotted out of the map, was then in its glory; Sanskrit was the court language; nothing was done without the Brahmans; this kingdom in the time of Kosmos, A. D. 537, stretched itself across the whole Peninsula and as far South as Mysore. The crescent is waning: Russia, scarcely in existence four centuries ago, is now stretching the ægis of her power from Constantinople to the Sea of Corea and from the Polar Regions to the territories of Yarkand. All that we can wish for England is, that her power in India may be, like "a fort over a valley, not for destruction, but defence."



## THE COUNTRIES BETWIXT THE SUTLEJ AND THE JUMNA.

By R. N. CUST, Esq., c. s.

1. *Murray's Life of Runjít Singh.*
2. *Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs.*
3. *Anglo-Indian Treaties.*
4. *Political Relations, N. W. F.*
5. *Life of George Thomas.*

THE Khalsa Army no longer exists, and the integrity of the Punjab, the kingdom created and ably governed by Runjít Singh, has been destroyed. We are now no longer menaced by a licentious army threatening, at every turn of Durbar politics, and factious intrigue, the peace of our provinces: a succession of victories, unequalled in the fierceness of the conflict, and the magnitude of the issue, has lowered the spirit of the last Native power of India, which, though for the space of forty years bound to us only by the brittle chains of friendship and amity, had never before crossed swords with us, but during a period of temporary failure to our arms had proved our faithful ally. Irresistible circumstances, however, hurried on the conflict at a time, when universal peace enabled us to concentrate the strength of our empire, and annihilate the armies of the treacherous invader.

The campaign of 1845-46 will neither be soon nor easily forgotten: it will be remembered by many a widow and orphan, as the era from which their worldly distress commenced—it will be remembered by those engaged in it with feelings of triumph at the bravery and determination exhibited, and with humiliation, when we reflect upon the difficulty, with which the means of our vast empire are made available, and the slender hold, which, after the lapse of nearly a whole century, we can be said to have upon India. We have indeed much to be proud of, and much to regret in the events, which have lately crowded one upon the other—pride, at the display of the still indomitable valour of the British soldier—regret, at the number of those gallant men, whose services have been lost to their country. The soldier and the statesman will find no unprofitable lesson in pondering the progress and the issue of the campaign of the Sutlej.

But for the present, we must waive the discussion of this subject. Our remarks apply to the battle-field, not to the battle, and we would draw the attention of our readers to the scenes upon which these stirring events have been passing—the plains of Sirhind and Malwa—the countries betwixt the Sutlej and the Jumna.

From the earliest times, going back to a period of dim tradition, these plains have been the battle-field of India. It is here and in the country immediately adjoining the opposite banks of each river that the fights of races and religions have been fought: who shall venture to say how often the rich valley of the Ganges has been lost and won on these plains?—how often the conqueror from the west, once established on the threshold of India, has found himself the irresistible master of the riches and resources of the country beyond? From the days of Alexander to those of Runjít Singh the tide of conquest has flowed through this channel, bringing down a succession of the hardy and fanatical tribes of the west to colonize and deteriorate under the baneful influence of the east:—once, and once only, in the history of ages has the order of things been reversed, and this century has beheld the often-conquered Hindu carrying on these plains in triumph a sufficient trophy from the tomb of the first, the most fanatical, and still most hated of their Mahommedan conquerors.

A cursory glance at the map of Asia will show how justly the plains of Sirhind are, as their name indicates, entitled to be considered the head or threshold of India: the great Himalaya range presents an unbroken frontier on the east from the confines of Arrakan to the valley of Kashmír—on the west the vast desert of Central India extends from Gujarat, and gradually narrowing may be said to terminate in or adjoining our districts of Hurreanah and Bhutteanah. European art and arrangement has in these days rendered this desert a safe and practicable route for a limited force on friendly terms with the countries on both sides, and the caravans of the Lohani merchant have for ages traversed its sands in security; but to a hostile force advancing from the west these deserts present an ample and sufficient barrier. It is only, therefore, through this narrow neck of country, intervening between the line of hill and desert, that India has ever been open to invasion from the tribes inhabiting Central Asia, who had overwhelmed Hindustan with periodical inundations.

We have said that even from the days of tradition these plains have been the battle-field of India, and our readers, learned in the lore of the Hindus, will scarcely require to be informed that our allusion is to the battle of the Kurukhetra, the contest between the sons of Kuru and Pandu for the throne of Indraprastha, in which the Hindu poet with a vehemence and variety of imagery not unworthy of him, who sang the wars of Troy, asserts, and boldly maintains that the gods themselves took a part, and disguised in mortal garb, directed the battle



of the victors. With that strange inconsistency and garrulosity which distinguishes the Hindu poets, Krishna himself is represented as inculcating moral doctrines of a most diffuse and exalted kind, with his armour buckled on, and all but engaged in the fight. Unknown as the circumstances of these battles may be to the European lords of the soil, insignificant as they may appear to be from their results having perished, they are well known to, and intimately blended with the religion of the Hindus. Let him that doubts repair to Thanesur in these plains, and visit the sacred lake that bears the name of the field, of which it is the extreme corner : let the sceptic see the crowds, that resort to bathe in its holy waters—let him count the gold that is poured into the lap of Brahmans, who swarm there beyond calculation—let him hear one of the learned of their number quote with enthusiasm the lines of the Mahabharata which tell of the valour of Arjuna, and the pride of Bhima Sena,—and he might well suppose from the fervour of the reciter, that the aged man was narrating some victory, in which he himself, when a youth, had gloried to have taken a share. Such, in all ages, and in all climes, is the power of legendary lore,—intensely increased, when associated with religion, and such a religion as Hinduism. The district of Khytul, uninteresting in any other respect, notorious for the wild and savage nature of its inhabitants, unhealthy in its climate, and unfertile in its productions, has, in the eyes of the Hindus, a sanctity not surpassed by any other district in India. Here the devotee wanders from Tirtha to Tirtha in quick succession : he bathes in the waters of the Saraswati, the stream connected with the Goddess of Wisdom. Intensely ignorant as he is of the object of the circuit he is taking, of the events for the occurrence of which the scenes he visits are renowned, he still fancies he derives some feeling of imbibed sanctity, and the satisfaction attending the performance of a pious and edifying deed, in completing the prescribed bathings and purifications at Pehoa and Thanesur in the field of the Kurukhetra.

Who will venture to fix the dates when the battles alluded to above were fought?—daily handed down to us in mystic tradition we take them at the value they may seem intrinsically to possess. There may have been—there must have been many a battle, of which we have no record. Many a brave man may have lived and fought before Arjuna and Alexander, but they had no bard to celebrate their victories, or record their virtues : happy may those be considered to whom this favour has by fate been accorded, and doubly valued by us ought the legends of the early state of a people to be !

We pass over a period of years—may be of centuries, and we arrive at the days of Alexander. This period seems to be one upon which tradition and history meet upon neutral ground, and contend for empire. Who can doubt that the hero of Macedon did really penetrate to the Punjab, that his vessels did in truth ride upon the Indus?—but we see all, as it were, through a hazy darkness—we can neither fix with exactness the site of the cities, which he founded, nor the tribes which he conquered: we can neither recognize the traitors, nor the patriots who fought with or died against the enemy from the west. Antiquarians squabble, and commentators differ as to whether Mooltan was the capital of the Malli, or Porus of the family of the Pouravi, who, as the Mahabharata and the drama of Sacontala tell us, were seated on the throne of India. Be it what it may, a great power penetrated in the third century before our era to the neighbourhood of the Sutlej, but turning off ere they reached the plains of Sirhind they conveyed to Europe the origin of those vague rumours of the wealth, the power, and magnificence of Hindustan, on the threshold of which they had stood, and of the inhabitants of which they had collected some varied and distorted information.

We now pass over, in a breath, a period of thirteen centuries: how many dynasties may have risen, and fallen in that period, if Indian dynasties were then liable to the same vicissitude to which they have since been subject! We have no landmark to direct us, no ray of light to attract our attention between the days of the son of Philip and the son of Sebukhtegin. We may conclude that the peninsula of India, if not free from internal broil, was at least unassailed by foreign invaders. We give up that period to the respective supporter of the Buddhist and Brahmanical theories:—this must have been the time when those vast structures were raised, which still astonish us, when the Hindu people were governed by sovereigns of their own race and religion: it must have been a time, when the temple was crowded with worshippers, and the shrine heaped with rich presents: these must be the good old days, to which the pious must still look back with regret, when kine were not killed, and when Brahmans were worshipped through the land! But a bitter, an uncompromising, a fanatical enemy to the creed of Brahma, to all who bowed down to wood and stone. had sprung into existence in the deserts of Arabia. The fiery tenets of Mahomed had resuscitated the slumbering energy of the races, which had been once great and powerful between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and sent forth hordes of warriors prepared to conquer and die in the name of the

Almighty, the indivisible and the eternal. From the straits of Gibraltar on the west to the mountains which overhang the Indus, from the Oxus to the Nile, the sons of Islam overcame all that opposed them. New kingdoms were established, and new dynasties grasped at sovereign power, till the eleventh century found Mahmoud, the son of Sebukhtegin, seated upon the throne of Ghuzni, and prepared to carry out the bold but unfinished attempts of his father to add the plains of Hindustan to his dominions. Burning with the lust of conquest he assumed the cloak of religion, and started forth on an expedition to plunder and convert. Twelve times did he with different degrees of success pour his hordes into India; and on some occasions over the plains of Sirhind did he carry fire and sword, breathing vengeance against Kings and idolaters, seeking and destroying cities, defacing and polluting shrines. At Thanesur, then the seat of a rich and powerful kingdom, and a place of resort to the pious Hindu from all quarters, was fought, by one of his successors, a great and bloody battle,—and not one only, for a partial defeat of the invader, was merely the forerunner of a more complete victory, which laid open to him the road to Delhi and the other kingdoms of India. Still, Mahmoud was but the rod, his descendants and successors were the destroying serpents. A Pathan monarchy was established at Delhi, and thence ramified over India. But as one dynasty succeeded, or rather destroyed the other,—as the Ghorians, the slave Kings, the Lodis struggled for conquest,—on each, on very occasion, the plains of Sirhind were scoured and ravaged, as the Pathan born in the mountains descended with a fresh horde of needy adventurers to demand his share of the common prey from his more effeminate brethren of Hindustan.

But the success which had attended the irruptions of Mahmoud and his successors, the vast and incalculable wealth in specie and jewels, with which the kingdom of Ghuzni had been enriched, attracted the attention and excited the avarice of a needy and warlike race of warriors, with whom the plains beyond the Oxus were teeming. The first irruption of this people under Zinghis Khan swept like a mighty tempest along the borders of India, and overspread Asia from the Pacific to the Caspian:—but although the mountains of Kabul fell an easy prey to the invader, the rich provinces of India were spared, and the coast of Balin; the Emperor of Delhi became the refuge of Kings and Princes, over whose dominions the tempest had burst. When, however, in the succeeding century a fresh storm gathered from beyond the Oxus, and the invincible Timúr was commencing his career of victory, which was destined to

embrace the Celestial empire on the east, and the Sublime Porte on the west, India was his first and most coveted prey. Nor were there the means of resistance either in the people of the country or their degenerate Rulers to stem the tide of this new invasion. The institutes of Timúr would represent him as possessed of every virtue—his acts stamp him as the perpetrator of every crime, human and inhuman. If the massacre of helpless prisoners, and the licensed plunder and slaughter of unresisting citizens, can hold up the name of any conqueror to the execration of posterity, that conqueror is Timúr, whose course from the Indus to the Ganges was literally marked by carnage and devastation. Content with having displayed his vast powers as the scourge of the Almighty, Timúr made no attempt to establish his dynasty in Delhi, but satiated with the blood and wealth of India, he recrossed the Indus, and entered upon the grand expedition, which stupendous as it was, he executed,—that of planting his standard on the further shore of the Bosphorus. India was left to the government, or rather the misgovernment of the remnant of the Pathan dynasties, till, in the person of Baber, his lineal descendant, arose the star of the imperial house of Delhi, miscalled the house of the Moguls. Baber's own pen has left us an interesting account of his adventures and his wanderings, and we can follow him from the time when he was an exile from his paternal heritage, when he seemed the butt of fortune, and, though often defeated, was never known to despair. We accompany him to the battle of Sirhind and Paniput, where he accomplished the downfall of the house of Lodi, and established his own family at Delhi. Scarcely, however, had the energetic founder of the dynasty, which still occupies the pageant throne of Delhi, breathed his last, ere the sceptre was snatched from the hands of his less gifted son, who was driven into exile across the Indus. Thence returning with recruited strength, the plains of Sirhind again became the theatre of the struggle for empire, and the road by which the hardy but undisciplined sons of the north plundered their way to the capital of Hindustan. The field of Paniput a second time decided the fate of India, and the struggles of the Pathan and the Tartar ceased finally under the able rule of Akbar. This, however, did not bring rest to these devoted regions. Armies were incessantly pouring across them to reduce rebellious provinces, or more completely to bring into subjection half-subdued districts. Sometimes they proceeded to victory—sometimes to disaster.

With the exception of these expeditions the countries between the Indus and the Jumna enjoyed comparative repose during

the reign of Akbar, and his three illustrious successors. It was then that the arts of peace were cultivated, that the stately serai sprung into existence, as it were by the wand of the enchanter, in the centre of the desert plain—it was then that the magnificent cities were erected with their mosques, their tombs, their garden houses, and all the accompaniments of luxury and grandeur, which still in their ruins excite feelings of astonishment and admiration. The plains of Sirhind then became the route, along which the court of Jehangir and Shah Jehan travelled in luxurious pomp from Delhi to the happy valley of Kashmir. The invaluable memoirs of the scientific Bernier give us an accurate and amusing picture of such imperial progresses, and the multitude of miseries and discomforts which attended them. Any traveller in the North-West Provinces can sympathise with him in his woeful description of the “naughty” waters (we quote from recollection) much troubled by the drinking of cattle, and washing of followers: we can feel for him in the dire necessity of eating “the filthy bread of the bazaar,” and having his whole day consumed in pitching and striking tents, in knocking in pegs, and abusing servants—in being suffocated with dust, and so shut in on all sides by ropes and kanauts as neither to be able to advance nor retreat. His picturesque descriptions speak for themselves, and shew that the habits of the people of India are still unchanged. These periodical processions of the emperors must have been splendid and stately affairs, but bringing with them devastation and ruin to the villages on the line of march. Even in our own days, with all the system and arrangement of our district jurisdictions, the passage of a Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief is like that of a destroying spirit. The great man is himself only dimly seen in the early morning march, but the camp followers plunder the whole day,—verifying the Persian proverb, that if one egg be required for the Prince, one thousand chickens are spitted by his servants. Redress is vain, as before the morrow’s dawn, the camp itself and the means of identifying the parties are gone: if such exists even now what must have been the state of things in the days of the Mahommedan empire? The Kos minars still mark the royal way from Agra to Lahore, and many of the halting places are still distinguishable by the remains of gardens and buildings devoted to the temporary accommodation of the court in its transit. A perusal of the autobiography of Jehangir gives some more particulars of such journeys, as they appeared to royalty itself, and supply us with an amusing anecdote of truly oriental justice which took place by order of the emperor in the gardens of Sirhind. The death of Arang-

zebe again brought war and confusion, intrigue and assassination into the north of Hindustan. During the years immediately succeeding, we read of armies advancing to and from Lahore, of the empire being sold for money or purchased by blood. We find the petty district authorities availing themselves of the times to assist their independence, and Pathan, Mogul, and Hindu each seizing what they could lay hold of, and rendering the countries between the Sutlej and the Jumna a scene of anarchy and confusion.

But the attention of all was suddenly directed from objects of selfish aggrandizement, and the instinct of common danger united all once more upon the unexpected arrival of the terrible Nadir. Once more the countries beyond the snowy mountains which bound India on the North-West had sent forth an iron race of warriors, who under one leader swept down with irresistible violence upon the unprotected plains of Hindustan: all the newly raised potentates of India were struck with astonishment at their new and invincible invader. Even far in the Dekhan its influence was felt, and it urged Bají Rao, the Mahratta Peishwah, to invite his bitter enemy the Nizam, to form a general league for the defence of India against a common foe. The plunderer and destroyer swept on to Delhi, and the spot is still shown in the mosque of Rushkun-úd-daulah, where he seated himself to indulge his insatiable bloodthirstiness in the slaughter of the citizens of the first city of the empire.

The stream was too violent to be lasting, and we find that it soon rolled back, and an inglorious death ere long terminated the career of Nadir Shah: but as his invasion gave the finishing stroke to the power of the house of Tímur, so also it brought to a perfection the confusion and anarchy prevailing in the unhappy country whose history we are touching upon. What was its condition? Harried by successive inroads of savage and relentless plunderers, pressed by their nominal rulers, spoiled by the actual invader, the inhabitants had acquired the ferocity of the wild beast:—leaving their fields to be overrun with jungle, they fortified their villages—each man was a soldier in defence of his paternal acre—each well was protected by a tower—each village rendered itself secure by ditches and impenetrable hedges, at least against the inroads of marauding horse. Up to the time of the invasion of Nadir, either from hopelessness, or from indifference, they bore their evils with patience, or at least in silence: but at length the cup of Mahommedan tyranny was full, and the spark was applied which set the whole country in a flame. About the year 1742 the Jat Zemindars, from sheer desperation, took

up arms, and resigning their former peaceful avocations, took to rapine and plunder as a means of existence. This ebullition might, and would in all probability, have been put down by the superiority of skill in arms, which the provincial ruler still possessed, but at this critical moment the revolting Hindus adopted as a bond of union the dormant tenets of Gúrú Govind, which, though crushed, had never been exterminated, and assuming these as their watchword, they found that strength and consistency which religious fanaticism alone can supply.

From this period we date the existence of the Sikhs, as a distinct people, and professors of a distinct religion: from this date they commenced their career of arms, and eventually of conquest. They then entered upon, and finally carried out the great work effected in the south of India by the Mahrattas—the rising of the oppressed Hindu races against their Mahomedan conquerors and tyrants. It was a war of religion and extermination, and unquestionably, but for the interference of a European power in the politics of India, every vestige of Mahomedan rule might have been swept from the country. The struggle for the empire of Hindustan would have been between the Mahratta and the Sikh: and as the Mahratta had so far been the first in the field by the occupation of Delhi, the theatre of the contest would have been these very plains, of which we now write.

It was thus that the precepts of Nanak were adopted by the warrior and the philosopher. Far other was the intention of their peaceful and benevolent founder. Beholding and pitying the miseries produced by fanaticism and religious strife, his object was to blend the Hindu faith and Mahomedan creed into a strifeless compound, and to lead both to lay aside their rancour, and worship the one invisible Being. His peaceful ministry was continued in the persons of his immediate successors; Angad, Amera Dass, Ram Dass, and Arjun: though the numbers of the professors of the new faith increased, still there was nought to distinguish them from the other ascetic and religious sectarians with which India still abounds:—they aimed at no political existence, and in all probability would never have obtained one, had not, in an ill-fated moment, the Mahomedan ruler of the district, from pique, from prejudice, or wanton cruelty, imprisoned and put to death the last mentioned of these teachers. This was in the year 1606. Fired by this atrocious outrage the son of the murdered priest, Har Govind, took up arms, and exciting the passions of his followers, commenced a system of petty reprisals. But what was the

power and means of a few and unorganized Devotees against the consolidated power of the empire of Delhi? Fresh persecution only produced increased hate—the sect was well nigh crushed, its professors were scattered—it would have ceased to exist, had not the murder of Tegh Bâhadûr, the son of Har Govind, called forth the talents, the energy, and the vengeance of Gûrû Govind, though the tenth and the last of the successors of Nanak. A man of superior abilities, of enthusiastic eloquence and indomitable courage, Gûrû Govind entirely altered the constitution and habits of his followers. He imbued them with military ardour, and taught them to devote themselves to the pious duty of wreaking vengeance upon the Mussalmans. The aspect of the times was now more favourable; the power of Arangzebe was occupied in the disastrous wars of the Dekhan: the sect grew and multiplied: they opposed, sometimes with success, and sometimes with reverse, such force as the officers of the emperor sent out against them. They established themselves at Anundpûr, Makhiwal, and Chumkour, south of the Sutlej; and, though Gûrû Govind was at length driven from the latter place,—his wife and children being barbarously murdered at Sirhind, while he himself perished in exile,—the cause was not deserted: his disciple and follower Bandah, the Byrâgi, took advantage of the confusion and tumult following the death of Arangzebe, and planned and executed the daring deed of the capturing and sacking of Sirhind, the principal city between the Sutlej and the Jumna. Animated with the spirit of demons rather than of men, they wreaked their vengeance to the full upon this devoted city, and encouraged by their success spread their ravages beyond the Jumna into the districts of Scharunpûr. But the strength of the Delhi empire, though weakened by dissension and strife, was still strong against these irregular combatants: the field of Paniput saw them defeated, and, their leader being shortly afterwards taken and barbarously murdered, the flames of this religious warfare were to a certain extent allayed.

Driven like wild beasts before their exterminating enemy, cut down in hundreds, with a price set on their heads, some strong spirits still clung to the tenets of their Gûrû, refused to cut their beards and resume the peaceful life of cultivators, and concealed themselves in the hills to await a suitable time for again wreaking their vengeance. That at length arrived:—the utter annihilation of the power of the Delhi emperor, and the retreat of Nadir Shah in 1742, enabled the Hindu peasantry, exasperated by centuries of oppression, to rise up in great



strength. Assuming the tenets of a faith associated in their memories with deeds of vengeance upon the Mahommedan and successful resistance against the oppressor, they converted the country between the Ravi and the Jumna into a theatre for the struggle of a nation fighting for its liberty, of enthusiasts contending for the unrestrained profession of their peculiar tenets, with that zeal and energy which can only be awakened in such a cause. This was the distinction of their present outbreak from those preceding it under Har Govind, Gúrú Govind, and Bandah :—these were the struggles of religious fanatics alone, breathing vengeance for the loss of their leader, and the oppression of themselves :—to this cause was now superadded the accumulated vengeance and righteous indignation of a people, who had been insulted and persecuted for centuries.

Their strength was now such that they opposed with success the arms of the viceroy of Lahore, and would probably have soon established for themselves some permanent position, when an enemy appeared from the west, whose force of overwhelming magnitude carried everything before it and threw back the progress of the Hindu Revolution for a quarter of a century : this was Ahmed Shah, the founder of the dynasty of Kabul. As a youth he had accompanied Nadir Shah in his inroad into Hindustan—he had witnessed the capabilities of the country to yield plunder, and its inability to defend itself, and he resolved to take advantage of its distracted state, and after plundering Central Hindustan to annex the provinces of Lahore and Sirhind permanently to his dominions. Seven times did he enter these unfortunate provinces, and overrun them like a destroying whirlwind. In his first invasion in 1747, the neighbourhood of Sirhind was the scene of a tremendous conflict between the Mogul and the Abdali. The following year saw the invader return, and in 1751, an engagement took place under the walls of Lahore, after which the power of the Emperor of Delhi ceased even nominally to predominate North of the Jumna. In 1755 the Abdali proceeded without opposition, and took temporary possession of Delhi, but contented himself with making the Jumna the southern boundary of his dominions. But his power, though great, was not consolidated, and one of the Mussalman district-governors, whom the change of supreme power had deprived of his province, invited the common enemy of the faith to avenge him upon his opponent. That enemy was the Mahratta, whose arms were then irresistible from Delhi to Cape Comorin. Ready for plunder, and burning to annex new provinces to the empire

of the Peishwah, Ragonath Rao, son of the late Bajl Rao, readily accepted the invitation, and poured across the countries between the Jumna and Sutlej the hardy race of mountaineers, who had fought their way to the north from the fastnesses of the Concan.

Resistance on the part of the Affghan Governor was vain : he was driven across the Indus, leaving the whole country between that stream and the Jumna to be desolated and plundered. Short however was the period of the new rule. Roused by the insult offered to his religion and his power, the Abdali returned with an overwhelming force, and utterly destroyed the power of the Mahratta nation on the plains of Paniput. This was the last great religious battle in India—it was the last struggle between the Hindu and Mahommedan, as on this occasion all the great Mahommedan chiefs of India were ranged under the standard of the northern invader. Great, however, as was the victory of the Mahommedans, they were unable to take advantage of it, and it proved their last and final struggle, for since that date they have ceased to be the dominant power in India.

Twice more, however, did the Abdali descend from the mountains, but it was rather for the purpose of wreaking his vengeance upon his revolting subjects than with any view of permanent conquest. From the date of the battle of Paniput the whole country between the Ravi and the Jumna became the property of the insurgent followers of Gúrú Govind : they now openly collected in plundering bodies, they erected forts, and the fearful carnage and defeat which they suffered in 1762 in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, only exasperated them more deeply, and led to their collecting again in the following year—annihilating the army of the Mussalman governor, and utterly destroying all that remained of the city of Sirhind. Returning once again to avenge this open insult, the Abdali saw that all efforts to retain these provinces were useless, and he retired across the Indus, and, for the rest of his reign and that of his son, the Sikhs remained undisputed masters of the soil.

This extraordinary people originally came before us as the unobtrusive professors of doctrines peculiar for their simplicity, and their peaceful tendency. Excited by the cries of a son breathing vengeance for the slaughter of his father and their priest, we have seen these peaceful devotees take up arms and commence a religious warfare against this persecution. Crushed—crushed to the ground by an overwhelming force, they had betaken themselves to the lair, and adopted the habits of wild beasts,

till the oppression of centuries excited the vengeful passions of the population of a whole country, and urged them to rise against the oppressor, adopting the tenets of a faith all but forgotten, as the watchword of their warfare. We have seen them defeated, and scattered to the four winds, but still returning when the tempest had blown over, and at length—when anarchy had reached its crisis, when the empire of Delhi on the south had been annihilated, and on the north the empire of Kabul was paralysed by internal convulsions,—occupying and portioning out among themselves, as sovereign possessors, the soil for the peaceful possession of which they had struggled as cultivators. Cradled as they were in oppression, fighting only for plunder and existence, led on by no one master mind, ignorant, reckless, dissipated, possessing the solitary virtues of bravery and independence of character, we cannot expect to find with them any system of government or any of the organization which constitutes a state. The coast being clear, there being no ruler in the land, each band of plundering marauders under their respective chieftain lighted, like a cloud of locusts, on the soil. To each Sirdar, to each horseman, his share was allotted; and in that space of ground each individual assumed and exercised rights, to which no term can be applied but that of sovereign. The social structure of the village community remained unchanged, the conquering Singh did not intrude himself into the number of the village shareholders, but he claimed from them, and exacted when he was able, that portion of the produce of the soil, which the custom of ages in India has set aside to the maintenance of government—this share had passed now into the hands of an individual, perhaps a cultivator himself in the adjoining village, but who had relinquished the ploughshare for the sword, and had enrolled himself among the followers of some successful freebooter.

This state of things was too anomalous to last: the stronger swallowed up the weaker—the peasant brethren united, and refused, unless coerced, to pay the share to those who had not the power to exact it. The common enemy having retired, dissensions arose among the liberated chiefs themselves, and a field was found for the display of individual talent and enterprise. So, for the space of thirty years, from 1764 to 1794, though no foreign invader molested these countries, no destroying army plundered the ripening harvests, still feud and internal dissension reigned throughout the land: villages were prosecuting hereditary quarrels with their neighbours. Secure in his *gurhi* the Sikh Chieftain was sometimes besieged by the peasants, at another time collecting his share of the produce

with the assistance of hired ruffians. The Zemindars of villages with strong natural defences threw off all connection with their nominal masters, while ambitious and enterprising chieftains were daily, by successful expeditions of plunder, increasing their possessions and reputation. Distinguished among these were the ancestors of Runjît Singh, who were paving the way for the more comprehensive designs of their successor.

Ere we allude to these events, and the influence which the English Government was soon to exert in these countries, we must introduce the history of the last invader, who descended from the mountains of Kabul to conquer Hindustan. Between the years 1795 and 1798 the youthful Shah Zeman, who had but just succeeded to the throne of Kabul, looking upon all the provinces up to the Jumna as his lawful dominions, three times invaded the Punjab and occupied Lahore. It was however the last expiring effort of the chivalry of the west. For 800 years, since the days of Sebukhtegin, these plains had been considered the lawful spoil of the hardy tribes who occupied the mountains, but their lease had now expired, and Shah Zeman was the last of the long line of Mahommedan invaders. Let us pause for one moment, and consider the eventful history of him, whose name has just fallen from our pens. Born the heir to a throne, then the most powerful in the east, brought up amidst the *prestige* of the victories and successful invasions of his illustrious grandfather, who lorded it unrestrained over Hindustan, and had overpowered the united army of the Hindu race—himself during the life time of his father a successful warrior, and the governor of a province,—he seized the first opportunity of re-asserting his claims to the provinces as far as the Jumna, and leaguuing with Tippoo Sultan, the distant tyrant of Mysore, he conceived the magnificent project of re-establishing the power of the Crescent in Hindustan, of subduing the rebellious Hindu, and driving into the sea, whence they came, the intrusive Christians. Nor was the project chimerical, nor the danger slight, nor considered so by Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General of India. It was partly with reference to this projected invasion of Shah Zeman, the rumours of which alarmed the Council Board of Calcutta, that measures so decisive were adopted against Tippoo, that half his dominions were rent from the Vizier of Oude as payment of a subsidiary force, and other means of defence devised to defeat the hopes of the youthful invader. Vain hopes! a few years saw him deprived of his kingdom, and his sight—an exile, and a wanderer. For twenty years, the sport of fortune and the sharer of the evil fate of his ill-starred brother Shah Shujah, he at length found a refuge at

Lúdhíanah, and a maintenance from the spontaneous generosity of that very people whose expulsion from India had been one of his dearest objects. As if fate were not content with the vicissitudes of his youth and manhood, he was doomed in his old age to leave his peaceful asylum to return in a species of mock and illusory triumph to the capital of the kingdom, which forty years before had been his own. Ejected thence, he once more returned a fugitive to die in the place of his former exile. Those who saw him in the last year of his eventful life, will not soon forget the blind and aged Monarch, on whose forehead time and care had written many a wrinkle, who in the midst of squalor and poverty seated himself on his old bed as upon a throne, and still spoke in the language, and assumed the air of a sovereign, whose whole troubled life was a memorable example of the instability of human greatness.

But to return to the history of these countries: Although the army of the Peishwah was entirely defeated, and with incredible slaughter at the battle of Paniput, the power of the Mahrattas was in no degree diminished: it seemed to have received new vigour from the blow, and to possess a hydra-headed vivacity. The power of the Peishwah himself was broken, but under the guidance of Holkar, the Bhúnslah, and Scindia, the Mahratta arms still continued paramount in India, and the regular battalions of the latter under DeBoigne, Perron, and Louis Bourquet were in possession of Delhi, and the country up to the Jumna: not did their arms cease there. Every chief of note south of the Sutlej was a tributary to the Mahratta, and we find the youthful Runjít Singh at the commencement of this century, while his power was still scarcely superior to that of a petty Sirdar, entering into a treaty with General Perron, the substance of which was the assistance of a force of regular battalions to establish the power of Runjít in the country, and the payment of a ten-anna share to the Mahratta, of the provinces brought into subjection by such means. This was indeed never acted upon, but the empire of the Mahrattas was acknowledged by Runjít, and indisputable up to the Sutlej,—though the puzzled antiquary will scarcely recognize in “Louis Saheb,” the name under which Louis Bourquet is familiarly known among the Sikh states, the formidable Lieutenant of Scindia, the gallant opponent of the English arms at the battle of Delhi. Still more puzzled would the antiquary be, if he heard mention made of the victorics of “Jehazi Saheb,” of the chief, whom he set up, and the heavy fines which he exacted. If an Englishman, the antiquary would scarcely recognize his own countryman George Thomas,—

a name much dreaded and renowned among the Sikh peasantry. This remarkable man, a sailor by profession, whence his Indian name, availed himself of the state of affairs into which he was thrown, and by dint of perseverance, military skill, and great personal valour, carved out for himself a small principality, and had he had only natives to contend with, would have held it. In him was most remarkably displayed that energy of character which distinguishes the European from the Asiatic. We find him refusing to desert the cause of his friends, daring his foes to do their worst, bringing into subjection a district previously uncontrollable, building forts, casting cannon, and training levies. Appealed to by the widow of Roy Ilias, a Mahommedan Chief, whose territory bordered upon the Sutlej to support her against her oppressors, he marched from Hansi, his capital, to Rai Kote, through a hostile country, being himself in open warfare with the chiefs of the intervening space, whom he defeated more than once in battle. He was the first Englishman on the Sutlej, though to Lord Lake that honor is usually ascribed. What would have been his fate had he been enabled to maintain himself in his principality of Hansi, till by the fall of the Mahratta power he came into contact with the army of his own countrymen, can scarcely be guessed at:—his power fell before the arms of Louis Bourquet, and though permitted to retire to our provinces with the wealth which he had amassed, he died before his arrival at Calcutta. His memoirs, however, which were published at the time, furnish an interesting example of what the energies of an uneducated man can do in the way of carving out a principality.

We have now arrived at the commencement of our own century, and we find the plains of Sirhind, and the country adjoining occupied by independent Sikh Chieftains, each man holding his village, or his district, by the sword—at deadly war with his neighbour, ready to take any and every advantage to improve his position, bound by no feelings of honour, no ties of blood, no sentiments of religion, when his own selfish interest interfered. Still all were nominally or really under the paramount sway of Scindia. The power of that chieftain fell before the arms of Wellesley and Lake, and all the country north of Joudpúr and Jaipúr, were, by the treaty of Surji Argengaum in December 1803, ceded without reserve to the Company. Our right, as successor to Scindia, of supremacy to the Sutlej was indisputable, and was never renounced by us; and had the master mind which then ruled the destinies of India been uncontrolled, that su-

supremacy would doubtless have been exerted and maintained. But the timid policy of ignorant, or half-informed men at home blighted the fruit of the victories of our brave men abroad :—only however for the time,—for neither could the sage warnings of the Leadenhall street politicians, nor the prudential measures of Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, hold us back from the supremacy of Hindustan, which circumstances had forced upon us. Accordingly, at the close of the year 1805, we find Lord Lake crossing the plains of Sirhind and Malwa, driving before him the discomfited Holkar, who had left the flower of his infantry and artillery on the plains of Deeg, and of his cavalry under the walls of Futtyghur. Lord Lake pressed on to Lúdíanah, nor did he hesitate to cross the Sutlej, and traverse the district of the Jullundhar Doab : and on the banks of the Beas, he dictated his terms to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and formed a treaty of friendship with Runjít Singh. Ten thousand men were in those days considered sufficient to oppose any force that could be found between the Indus and the Jumna. Since then times have greatly changed ; and with them men and measures. Under the genius of one Prince, aided by the science of foreign officers, a military power has been allowed to spring up in our neighbourhood of so formidable a character, that, during the past year, twenty thousand men backed by the whole army of the Bengal Presidency and the resources of British India, were required to hold, and without entire success, that line of frontier which Lord Lake's comparatively small force crossed with impunity, and Ochterlony's three Regiments held unsupported nearer than Kurnaul, in defiance of all comers. One veteran hero\* has lived to cross the Sutlej, a second time, after an interval of forty years, and to show us right well how the men of Laswaree and Deeg could fight,—where a handful of Europeans were considered sufficient to oppose a host, and it was not deemed necessary for the attainment of victory to approximate in number our opponents.

The commencement of the year 1806 saw our conquering Army fall back from the advanced line of the Sutlej, and our Government, under the influence of timid policy, refuse to exercise those rights of supremacy, which we had fairly won, or extend our protection to those chiefs, who craved it of us in person at Delhi. But there was a shrewd observer intently watching our

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\* Many of our readers need not be informed that we allude to Major-General Gilbert. This gallant officer crossed the Sutlej with Lord Lake, at Lúdíanah, in 1806, as Baggage Master, and with Sir Hugh Gough, at Ferozepore, in 1846, as General of Division.

movements, a young and successful chieftain, who had convinced himself of our superiority in arms, but was tempted by seeing the backward position which we held, to snatch the rich prize of the territories of the numerous unprotected chiefs of Sirhind and Malwa. This was Runjít Singh. Unwilling to offend the mighty power, which had prostrated every thing from the sea and the Ganges to the Himalayas, he was astonished at finding us uninfluenced by the lust of territorial aggrandizement, which was the one mainspring of his own actions, and he was thus tempted to try how far our forbearance would extend. In the autumn of 1806 he dashed across the Sutlej, under pretence of adjusting some difference betwixt parties, who had referred to him, and after laying hands upon, and distributing among his friends the territories of the defenceless widow of Roy Ilias, he returned in triumph to Lahore. So successful and profitable, both in plunder and reputation, had been this trip, so perfectly unnoticed by the Resident of Delhi, that Runjít was tempted on a similar excuse to cross a second time in the autumn of 1807, and to overrun the whole country with his cavalry, to levy fines from the Chief of Mungmajra, adjoining the valley of Pinjore, and bestow away on one of his followers, the fort and district of Narayangurh almost on the banks of the Sutlej. This last act startled the Council Board at Calcutta, but it is doubtful whether even this would have aroused the offended dignity of the British lion, had it not occurred at the same time, that the supposed designs of the Ruler of France on the North-West frontier of Hindústan urged the adoption of a line of policy, which brought the English more immediately in collision with the Napoleon of the east, as his talents, his sagacity, military skill, and the vast empire, which he gained and ably governed, entitle Runjít Singh to be called. Even then, could he only but have known and played his true game, the Chief of Lahore might have gained, in entire sovereignty, the whole country up to the Jumna, as the price of his friendship with us, and jealous resistance to a common foe from the west. But a third expedition, which he daringly ventured upon in 1808 in spite of the warnings of the British envoy, decided the Government on the course they must adopt, and to one of the brightest ornaments of the Indian service was the duty of carrying out this policy confided. Ochterlony crossed the Jumna at Búrea in January 1809, and followed at an interval by the Army of Reserve under General St. Leger, he established without opposition the post at Lúdfanah, by which our position up to the Sutlej was fully confirmed, though Runjít Singh was allowed by a conci-



liating policy to keep the revenues of the districts, which he had appropriated in his two former expeditions, on condition of disgorging those obtained in his last.

Since those days these plains have enjoyed permanent peace and security from foreign foe and domestic broil. It was soon found out and impressed upon Government, that it was necessary to protect our dependants from the effects of their own evil habits, as well as from the grasp of the invader : they had to be taught to respect the rights of others, as well as to be maintained in their own. The result has proved the soundness of the policy, which led us to advance to the Sutlej. By that step we effectually restrained the ambitious Sikh ruler from interference in the affairs of Hindústan : we laid our hands on and held firmly these plains, which are justly called the thresh-old of India, and for thirty years we had neither occasion nor desire to advance our frontier or our influence. Circumstances have now changed : but we may dwell with satisfaction on the wisdom of our rulers, which led to our occupying the advanced line of the Sutlej, instead of, as was originally contemplated, falling back upon the Jumna. The inhabitants of the country may also well rejoice at the change of views of the English Government. Cultivation has extended, security of the roads has been restored, the solitary tower is disappearing from the village, or the well, of which it was once the guardian and the oppressor. In those portions held immediately under the English Government, this is more remarkable, as a strong Government, such as our own, is free from those evils which are ever inherent in native ones ; but still the thriving condition of the subjects of the Rajah of Pateala, may vie with those of any native potentate in India. Only a few generations himself removed from the plough, that chieftain has feelings and prejudices in union with his people : he is wealthy enough to have no necessity for petty oppression, and to enable him to secure able, if not honest, advisers ; and his government may justly be called a paternal one. There may, indeed, be some inconveniences attending our rule, there may be some of our regulations beyond the comprehension of the ignorant chief, there may be some hardships, such as the arbitrary absorption of whole villages into our vast cantonments, under which we can imagine the exasperated Sikh, as he was being turned out of the homestead, valued by him far above the ample price offered for it,—exclaiming with Meliboeus,—

*Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit ?  
Barbarus hæc segetes ?*

But in the long run the people are the gainers. They are

secured both in property and person, the value of the productions of their soil has increased tenfold, and the country generally has enjoyed the blessing of a continuous peace, which it can scarcely be said to have ever tasted since the days of Mahmoud of Ghuzni.

Such events, as those to which we have alluded, write their own history on the country where they have been enacted : all of the masters, to whom these plains have been subject, have left some trace for good or evil of their occupation. The pious Hindu will find few remnants, spared by the hand of time and man, to recall to him the former splendour of the Princes of the country who first opposed the torrent of Mahomedan invasion ; but to him the face of the country, the streams and plains are sacred, and possess an interest which no time can efface, no succession of invaders destroy. To the Mahomedans this whole country teems with mournful reminiscences of the empire and magnificence of their countrymen, lost to them for ever. A taste for erecting costly structures appears to have been one of the great characteristics of the Mussalman power, and at every step the eye rests with surprise upon some magnificent memento of the Emperors of Delhi, or their Satraps. It must however be allowed that these buildings were all erected from motives of selfish luxury, or ostentatious vain-gloriousness. The wide and capacious serai was not raised for the protection of the friendless traveller, or the reception of the wares of the enterprising merchant—the garden was not planted, and the well was not dug for the wayfarer, but for the use of the Emperor and his nobles, when their occasional presence honoured and laid waste the unfortunate villages on the route. The stately dome and cloister, which attracts the eye, was erected for no patriotic, or exalted purpose ; it was neither a refuge for the destitute nor a retreat for the learned and wise, nor a receptacle of those arts and sciences by which empires, not liable to vicissitudes of fortune, are erected, and monuments imperishable are raised. For no other purpose than a temporary and vainglorious exaltation of an individual, and an unknown and unhonoured name. Provinces were plundered, and with the sums thus collected, a massive pile of buildings was erected, which has lasted, and will last for centuries. But the name of the builder has often perished—the purposes for which they were erected, have been forgotten : some have been defiled and desecrated by becoming the residence of a race of men, whom their founders hated and detested : others have been destroyed to furnish materials for the buildings of the new lords of the soil.

But the Sikh—the detested Sikh—no stately buildings, no royal cities mark the era of his supremacy, but desolation, ruin, and destruction have ever been the principles of his creed, both religious and political. In the plundering of cities, and sacking of towns has been his chief delight, and the wide extent of ruins that mark the site of many a former metropolis, testify how well he has fulfilled his destroying mission. A wretched village marks the spot where the cruelty of the oppressor was avenged at Sirhind after the lapse of a century, and a large and populous city was sacked and levelled to the ground by wrathful fanatics. Even to this day the pious Singh thinks that he is performing a religious duty in conveying to the waters of the Ganges one brick from the ruins of a city by the hand of whose impious rulers the wife and children of the last of the Gúrús was inhumanly murdered.

As described in the foregoing pages commenced our connexion with the Sikh. With a part of that nation we entered into treaties of friendship; over a part we threw the mantle of our protection, and included them within the limits of our empire. It has been often remarked that the Princes of India, with whom we have contended in arms, have none of them boasted of dynasties extending back further than the commencement of the preceding century. Many, such as Holkar, Scindia, and Hyder Ali, were merely successful military adventurers: others, such as the Nizam of the Dekhan and the Vizier of Oude, were satraps of the empire of Delhi, who had taken advantage of the times to assert their independence. But there is a striking resemblance in the history of the Sikh people to that of our own Indian empire. Both were created under the same influences, and the crisis of their fates happened at the same periods. At the time that the successors of the peaceful Nanak were inculcating their conciliating doctrines among a few and unknown followers, the founders of the Anglo-Indian empire were engaged in the equally peaceful avocations of commerce. At Surat, at Patna, at Húgli, they were wholly engaged in the absorbing occupation of money-making; nor did they dream of empire. Towards the close of the seventeenth century we find Gúrú Govind, organizing his followers into a military confederation, establishing himself in the fortresses of Anundpúr, Makhiwal, and Chumkour, and preparing to meet in arms the delegated forces of Delhi; on the banks of the Húgli oppression was working out the same ends, and at the same time converting the peaceful trader into the energetic soldier. Admiral Nicholson was preparing to commence war with the Subahdar of Bengal,

and Mr. Charnock was throwing up entrenchments at Hidgelee to receive the property and persons of British settlers. The next fifty years were passed by both people in various fortunes, influenced by the personal character of the Government of the province, whom the decadence of the empire had now rendered absolute. But the middle of the century was marked to both people by a tremendous outrage, followed by an immediate retribution. The Sikh still remembers with a lively hatred of his former persecutors the decapitation of the early martyrs in the Shahí Gunge at Lahore—neither has he forgotten the annihilation of the Khalsa Dul, at the field of the Ghúlo Ghara, near Sirhind; and the finger of execration, still points in Indian history to the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the massacre at Patna.

The outrages were speedily avenged, and the year succeeding each saw, on the one hand, the oppressed and proscribed votaries of Gúrú Govind, exulting over the dead body of their former ruler, and plundering and destroying the fair city of Sirhind—on the other, the victorious Clive on the field of Plassey disposing of the Subahdari of Bengal. These events which happened within a few years of each other were the turning points of the history of each nation. Since then a career of victory has approximated the confines of the two nations, which at the commencement of last century were separated by many a hundred league; and the commencement of the present century for the first time brought the two nations into collision, and beheld a Sikh Chief contending against us with an armed demonstration for the countries between the Jumna and the Sutlej.

A few notices may be added of the military operations which have been carried on in this country since the above period. At that time the line of hills was the boundary on the north-east; but, shortly after, Ochterlony had to take the field against the Gúrkhas, and annex the Rajpút Hill States betwixt the Sutlej and the Jumna. From that time till 1832, little interest has attached to these countries; but the scheme of Lord W. Bentinck to open the navigation of the Indus and its tributaries, and finally the Russophobia which prevailed in the time of his successor, attracted and fixed the attention of all India upon the north-west frontier. The contemplated invasion of the French had urged Lord Minto, much against the policy of the age, in which he lived, to push on the frontier to the Sutlej. Thirty years afterwards, his grandson, Lord Auckland, was induced by similar apprehension of the designs

of the Russians to extend British influence to the confines of Persia. Since that policy was decided upon the countries between the Sutlej and the Jumna have been traversed in every direction by large armies, and the force stationed there has been yearly increased, till during the last twelve month, the flower of the Bengal Army may be said to have been cantoned within its limits. The year 1838 saw the Army of the Indus proceed across these plains to penetrate new regions, and plant the British standard on the walls of Ghuzni. The year 1841 saw another gallant force hurry onward to redeem our national character, and avenge our slaughtered countrymen: the close of that same year beheld the magnificent pageantry and show, with which the Army of Reserve welcomed their gallant companions on their triumphant return. Since then the whole country between the two rivers has been held, and, as it were, in military occupation. And the events which have crowded one upon another during the last few months,—the four bloody battles which have been fought actually within our frontier,—the villages which have been plundered and left desolate,—the fields which have been robbed of their green honours ere yet ready for the sickle,—the oppressions of various forms and incalculable number which have in spite of the precaution of our rulers taken place,—may indeed have caused the old grey-beards, who remembered in their childhood the invasion of the Abdali, and the struggle of the Sikh people for liberty, to curse their ill-fate that they had lived to see the evil days of plunder and confusion, of war and inroads return to their devoted fields.

We write, perhaps, too near the events to judge with impartiality; but if the rulers of this country have ever engaged in a just war,—then this one, into which we were hurried against our wishes, and against what are justly to be pronounced our true interests, may and must be considered such a war. Still, it cannot be said to have come upon us without many a long and loud note of preparation. For the last two years a feverish excitement had prevailed throughout the country, and the anticipation of war had become so general, that it was openly discussed, and private arrangements had been made confessedly in connection with it: it had been wished for and prayed for in every military circle in the North of India. Various statements of a somewhat provocative and inflammatory tendency had also appeared, from time to time, in different journals both at home and abroad. And when it is considered that many of these statements find their way to

Lahore, and the general topics of conversation south of the Sutlej, are conveyed in a garbled form to the ears of a Government, who have no other way of getting at the main-spring of our actions ;—when they hear the note of war trumpeted through the land, and are ignorant of the peculiar relations of society with us, and how entirely unconnected with Government are the opinions of individuals and of the press,—can we wonder, that a people, highly sensitive of their national independence, proud of their freedom, which they had purchased with the struggle of a century, fresh from an uninterrupted career of victory, who had seen our arms fail against a foe over which they had repeatedly triumphed, though they could not appreciate the causes which led to our failure,—can we wonder that a people thus situated, and thus excited, with arms and military munitions in their possession, and without the form of a Government to restrain them, should boldly take the initiative and prefer being the assailants to the assailed ? Posterity must judge and decide on this momentous question.

These few remarks are penned in the moment of victory before the capital of a country to whose rulers the terms of peace and war are being dictated, and the sincerity of our former friendship is being proved by our fallen foe. But even in the flush of victory at the close of a just war, who can hesitate to pronounce war the greatest of human evils, inasmuch as it is the widest spreader of misery among the human race. Let him who sighs for war, and the glories and distinctions which it brings to the survivor, think only how dearly those laurels have been bought. Let him consider the history of this unfortunate province, for the last seven centuries the theatre of nearly unceasing war ; let him reflect upon the scenes of plunder and oppression, which every village on or near the line of march presents—the peasant driven from his rifled habitation and his blighted fields, converted by desperation into a ruffian and plunderer, and finally in many cases cut down as a wild beast. Let him, when the excitement of victory is gone, walk over the field, which a few hours before had been so nobly won, and pause to reflect upon the vast carnage by which victory's ends are consummated :—here, fell the bold dragoon, checked in his impetuous career, as he cleared the embrasured rampart—there, the course of the steady column of infantry is too clearly indicated by the bodies of the slain : here lies, with the cold steel passed through his breast, the gigantic foe, with his outstretched arms and wild-flowing locks still breathing defiance—there, dabbling in his blood, the fair-haired boy of eighteen summers, who had

but just left his native highlands to rot upon a foreign soil. Let him turn from this scene to the hospital, and walk leisurely amidst the hideous lazar house of wounds, and ills, not the spontaneous result of our weak nature, but the offspring of the black passions of mankind : let him consider the blighted prospect of that limbless though still living carcase, but a few hours before exulting in the pride of manhood and strength : let him gaze on that manly countenance, from which the inestimable gift of sight has been for ever withdrawn, and consider to how many, among the two thousand sufferers upon whom his gaze will fall in succession, life has become an incumbrance rather than a blessing,—cut off for ever from their friends and profession, or doomed to return as useless logs to their country. Let him mark the long line of desolation that follows the track of an army : let him listen to the sad tale of the outraged peasantry, and visit the ruined spot from which their household goods, all their worldly gear, the savings of the past harvest and the hopes of the future, have by rude hands been sacrilegiously torn : and, beyond these visible woes, let him consider the destitute case of the orphan and the widow struck down in a few brief moments from affluence to penury—many a wife, whose hopes of happiness in this world are gone for ever, many a son whose position has been altered for life by the premature loss of his parent : let him accompany the harbingers of grief to his native land, and see many an eye glisten, many a heart break, many a fond hope dashed to the ground :—let him think of all this and weigh it against the value of the brevet and ribbon which he has gained, and,—despite the solid advantages to the empire which could scarcely come under his consideration, nor were ever present in his thoughts,—will he not allow that these ephemeral distinctions have been dearly bought, and that war in its mildest form is one of the greatest evils of the human race ?

